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THE FRENCH MONARCHY IN CRISIS, 1392-1415, AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE DAUPHIN, LOUIS OF FRANCE, DUKE OF GUYENNE

City University of New York PH.D. 1982

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THE FRENCH MONARCHY IN CRISIS,

1392-1415,

AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE DAUPHIN,

LOUIS OF FRANCE, DUKE OF GUYENNE

by

RICHARD C. FAMIGLIETTI

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1982

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE FRENCH MONARCHY IN CRISIS,

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AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE DAUPHIN,

LOUIS OF FRANCE, DUKE OF GUYENNE

by

Richard C. Famiglietti

Adviser: Professor Howard L. Adelson

This study presents a new interpretation of the roles of the personnages who dominated French politics from 1392 to 1415: King Charles VI; the queen, Isabeau of Bavaria; the king's uncles, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and John, duke of Berry; Philip's son, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy; the king's brother, Louis, duke of Orléans; Louis' son Charles, duke of Orléans; and the heir to the throne from 1401 to 1415, Louis, dauphin du Viennois and duke of Guyenne. The king's mental illness is discussed in detail, and recent studies on schizophrenia are used to show how Charles' psychotic behavior compares with the behavioral patterns commonly exhibited by schizophrenics. His ambivalent attitude towards the queen and the dukes is examined, and evidence is brought forth to show that Charles

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VI was more than the puppet historians have described. The role played by Queen Isabeau is presented with the conclusion that she did not possess the changeability of character that scholars have attributed to her. The power of John the Fearless is shown to have been more restricted than hitherto supposed, and the limited nature of his control over the duke of Guyenne is also discussed. The development of the duke of Guyenne's politics is examined in detail with emphasis on his efforts both to maintain his independence from the rival dukes and to form a political party whose allegiance would be only to him and, through him, to the crown. His conflict with John the Fearless, the Parisian butchers, and the party of Charles of Orléans is presented in a new light, and it is shown how historical tradition has distorted the picture of both the prince's personality and his motivation. In order to correct certain erroneous statements affecting the historical interpretation of this period, the authority of the Parlement, the registration of royal ordinances, and the duke of Guyenne's finances are discussed in the Appendixes. Appendix IV is a biographical dictionary of 275 pages containing information about 793 officers of the duke of Guyenne. Biographies of other individuals with the surnames of these officers are also included.

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To the Memory of

Yann Grandeau

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PREFACE

I would like to thank Professors Howard Adelson, Richard Lemay, Phyllis Roberts, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, and Pearl Kibre for their much appreciated help and their enthusiastic support of this work. I am also grateful to Doctors Kenneth Wein, Gerald L. Levine, Sarah Saklad, and Edward V. Famiglietti, jr. for their advice on my discussion of Charles VI's mental disorder. For their kindness in sharing information with me, I wish to express my gratitude to Mlle. Carla Bozzolo and M. Ezio Ornato of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, and I would like to extend my thanks to Mme. Metman and Monsieur Martin for allowing me to look through their card file of the X series at the Archives Nationales. I am much obliged to Dr. Theodor Straub, Professors Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Susan Mehrtens, Messieurs René Robinet, Henri Guy, Jean Richard, and the directors and staff of many French libraries and archives for providing me with transcripts or photocopies of original documents.

The success of this project is due in part to the computer of The City University of New York, and I would like to thank the University for giving me the computer time necessary to finish my work. I also wish to thank Wang Chi Wong for writing the two programs I used to analyze the biographical data in Appendix IV, and I am grateful to John Fuchs and Professors Malcolm Brown and Elizabeth A. R. Brown

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for sharing their knowledge of computer language with me. I have special thenks for Mrs. Phyllis Mirsky of the Computer Facility at the Graduate Center because she always cleared up with a smile my "emergency" computer problems.

I owe a great deal to the late Monsieur Yann Grandeau, the author of a number of valuable articles on Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria. He opened his home to me and gave me much encouragement, and I deeply regret the loss of such a constant friend. Mme. Claude Grandeau has treated me like one of her sons, and her warm concern has sustained me during my sojourns in France.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents. They have generously offered me every opportunity to pursue my interest in the family of Charles VI, and they have encouraged and supported me through all the stages of my work. The credit for the completion of this project should rightfully go to them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD = Archives Départementales
AM = Archives Municipales
AN = Archives Nationales
BL = British Library
BM = Bibliothèque Municipale
BN = Bibliothèque Nationale
P.O. = Collection "Pièces Originales" in BN

d. = deniers
fr. = francs
l.p. = livres parisis
l.t. = livres tournois
mtre. = maître
s. = sous

The abbreviations used in Appendix IV are given in the introduction to that section.

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A NOTE ON CURRENCY

During the period discussed in this work, the money of account was not the same as the money that circulated in the form of gold or silver coins. The units of account were livres, sous, and deniers tournois and livres, sous, and deniers parisis. There were 12 deniers in one sou and 20 sous in one livre. The livre tournois was equal to four-fifths of a livre parisis.

The most frequently mentioned gold coins in circulation at the time of Charles VI were the franc d'or and the écu à la couronne. The franc was equivalent to one livre tournois, and the standard value of the écu between 1392 and 1415 was 1 livre 2 sous 6 deniers tournois. Among the most notable silver coins minted at this time were the blancs deniers à l'écu, the gros d'argent, and the doubles and mailles tournois. For further information on the nomenclature and value of coins from 1392 to 1415, see Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, ed. E. J. de La Laurière, D. F. Secousse, et al., Paris, 1723-1849, VII, pp. 2-7; VIII, pp. xx-xxi; IX, pp. xxiv-xxv; X, p. vi.

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CHAPTER I

THE MENTAL DISORDER OF CHARLES VI

The forty-two-year reign of Charles VI from 1380 to 1422 was one of the most calamitous periods in French history. The kingdom was threatened both from within and from without. The royal family was divided by bitter rivalries that plunged the country into an endless civil war, and the old claim of the English kings to the crown of France was brought forward by Henry V, who crossed the Channel to fight for what he considered his birthright.

Louis, duke of Guyenne and dauphin of the Viennois, heir to the French throne, lived out the eighteen years of his life during an especially turbulent period of his father's reign. He was in Paris in 1407, a boy of 10, when his uncle, the duke of Orléans, was murdered, and it was he who gave the king's answer to the widowed duchess when she came, draped in black, and begged on her knees that the duke of Burgundy, who had hired the assassins, be brought to justice. The Orléans family pursued a relentless quest for revenge, which continually threatened to upset the precarious equilibrium of the government, and the young duke of Guyenne was pushed by Fate into a premature adulthood.

In 1411 and 1412, Louis took part in military campaigns with his father-in-law, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, against the king's uncle, the duke of Berry, who was an ally

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of the Orléans family. Later, in 1414, when the tables had turned and the duke of Burgundy had been designated a traitor, Louis marched with Charles of Orléans and the king against the Burgundian strongholds in Artois. In 1415, when the English came, the young prince waited in Rouen with his father for news of the battle of Agincourt, and he was one of the first to hear that the flower of French chivalry had fallen on that muddy field, the victim of well-aimed arrows shot by English longbowmen. The kingdom which Louis stood to inherit was being torn apart, but the greatest tragedy of all was that Louis, duke of Guyenne, was heir to a throne upon which sat a king who was mad.

It was unfortunate for France that Charles VI's mental disorder did not totally incapacitate him, but the fact that he often appeared sane to his contemporaries allowed him, whenever he was able, to continue to rule with full power from the onset of his illness in 1392 until the treaty of Troyes in 1420, when Henry V of England became regent. The uncertain state of his health during this period, however, fostered an immediate and intense growth of rivalries, which reached a culmination in 1407 with the murder of the duke of Orléans. The ensuing intermittent civil war caused a frequent state of emergency, and since the king was periodically "absent," the duke of Guyenne was called upon, despite his youth, to play a central role in the government.

The extent of the duke of Guyenne's power and the nature of his personal political views have long been misunderstood

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by historians. The young prince's actions and those of the members of the rival political parties were ultimately motivated by the king's actions, and to see them in proper perspective, it is necessary, first, to understand the nature and extent of Charles VI's participation in governmental affairs and to ascertain how his involvement was affected by his mental health.

The manner in which historians have interpreted Charles VI's illness has resulted in the dissemination of a false picture of both his mental disorder and his reign of forty-two years. Adopting the viewpoint of the king's contemporaries, scholars concluded that when King Charles made a decision that was politically wise, he was momentarily sane and was following a coherent policy but when he made a decision that favored a particular political party, he was in a phase of his illness which caused him to be confused, malleable, and capable of being controlled by the party he had favored.[1] At times, scholars have not even examined the extant documents to see if Charles himself was present when certain decisions were made.

The available evidence shows that the currently accepted interpretations are overly simplistic and completely distort the story of what really happened during the reign of Charles VI. It is essential, therefore, to begin with an examination of the mental disorder of Charles VI and arrive at a more accurate understanding of his personality and influence.[2] A detailed description of his early psychotic

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behavior can be found in the chronicles written by two of his contemporaries, Jean Froissart and the Monk of Saint-Denis.[3] Other chronicles and the extant volumes of the royal household accounts provide additional information about his symptoms and behavior during both acute and chronic phases.[4]

The king's first psychotic episode, which took place in 1392, was preceded by a serious illness. In March 1392, Charles VI went to meet with the duke of Lancaster in Amiens, and he fell ill there during the first week of April. It is thought that he was suffering from Typhoid Fever because Froissart described his illness as a fever with convulsions and the Flemish chronicler Jean Brandon noted that "many others" in Amiens, including the duke of Berry and Philip of Bar, came down with the same sickness.[5] On April 7 or 8, the king was taken in a litter to Beauvais, where he was bedridden for a month.[6] He was again in good health, according to Froissart, when he returned to Paris at the end of May.[7]

About two weeks later, on the night of June 13, Pierre de Craon, a royal chamberlain, attempted, with several accomplices, to murder the constable of France, Olivier de Clisson, as he was returning home after having supped with the king in the Hôtel Saint-Pol.[8] The constable sustained several wounds[9] but survived, and Pierre took refuge at the court of the duke of Brittany. The king saw this crime as an attack on his own majesty and, in a fury, banished

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Pierre and ordered his house in Paris completely destroyed. Because of his anger with the duke for harboring the criminal, King Charles resolved to lead an army into Brittany. His paternal uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, were not in favor of this plan and did not respond immediately to the royal summons. In mid-July, while Charles VI was in Saint-Germain-en-Laye preparing to march, the royal doctors warned that his health was not yet sufficiently restored from his recent illness and that the expedition should be cancelled.[10]

The king refused to listen to any advice and departed with his army. The Monk of Saint-Denis, in his capacity as official royal historian, accompanied the army to make an eye-witness report, and he noticed that during the first days of August, in Le Mans, the king began to utter "silly" words and make gestures "unbecoming to royalty," as if he were not of sound mind.[11] During King Charles' stay in Le Mans, four knights were sent to the duke of Brittany in Nantes to demand that he surrender Pierre de Craon, but the duke claimed that Pierre had already left Brittany and that he was unaware of his present whereabouts. This answer satisfied the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and they thought it pointless to continue the expedition, but the king refused to believe that the duke of Brittany was telling the truth.[12]

On August 5, Charles VI, in full armor, led the army out of Le Mans, and when they reached the leper colony outside

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the town, a bedraggled and beggarly man began to trail alongside him. For a half hour this person continued to shout, "Go no further, great king, for you are to be quickly betrayed!"[13] Finally, when the man grabbed the reins of the king's horse, several men-at-arms intervened and struck him on the hands. He ran off, and the army continued its march.[14] When they came out of the forest onto a sandy plain, King Charles rode a little way ahead with two young pages to escape the dust raised by the soldiers and horses. One of the pages, drowsy from the mid-day heat, let the lance he was carrying fall against the helmet of the other page. Alarmed by the loud noise, the king suddenly drew his sword and shouted, "Advance! Advance on these traitors!" The pages spurred on their horses and managed to escape, and the king then turned to attack his brother, the duke of Orléans, who was riding closer to him than the other dukes. There followed a scene of great confusion in which Charles VI killed five men, among whom was the bastard of Polignac, a Gascon knight.[15] When his sword finally broke under the force of the blows he struck, Guillaume Martel, one of his favorite chamberlains, succeeded in grabbing him from behind.[16]

King Charles was taken down off his horse and laid on the ground. When his uncles and brother approached, he gave no sign of recognition. His eyes rolled in his head, and he spoke to no one.[17] He was taken back to Le Mans in a litter, and the Monk says that he remained for two days without the

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use of his senses or limbs. His body began to feel cold to the touch, and his heartbeat was faint.[18] Froissart reports that when the dukes went in to visit him, his eyes were open, and he stared at them in silence.[19]

On the third day, the king began to speak, and he humbly begged pardon for what he had done. He went to confession, heard mass, and took Holy Communion.[20] The expedition had been cancelled, but he remained in Le Mans for at least two more weeks.[21] Then he was taken north of Paris for a period of recovery in Creil,[22] where he was treated by several physicians, among whom was the renowned Guillaume de Harcigny.[23]

On September 13, whatever his real condition may have been, Charles VI told Hanart de Campbernart, whom he was sending to England, to inform King Richard that he was completely recovered.[24] Charles did not return to Paris, however, until nearly a month later, at which time he stopped en route at the abbey of Saint-Denis on that saint's feast day, October 9.[25]

The first psychotic episode was over. People claimed that the king had been poisoned or bewitched, but the royal physicians who were interrogated by the duke of Burgundy in Le Mans stated that the king had been suffering for a long time from a "weakness of intellect" and that they suspected he would get worse.[26] Guillaume de Harcigny said that the king's condition was caused by a trait he had inherited from his mother, which he called her "moisteur."[27]

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The king appeared to have recovered completely until his second psychotic episode, which took place 10 months later, in June 1393. To be nearer the negotiations that the dukes were conducting with certain English ambassadors who were based in Calais, Charles VI had moved his court to Abbeville in March.[28] Toward the middle of June, according to the Monk, he again began to act like a "man of unsound mind" and to make undignified gestures.[29] Froissart was in Abbeville when the king fell ill, but he gives little information about the relapse and remarks that the king's state was kept secret as long as possible.[30]

This second psychotic episode was significantly different from the first. The onset was more gradual, and there was no frenzy. Froissart mentions that Guillaume Martel, the chamberlain who had restrained the king during the earlier episode in Le Mans, was the first to notice the change in the king's condition in Abbeville because he had the closest contact with him.[31] The Monk, who also reports a gradual onset, remarks that while at first the king recognized everyone, eventually he forgot even who he himself was and began to insist that he was not the king and was not named Charles.[32] His condition did not improve quickly, and he was taken back to Paris before he recovered. When the queen visited him, he asked his servants who she was and ordered them to take care of whatever it was she required so that she would leave him alone. Whenever he saw his or the queen's coat of arms engraved on a plate or elsewhere, he

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tried to erase it. The only person King Charles had any desire to see was his sister-in-law, the duchess of Orleans, whom he called his "very dear sister.[33]

Charles VI's second psychotic episode ended in the latter part of January 1394 after nearly 7 months, but during this period there were moments when he seemed better. At one point, having expressed a desire to honor France's patron saint, he visited the abbey of Saint-Denis, and the Monk remarked that on this occasion he made no improper gestures.[34] On January 17, in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, King Charles was well enough to receive a vassal who came to pay homage to him for a fief.[35] On January 23, attended by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and the ever-faithful Guillaume Martel, he dealt with other official business,[36] and on January 26 he presided at a meeting of the council.[37] In February he was considered completely healed, and he made a pilgrimage to Mont-Saint-Michel to offer his thanks.[38]

The third psychotic episode took place a year and a half later. The Monk reports that the king suddenly developed a great hatred for one of his physicians, Regnault Freron, whom he banished from Paris.[39] Freron had not yet reached Cambrai, his chosen place of exile, when the king suffered his relapse. The Monk does not say when this episode began, but in the previous and following chapters, he discusses events of August 1395. It is unlikely, however, that the king's relapse took place so early, for his involvement with governmental business is well documented until October 29.[40]

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Charles must have fallen ill in November. Beginning on November 25 and ending on January 25, religious processions were held to pray for his recovery.[41]

During this psychotic episode, the king recognized all the officers of his household but did not know either the queen or his children. Whenever he saw his or Isabeau's coat of arms in the stained-glass of the windows or painted on the walls, he tried to erase it while performing an undignified dance.[42] He claimed his name was George and that his coat of arms was a lion with a sword thrust through it. Sometimes he ran wildly through the Hôtel Saint-Pol until he was physically exhausted, and to keep him inside, the entrances were walled up. Now and then, however, he enjoyed a period of calm and seemed well enough to attend meetings of the council.[43] At these times he replied to everyone in a relatively normal way,[44] but soon afterwards his manner would change. Shaking and screaming, he would cry out that he was being pursued by enemies.[45] The Monk's statement that he recovered towards the beginning of February[46] is evidently quite accurate, for on February 6, 1396, King Charles went in person to the church of Notre-Dame.[47] Since such visits were made only on special occasions, it is probable that he went to give thanks for his recovery.[48] After this, he became involved in the final arrangements for the marriage of his daughter Isabelle to King Richard II of England.[49]

Charles VI's fourth psychotic episode, which occurred

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exactly one year later,[50] signalled a change in the course of his mental illness. From this time forward, the psychotic episodes that plagued him for the rest of his life were of shorter duration and came more frequently. They seem to have retained the in and out quality of the third episode, for the Monk's extremely precise chronology of the relapses is contradicted by documentary evidence of the king's presence in council during many of these periods. Thus, the course of the disease, as well as its nature, was increasingly misunderstood by the king's contemporaries. To the Monk the symptoms seem to have grown less interesting because of their repetitiveness. When describing the fourth episode, he remarks only that the king's behavior was similar to what was already written in the description of the previous attack.[51] The subsequent episodes must have continued in the same pattern, for only on two other occasions did the Monk pause while mentioning relapses to include details.

The first of these occasions concerned events that happened less than two weeks after the end of the fourth episode. On July 9, 1397, the day following his recovery, King Charles went to the church of Notre-Dame. Then, on July 21, he felt the illness returning. After asking that his knife be removed, he ordered the duke of Burgundy to have the courtiers' knives taken away as well. He suffered such "anxiety" that on the following day he tearfully told the duke and several others he would prefer to perish rather

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than continue to suffer in this way. He begged that if anyone present was responsible for his sickness (by means of witchcraft[52]), he should make him die instead of continuing to torture him. The King recovered from this short episode on July 27.[53]

The Monk's last description of the king's behavior during a psychotic episode appears in a narrative of events of 1405.[54] In November of that year, one of the royal doctors decided to take drastic measures, for during the past five months the king had refused to bathe, to be shaved, to change his clothes or bed linen, and to eat or go to sleep at regular hours. Ten servants in disguise spent three weeks convincing him to change these habits, and when he finally let them change his clothes, they found his body covered with boils and filth. According to the Monk, King Charles recovered towards Christmas and then, after celebrating the Epiphany on January 6, went to visit his daughter Marie in Poissy to try to convince her to leave the nunnery before taking her vows in order to marry a son of the duke of Bar.[55]

The Monk's attribution of five months for the duration of this condition must be questioned, for the king attended at least one meeting of the council each month from July through September.[56] The relatively public nature of these appearances required that he be presentable, and it seems hardly likely that ways would not have been found to prevent him from attending the council if he were in a truly

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disgusting state and refused to clean himself.[57] It is entirely possible that there were times when he was in a disshevelled state while still dealing with the affairs of the kingdom, but such business was probably carried on in a rather private setting. The letters he issued on these occasions would have been subscribed "Par le Roy," if he were alone, and "Par le Roy presents plusieurs chambellans" or "Par le Roy (names of witnesses) presents," if others were present. Periods during which King Charles issued letters only in this type of private setting and did not appear in the council may have been periods when he was particularly neglectful of his personal appearance. In 1405, since only letters signed "Par le Roy" have been found for the period from October to December 23, the king could well have been in the awful physical condition described by the Monk during these three months.[58] Thus, the Monk was exaggerating either Charles VI's neglectful appearance or the length of time he was in such a state. No matter what the king's attitude towards personal hygiene may have been, it is clear that during the entire five-month period mentioned by the Monk, he was never in a totally disabling psychotic state for any great length of time.

The fifteenth-century chronicler Juvenal des Ursins, son of the Jean Jouvenel who became chancellor to the duke of Guyenne, did not accept the Monk's allegation that the king remained in squalor for five months. Juvenal, when speaking of the king's illness, always paraphrased the Monk's

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chronicle, but his version of this episode is significantly different. Not only did Juvenal refrain from assigning any specific length of time to the episode, but also, at the end of his description, he added that although the king often said nothing and only stared at the people who came to see him, whenever Jean Jouvenel appeared, he would say: "Jouvenel, see to it that we waste no time!"[59] It was probably his father, then, who told Juvenal des Ursins the other details that are peculiar to his version of this episode, for example the description of the disguises of the "ten or twelve" men who were sent to frighten the king into submitting to their ministrations. Ignoring the Monk's statement that three weeks were necessary before these men had any success, Juvenal claims the ruse worked immediately, and he alone mentions that when they succeeded in changing the king's clothes, a small piece of metal was discovered hidden next to his skin.[60]

Details of other symptoms which King Charles exhibited during his psychotic episodes can be found in the royal household accounts, where it is mentioned that he threw clothing and other objects into the fire or tore them apart.[61] One account entry records the cleaning of a gown ("houppelande") on which he had urinated.[62]

The chronicles and documents of the time do not, of course, give a total picture of the king's mental illness, but they do provide enough information to categorize his condition. According to the standards set by the American

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Psychiatric Association in its latest edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, called the DSM-III, Charles VI would be diagnosed today a schizophrenic.[63] It is not our purpose here to dwell upon diagnostic terms and attempt to force Charles VI's mental disorder neatly into one of the accepted subcategories of schizophrenia, but in order to go beyond the descriptions given in the chronicles and try to ascertain the level of the king's competence during his periods of remission, it is necessary, first, to offer some information on what is known at the present time about schizophrenia and the behavior of schizophrenics and, then, to see how Charles VI fits into the conventional patterns.

Much progress has been made in understanding schizophrenia since the term was first used in the early years of this century by Eugen Bleuler, who described the disease as a group of related disorders.[64] Today there is no known medical or psychological test to confirm a diagnosis of schizophrenia, and because the disorder is inferred from behavior, multiple or mistaken diagnoses are known to occur.[65] Described in basic terms, schizophrenia is a chronic disorder in which disturbances in thought patterns, in feeling, and in relating to others occur in certain characteristic ways.[66]

Various theories have been proposed concerning the causes of schizophrenia, but it is now generally believed that the disorder occurs as a result of three factors: genetic and

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psychological predispositions and environmental stress.[67] A genetic predisposition is generally thought to be necessary, but it cannot cause schizophrenia by itself. It is not clear what aspects of the multi-faceted disorders that make up schizophrenia are caused or influenced by biochemical factors, but it now appears that multiple neurochemical systems may be abnormal in schizophrenics.[68] The role of stress is also the subject of controversy, and in some cases, stress is even considered an irrelevant factor.[69]

With the DSM-III, the American Psychiatric Association has revised its earlier definitions of the different types of schizophrenic disorders and now limits the types to five: Disorganized (formerly called Hebephrenic), Catatonic, Paranoid, Undifferentiated, and Residual.[70]

The features which are considered essential to the clinical picture of the Disorganized schizophrenic are marked incoherence and flat, inappropriate, or silly affect. Flat affect refers to a lack of expressed or observed emotion. Inappropriate affect is shown when a person's expressed emotion is discordant with the content of his speech. The Disorganized schizophrenic may suffer from delusions, but these are fragmentary and do not have a coherent theme. He is also apt to soil and wet himself.[71] In general his behavior appears childish and silly. His mood is detached but is interrupted now and then by an attitude which appears humorous.[72] Among the associated features common to this type of schizophrenic are grimaces,

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mannerisms, hypochondriacal complaints, extreme social withdrawal, and "other oddities of behavior."[73] The diagnosis of "hebephrenic" was common in the early part of this century, but today, since these symptoms rarely dominate the total picture, a schizophrenic who exhibits them is usually diagnosed "Chronic Undifferentiated."[74]

The Catatonic schizophrenic is characterized by the display of a marked psychomotor disturbance that includes either stupor, excited and apparently purposeless motor activity, maintenance of a rigid posture, voluntary assumption of an inappropriate or bizarre posture, or an apparently motiveless resistance to all instructions or attempts to be moved. Mutism is particularly common to this type of schizophrenic.[75] The unresponsive period may be interrupted by an excited phase in which the Catatonic behaves assaultively, but such "frenzies" are infrequent.[76]

The Paranoid schizophrenic exhibits prominent delusions or hallucinations with a persecutory or grandiose content. Among the associated features of this type are unfocused anxiety, anger, argumentativeness, and violence. Gross disorganization of behavior is relatively rare, and impairment in functioning may be minimal.[77] The hallucinations experienced by the Paranoid are most often auditory, but they may be totally absent in cases where the personality has been fairly well preserved and the delusions well systematized.[78] Schizophrenics of the Paranoid type are more numerous and usually more intelligent, and they often

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remain indefinitely at a stage of illness that is "not much advanced."[79] Various studies suggest that Paranoids are more susceptible to stress than other types.[80] When compared to the Disorganized type, Paranoids are more likely to show complete recovery at some point, to hold a job, and to get married and have children. They are less likely to be seclusive and to have defective memory.[81]

The schizophrenic who is diagnosed Undifferentiated exhibits symptoms that either cannot be classified under any type previously mentioned or else meet the criteria for more than one.[82] Schizophrenics of this type have also been called Chronic Undifferentiated. No one symptom seems to dominate their clinical picture.[83]

The last category, the Residual type, is reserved for cases in which, after at least one episode of schizophrenia, signs of illness persist without prominent psychotic symptoms.[84]

Charles VI may have inherited a genetic factor predisposing to the development of schizophrenia from his mother, Jeanne of Bourbon. In 1373 Queen Jeanne suffered a temporary loss of her "senses and her good memory."[85] Only one chronicle mentions her illness, and how long it lasted is unknown. In July of that year, at the age of 35, Jeanne had given birth to her seventh child, Isabelle, and her mental disorder may have been postpartum Schizophrenia.[86] There was a history of mental illness in the Bourbon family,[87] but whether Jeanne's condition would have become

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chronic is unknown, for she died in 1378 after the birth of another daughter.[88]

The schizophrenic symptoms which Charles VI exhibited in his psychotic episodes appear at first glance to belong to several of the official types. This sort of symptom-overlap from type to type is common among schizophrenics.[89] Since it is unusual to find a person who fits exactly the textbook definition of any one particular type, a diagnosis is made by categorizing the constellation of symptoms dominating the total clinical picture. In the case of Charles VI, where the behavioral descriptions are furnished by his contemporaries, who did not understand mental illness, the incompleteness of the descriptions results in an ambiguity that allows for a certain latitude in the interpretation of his behavior. For that reason, the symptom-overlap appears to be emphasized. A close examination of the king's symptoms, however, enables us to link them to a definite underlying theme: persecutory delusions.

Charles VI's running about wildly in the Hôtel Saint-Pol until he reached a state of exhaustion may seem at first to be an example of the "apparently purposeless" activity called catatonic excitement, which is seen in the behavior of Catatonic schizophrenics, but the fact that the entrances to the Hôtel had to be walled up instead of being locked suggests that the king was trying desperately to escape. The inference may be drawn that he was attempting to flee, prompted by delusional fears. His staring in silence at the

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people who visited him, which Juvenal des Ursins reported, may not have been an instance of the mutism frequently observed in cases of the Catatonic type, for Juvenal mentions that whenever his father, Jean Jouvenel, appeared, the king called him by name and told him to take care that they didn't waste any time.[90] This suggests that the king may have been refusing to speak to certain people either because he felt hostile towards them or because he felt threatened by them, in either case again prompted by delusional fears or ideas.

The king's gestures, mentioned three times by the Monk, at first appear to be the bizarre mannerisms most commonly seen in the behavior of Disorganized schizophrenics, but in order to categorize them as such, more information about them is necessary. The Monk describes them once as "illicitos"[91] and twice as "majestatem regiam dedecentes."[92] The use of the word "illicitos" suggests that they were obscene. Furthermore, the dance the king did whenever he saw his coat of arms and tried to erase it is said to have been performed "inhoneste et displicenter."[93] Thus, the dance appears to have been obscene, as well. There may well be a connection between the king's gestures, his dance, and the hostility and aggression which played an important and continuing role in his illness after the first disastrous episode. Entries in his household accounts mention his tearing up, breaking, and burning things. The king himself was aware of his violence: in 1397, for example, he ordered

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that his knife be taken away. Hostility could also explain Charles' urinating on one of his "houppelandes," especially since only one mention of such an incident has been found.[94]

The Monk's reference to the silly words ("verbis fatuis") uttered by the king in 1392 is difficult to interpret. Does "silly" mean childish, inappropriate, or incoherent? This symptom may not have continued to be a part of the king's clinical picture, for the Monk mentions its occurrence only before the first psychotic episode.

Charles VI's most recurrent symptom seems to have been his delusional beliefs. In his narrative of the third psychotic episode, when describing how the king trembled and screamed that he was pursued by enemies, the Monk implies that this behavior continued intermittently throughout the three-month episode. Another example of the king's persecutory delusions is evident in the "unreasonable" hatred he felt for his chief physician, Regnault Freron, whom he banished from Paris, and a persecutory theme also underlies his delusion that his coat of arms was a lion with a sword thrust through it. This delusion is a good example of the kind of logic used in schizophrenic thought. Arieti gives as one illustration of this logic the identification of the predicate of two premises: a schizophrenic might think, "The Virgin Mary was a virgin; I am a virgin; I am the Virgin Mary."[95] Applying this type of logic to the king's statement, we arrive at an interesting chain of thought.

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It is not strange that Charles VI viewed himself as an animal. Schizophrenics have often been observed to lack a sense of self. In such cases, they feel unreal and unable to meet the standards of being a person, and ultimately they consider themselves nonhuman.[96] The king may have been concretizing feelings of this sort when he saw himself as an animal.[97] His choice of the lion can easily be interpreted as the result of his identification of the predicate of two premises. In the Middle Ages the lion was already called the "king of beasts," and so the king's thoughts would have followed this pattern: "The lion is the king of beasts; I am a king; I am a lion." The image of the lion transfixed by a sword was a visualization of his delusional beliefs of persecution.

The next step in the king's thought pattern would have been prompted by people asking what his name was when he claimed he was not Charles. At this point his thought pattern exhibited another characteristic of schizophrenic logic: reverse order of progression. Arieti gives as an example of this phenomenon the schizophrenic who first decides he is being poisoned and only then discovers an odd taste in his drinking water.[98] Employing reverse order of progression, King Charles used the image of the impaled lion to find his name. Perhaps because the lion was one of the most common heraldic symbols at the time, the image assumed for him the guise of a coat of arms. It should also be noted, however, that Charles VI had a psychotic

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preoccupation with coats of arms, which is illustrated by his attempts to erase his true coat of arms whenever he saw it depicted. Once the impaled lion represented in his mind his coat of arms, he sought to attach the coat of arms to a name, which he would identify as his own. This step is in reverse because the person should exist before his coat of arms does. An impaled beast was always seen in images of Saint George, and although Saint George's dragon was not a lion, to the medieval mind the dragon was the most monstrous creature imaginable and thus accorded marvelously with the king's feelings of being nonhuman. In this way his chain of thought ended with Saint George, again as the result of the identification of the predicate of two premises: "Saint George is associated with an impaled animal; I am an impaled animal; I am Saint George." The king said "George" instead of "Saint George" in response to the question "What is your name?" not because he shied away from claiming sainthood but because "Saint" was a title and not an indigenous part of the name. The argument that King Charles must have been thinking of Saint George is supported by the fact that the name George was extremely rare in France at this time.[99] The fact that he did not abandon his image of the lion when confronted with the dilemma of finding a name to give himself is an example of another common feature of schizophrenic thinking: the tenacity of a prominent idea.[100]

The process of King Charles' selection of the name George exemplifies the definite structural organization of his

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thoughts. Structural organization is very much a part of schizophrenic thinking, and Arieti insists that even the seemingly incoherent "word-salad" of schizophrenics is not merely a whimsical sequence of words.[101] Schizophrenic thinking is now considered an "accentuation of normal response biases," an exaggeration of the tendency of normal people towards certain types of errors, an extreme form of normal thinking.[102]

The persecutory delusions which constitute the underlying theme in Charles VI's clinical picture can be linked to the aggressive behavior he exhibited during various psychotic episodes. Most schizophrenics do not ever behave aggressively. Instead they tend to withdraw when they become confused and disoriented. The ones who do become assaultive usually have a fixed set of delusional ideas.[103] Their aggressive behavior, however, is not predictable.

Researchers have also observed that after the onset of psychosis, symptoms of one schizophrenic type may be momentarily replaced by symptoms of another type: a Paranoid, for example, may go into a catatonic state and then become decatatonized and exhibit paranoid symptoms again.[104] This sort of shift of symptoms is evidently what Charles VI experienced during his first psychotic episode. It is said that the catatonic pattern indicates a fear of one's own possible actions.[105] In the case of Charles VI, his paranoid fear of betrayal caused a violent outburst, during which he killed several people, and then the fear and

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horror engendered by his actions produced a state of catatonic rigidity. It is entirely possible that he could have been aware in the midst of the scene of violence, for even "severely regressed" schizophrenics have later recalled observations made when their behavior appeared "extremely demented."[106]

Charles VI continued to suffer from his mental disorder for 30 years, but during this time there were periods when his contemporaries considered him sane. The essental question is: how sane could he have been at these moments? The studies undertaken today in the field of psychology help to answer this question.

Today schizophrenics respond to treatment in ways that are highly variable. Some are unresponsive, and others recover so completely that they can function as well as they did before their illness.[107] A complete return to "premorbid" functioning is quite rare, however, at this time. The most common course is a continuation of "acute exacerbations" with "increasing residual impairment" between episodes.[108] Chemotherapy is today the usual treatment for schizophrenia, but it does not always work, and some even claim it inhibits "working through the psychosis."[109] A successful recovery depends to some extent on the post-hospitalization environment of the schizophrenic.[110] The factors considered important by the DSM-III for a good prognosis are: "absence of premorbid personality disturbance, adequate premorbid social functioning,

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precipitating events, abrupt onset, onset in mid-life, a clinical picture that involves confusion, and a family history of Affective Disorder.[111]

We can obtain a good picture of Charles VI's premorbid personality by again turning to the chronicles of his time. Preschizophrenics are said to be often slower in attaining "developmental milestones," such as walking and talking, and to have poorer motor coordination. Preschizophrenic boys are frequently aggressive, antisocial, and hostile towards their environment.[112] The premorbid personality of Charles VI, however, seems to have developed along more normal lines.[113]

According to the Monk, Charles VI was a great sportsman in his early years but quickly abandoned his youthful pastimes, archery and spear throwing, for feats of arms.[114] He was an "agile" horseman, and everyone marveled at his skill in military exercises. Juvenal des Ursins recounts that when King Charles was dauphin, his father, Charles V, showed him a rich crown and a helmet and asked him in front of their dinner guests whether he would prefer to be crowned king with the crown or have the helmet and be subject to the perils and fortunes of war.[115] Charles chose the helmet.

Though interested in aggressive exercises, Charles VI was not generally irascible, but he did have a tendency to bear a grudge.[116] He was not antisocial. He spoke with great courtesy and gentleness and was so affable that he even saluted "contemptible" people and spoke to anyone who wished

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to see him. This description does not appear to be an attempt to flatter the king, for the Monk includes, as well, what he considers to be the king's faults: carnal lust, dislike of wearing the official royal costume, the habit of dressing up as a Bohemian or a German, and his breaking with royal tradition by continuing to participate in military games and jousts after having received Holy Unction.[117] Also, the Monk does not refrain from mentioning a detail that could embarrass the king or offend the dignity of kingship: he says that Charles was distressed by his partial baldness and tried to hide it by combing his hair forward from the top of his head.[118]

Although some of King Charles' behavior was unconventional, he was not considered abnormal during his youth. His aggressiveness found a convenient outlet in military games. In view of the fact that he later suffered from persecutory delusions, it is particularly interesting that the Monk describes him in these early years as recollecting "very much" the wrongs done to him as well as the good things.[119] The Monk's accusation of carnal lust is rather vague, and, unfortunately, he is the only chronicler who speaks of this "fault." His accusation is perhaps colored by the fact that, as a monk, he had chosen for himself a life of celibacy. Nevertheless, his perception that there was something unusual in the king's attitude towards sex seems to have been quite accurate. It has now been established that normal maturation of social and sexual

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behavior is usually lacking in preschizophrenics,[120] and Charles VI does appear to have been preoccupied with sex in an abnormal way. Sex certainly played a dominant role both in his selection of a bride and in his later relationship with her.

Charles VI married just before his seventeenth birthday. Although it was customary for kings to rely on portraits and descriptions furnished by ambassadors when selecting a foreign princess to wed, Isabeau of Bavaria was brought from Munich to meet the king in Amiens with no promise that he would actually marry her. Her father was outraged by this procedure, but the only concession made was that neither Isabeau nor the general public was to know the true purpose of her trip.[121] The meeting of July 14, 1385 was brief, and Isabeau, unable to speak French, said nothing to the king.[122] Conversation proved unnecessary, however, for Charles was so attracted to her physically that nothing else mattered, and he insisted on an immediate wedding. It was decided that the ceremony should take place in nearby Arras, but he declared that he had to marry her as soon as possible in Amiens because his excitement was causing him sleepless nights. The wedding took place with little pomp three days after their first meeting.[123] The fact that there was no marriage contract is another example of the king's unconventional behavior. By not arranging to obtain a dowry from her father,[124] Charles VI made Isabeau probably the only queen of France to be married without one. His

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impulsiveness during the arrangement of his marriage illustrates Charles' inability to delay gratification. Instead of considering all aspects of the situation, he reacted only to certain stimuli and thereby restricted his response options.

Charles VI and Isabeau had twelve children, and Charles' continued interest in sex after the onset of his illness is indicated by the fact that seven of the twelve were born after his first psychotic episode. Even during psychotic episodes Charles occasionally had a sexual appetite, but since he sometimes did not recognize the queen and seemed bothered by her presence, it was found expedient to provide him with a mistress of noble birth, Odette de Champdivers, who eventually bore him a thirteenth child.[125]

The ambivalent and psychotic nature of Charles VI's attitude towards his intimate relationship with the queen is illustrated not only by his sporadic inability to recognize her but also by his periodic attempts to erase her coat of arms as soon as he saw it. A passage in the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins seems to confirm that their sexual relations even had the power to cause him enough anxiety to trigger a psychotic episode. While describing the events of March 9, 1408, Juvenal says, "That night the king went to sleep with the queen, and it was said that this was the reason he was afterwards more ill than he had been in the last ten years."[126]

King Charles' ambivalent attitude towards the queen

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accords with a common pattern of schizophrenic behavior. Bleuler saw evidence of ambivalence in even the mildest cases of schizophrenia.[127] Ambivalence and an anxiety born of self-doubt often cause a schizophrenic to withdraw from intimate relationships. The schizophrenic may fear either that he will be unable to "keep up his end of the bargain" and that others will not keep up theirs or that he will be swallowed up because he interprets a complete union as the end of his Self.[128] The schizophrenic's inability to apply his past experiences to present situations makes each human interaction like a "chance meeting with a totally unpredictable outcome."[129] Although intimate relationships were definitely problematic for Charles VI, his withdrawal from them was only periodic and temporary.[130]

Of the other five factors listed by the DSM-III as contributing to a good prognosis, three are clearly present in the case of Charles VI.[131] The information given in the chronicles proves that his psychosis did have an abrupt onset and was triggered by "precipitating events." Also, the onset did come relatively late.[132] His first psychotic episode occurred a few months before his twenty-fourth birthday. One might say that the age of 24 was older in medieval times than it is today, and, moreover, Charles had been forced into adult life very early because he became king in his twelfth year.

These factors combined with the adequate development of Charles VI's preschizophrenic personality make it possible

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to wonder if his schizophrenia ever would have evolved if he had not had Typhoid Fever a few months before his first psychotic episode. His physical weakness after this illness, mentioned by the chroniclers, would have increased his vulnerability to stress. It is important to remember, however, that the role of stress and anxiety in the etiology of schizophrenia is still being explored. Arieti mentions that the anxiety which causes regression in the pathology of schizophrenia is not simply any type of strong anxiety but the anxiety that injures the self-image and is experienced as an "inner danger."[133]

Before his first psychotic episode, Charles VI had been dealing successfully with the stress of being king. In 1388 he had overthrown the tutelage imposed on him by his uncles, and during the four-year period since then, he had proven himself capable of ruling on his own. The stress involved in the events of 1392 was of a different nature and seems to have been rooted in the type of anxiety described by Arieti. The Monk states specifically that King Charles saw the attack on his constable, Clisson, as an attack on himself.[134] The anxiety this caused him was compounded by his interpretation of the duke of Brittany's conduct in the affair and by the voicing of his own fears by the old man who chased after him for a half-hour shouting that he was betrayed.

Charles VI did not have the supportive environment which is considered necessary for a successful recovery.[135] He had

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the satisfaction of being allowed to act with full authority as soon as he emerged from a psychotic episode and seeing his every decision upheld as a royal decree. Nonetheless, the events of his reign provided a continually unsettling atmosphere that could only have exacerbated his persecutory delusions. He faced not only foreign invasions led by Henry V of England, who sought his crown and even used the title "king of France," but also, after 1407, a constant civil war led by rival factions of his royal relatives. This family strife caused chaos among the French nobility. Father turned against son and brother against brother, and the government swayed from one side to the other according to such circumstances as the breaking of a treaty, the refusal to heed a royal ordinance, or the failure to reply to a royal summons. Suspicion of treason was everywhere.

If Charles VI had not suffered from a mental disorder there would have been no such desperate scramble for power on the part of his relatives. The nature of his illness encouraged the conflict even more, for during the periods when he appeared to be able to function normally, he sometimes seemed to grant indiscriminantly whatever was asked.[136] This situation inevitably produced an escalation of greed and hatred.

How sane Charles VI actually was during those periods when his contemporaries considered him healthy will never be known. He made some wise decisions, but the fact that they were wise could have been fortuitous. Charles VI did seem

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to have a notion of the role of kingship and to feel a dutiful concern for his subjects, but such ideas and feelings were likely to become twisted by schizophrenic logic as can be seen in an incident which took place in 1416.

In late June 1416 King Charles scandalized everyone by planning a tournament to celebrate the visit of an ambassador sent by the king of Hungary. A great number of French nobles had been captured or killed in the disastrous battle of Agincourt only 8 months before, and the king's uncle, John, duke of Berry, had died on June 15. Everyone thought that the court should be in mourning and refrain from any festivity, and the rector of the University of Paris appeared before the king with a group of masters to protest his decision. A speech was given by a doctor of theology, Benoit Gencien, who also happened to be a monk in the abbey of Saint-Denis. The chronicler monk from the same abbey wrote that the king was infuriated and replied to Gencien, "I would freely have exposed myself to the utmost danger for the defense of the kingdom, but it did not please the nobles then residing with me. I wish to avoid idleness, as befits royal majesty, and always do something noble. As I am undertaking such things one after the other, I consider that I have an unworthy corrector. Let this suffice as an absolute response to all."[137] The king felt himself to be dutiful, and yet he made an outrageous decision. The tournament took place. The 'noble deeds of chivalry' seem

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to have been confused in his mind with the virtue of nobility desired in a king. This is not a surprising phenomenon, for schizophrenics have a tendency to interpret words not only out of context but also literally when they are intended as metaphors.[138] Schizophrenic thinking was obviously responsible for the king's reply to Gencien, and yet Charles was thought to be in a "sane" period at the time.[139] This incident is an extreme example of the stubborn quality the king's thoughts were capable of assuming, but it is clear that he did not constantly grant whatever was asked of him. Historians have not understood this because some of the main events of Charles VI's reign happened while or because he was agreeable to what was proposed.

The persistence of certain ideas in the king's mind did not always cause him to make unconventional or shocking decisions, and thus many decisions caused by schizophrenic thinking would have been accepted without comment by his contemporaries. Juvenal des Ursins relates an incident which occurred during the royal expedition of 1414 against the duke of Burgundy and which he probably heard about from his father, who accompanied the army as chancellor to the duke of Guyenne. One morning a great lord, tactfully unnamed by Juvenal, came to the king, who had just awakened and was still in bed. After joking with the valet de chambre, the lord slipped his hand under the bed covers and took the king's foot in a gentle clasp. An exchange of amenities followed, and then the lord told the king that the

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army was willing to assault the Burgundian stronghold whenever he gave the order. Negotiations for peace had already begun, but this lord and many others preferred to continue the war. The king replied that the duke of Burgundy wished to surrender the city without an assault and that peace was necessary. The lord persisted, saying that the duke of Burgundy was a traitor and had murdered the king's own brother. King Charles replied that the duke had already been pardoned for this with the consent of his brother's son. The lord then tried to gain his objective by playing on the king's emotions. "Alas, sire," he said, "you will never see your brother again." He was about to say more, but the king interrupted him "rather hotly," saying, "Good cousin, go away. I will see him on the day of the Last Judgment."[140] The negotiations for peace continued by the king's express order.

This incident took place while Charles VI was considered "sane." Here he was firm when pressured and doggedly continued to support the cause of peace. This makes him appear "sane," and yet he retorted that he would see his brother on Judgment Day. At first, such a statement appears to be a witty quip of questionable taste, but, according to Juvenal, the king uttered the words in anger. Instead of seeing humor in the king's remark, then, we should consider it another example of the literal quality of schizophrenic thinking. There is enough evidence of the king's religiosity[141] to say that he would have believed in a

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Judgment Day and thus would have considered that he actually was going to see his brother again. He could, therefore, have spoken here literally and in all seriousness to contradict a statement which was, to him, erroneous. The fact that the king's words seem odd, unfeeling, and out of place makes it all the more likely that they were rooted in schizophrenic thought patterns. If King Charles' statement was the product of schizophrenic thinking, then was his desire for peace, as well? Was it merely coincidental that peace was the "right" cause for him to support? Since he was functioning adequately and supporting the "right" cause, he was considered "sane" at this moment. Juvenal makes no comment on the incident, whereas usually, if something strikes him as odd in the king's behavior, he is ready to insert a comment such as "also he was somewhat hindered by illness."[142]

These examples show how difficult it is to determine how close Charles VI came to his premorbid level of functioning. The chronicler Monstrelet is the only one who specifically stated that Charles VI's mind never regained the competence it had possessed.[143] The contemporary "greffier du Parlement," Nicolas de Baye, said that the king's illness continued "except for certain intervals of recovery of one kind or another."[144] Juvenal des Ursins seems to have believed that King Charles was completely healthy at certain times, for when discussing events of 1411, he remarked, "The king returned to health and was healthy and in good

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condition, and he had good understanding."[145] This opinion was evidently shared by Froissart, who portrayed the king as a competent and sensitive mediator in a certain quarrel between the earl of Derby and the duke of Burgundy in 1399.[146]

It is rare, however, for schizophrenics to return completely to their premorbid level of functioning, and Monstrelet was probably correct in saying that Charles VI did not. It is more important, however, to stress the fact that, whether or not he was at his premorbid level, there were times when he was considered sane. His semblance of sanity was undoubtedly supported by the constant strife between rival political factions that provided an atmosphere in which his contemporaries would have been unable to understand that delusional thinking of a persecutory nature was the real cause of a particular banishment, pardon, grant, cancellation, or nomination.

The disturbance in the ability to concentrate and organize thoughts that makes an individual suffering from even a mild form of schizophrenia appear distracted[147] probably would have made it difficult for Charles VI to resolve complex problems on a continual basis. Like many schizophrenics, his attention may have been extremely variable. It has been noted that while on one occasion schizophrenics might attend and respond quickly, in the same situation on a different occasion, they might fail to respond.[148]

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With time, the behavior of some schizophrenics has been seen to change, but it is impossible to ascertain the existence or extent of change in the case of Charles VI because after 1405 the chroniclers ceased to describe the nature of his symptoms. If he followed the usual pattern, his delusions became less persecutory, his thinking became scattered, and his emotional tone became shallower.[149] The fact that there were no more descriptions of his symptoms after 1405 and that he continued to have moments when he was considered "sane" suggests that his symptoms may have either remained the same or become less dramatic with periods during which his emotional tone became blunted or reached a level where there was no sign of expressed or observed emotion.[150] It is clear that one such period occurred in 1405, when he became very neglectful of his personal appearance and hygiene. Disturbances of affect certainly continued to be a part of Charles VI's clinical picture. In 1406 he was seen to pardon his brother's murderer "benignement et doucement" and do whatever he was asked.[151] Juvenal des Ursins, who reported this, felt compelled, in the face of this lack of brotherly feeling, to comment that the king was "somewhat hindered by illness" at the time.[152]

Under the circumstances Charles VI should never have been totally relied upon to make a good decision, but the fact that he appeared "sane" at various intervals prevented the institution of a regency until Henry V of England married Catherine of France and was declared heir to the French

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throne and regent in 1420, two years before Charles VI died. There was no fine line of demarcation always visible to distinguish King Charles' schizophrenic thought patterns from "sane" ones. Thus, when he appeared able to function, he was allowed to have full power. This policy caused great confusion and destroyed any equilibrium the government otherwise might have achieved. He was always there to undo what others had done. In certain instances this benefited the kingdom, but usually the good was only temporary, soon to be undone by another royal decision. Because of the king's condition, Louis, duke of Guyenne, heir to the throne from 1401 until the end of 1415, found himself to be an increasingly important focal point of the machinations of the country's rival factions. Louis was also the principal hope for the salvation of the monarchy in its traditional form, and his own gradual awareness of this fact is evident in his development of a personal governmental policy.

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NOTES

(1) This idea was reinforced for modern historians by the works of Alfred Coville, whose scholarly career began in the 1880's and ended in 1942. Coville's views received great consideration because he held several positions of importance. He was, for example, president of the Comite des Travaux Historiques and also of the Société de l'Histoire de France. Ernest Lavisse, editor of the popular but respected collection entitled Histoire de France illustrée, published in 1911 in nine volumes, invited Coville to write the volume on the Hundred Years War. After his death, Coville's interpretation of Charles VI's role was propagated but simplified by Edouard Perroy, whose much used work on the Hundred Years War was first published in 1945. Perroy described King Charles as merely "the plaything of every kind of intrigue, a poor puppet." (E. Perroy, The Hundred Years War, trans. W.B. Wells, New York, 1965, pp. 194-95)

(2) There are no recent studies of Charles VI's mental disorder. The most useful work on the subject is a chapter by Auguste Brachet in his Pathologie mentale des rois de France, Paris, 1903, pp. 593-650. The following are of limited interest: J. Audry, La Folie du roi Charles VI, Lyon, 1888; F. Bird, "Geschichte der Geistkrankheit Carls VI Königs von Frankreich," Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und ihre Grenzgebiete, V (1848), 569-79; A. Chéreau, "De la maladie de Charles VI, roi de France, et des médecins qui ont soigné ce prince," L'Union Medicale, XIII (1862); E. Dupré, "La Folie de Charles VI," Revue des Deux Mondes, 1910, 835-66; J. Lévy-Valensi, "La Folie de Charles VI," Aesculape, XXII (1932); 73-79, Dr. Lizé, "Déscription et nature de la maladie de Charles VI," Bulletin de la Société d'Agriculture de la Sarthe, XXI (1871-72), 345-57; L. Mirot, "Un Essai de guérison de Charles VI en 1403," Revue des Questions Historiques, XCI (1912), 96-100; J. Saltel, La Folie du roi Charles VI, Toulouse, 1907.

(3) The chronicler monk of Saint-Denis has been identified as Michel Pintoin, chantre of the abbey. (N. Grévy-Pons and E. Ornato, "Qui est l'auteur de la chronique latine de Charles VI dite du religieux de Saint-Denis?" Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, CXXXIV (1976), 85-102. For material on Froissart, see volume 1 of his Oeuvres, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1866; F.H. Shears, Froissart, Chronicler and Poet, London, 1930; M. Wilmotte, Froissart, Bruxelles, 1948; D. Ciurea, "Jean Froissart et la société franco-anglaise du XIVe siècle," Le Moyen Age, LXXVI (1970), 275-84; P.

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Archambault, Seven French Chroniclers, Witnesses to History, Syracuse, 1974, pp. 59-72.

(4) See the references to other chroniclers later in this chapter. Most of the extant royal household accounts for this period form part of the KK series in the Archives Nationales.

(5) The relevant passages in Froissart and Brandon are quoted by Brachet, pp. 621-24. Lehoux, unaware that the duke of Berry was among the sick, says that all trace of him is lost for the next two months but signals his presence in Beauvais, where the king had been taken in a litter in order to remove him from the vicinity of the other victims. (F. Lehoux, Jean de France, duc de Berry, Paris, 1966-68, II, 286) Brandon mistakenly reports that Philip of Bar died from the disease. Actually, Philip disappeared during the battle of Nicopolis in Turkey in 1396. He was probably killed, but none of the survivors knew what had happened to him, and several fruitless attempts were made to discover the truth. Brandon may have mistaken Philip for his brother Charles of Bar, who did die in 1392. (V. Servais, Annales du Barrois, Bar-le-Duc, 1865-67, II, 157 n.b) If it is true, however, that Charles did not die until the end of 1392, as Baudot claims, it probably was Philip who fell ill in Amiens. (J. Baudot, Les Princesses Yolande et les ducs de Bar de la famille de Valois, Paris, 1900, p. 51) In that case, Brandon's error was the association of Philip's illness with Charles' death because both events took place in the same year. It is known that both Philip and Charles went to Amiens with the king in 1392. (A. Janvier, Passages et séjours de Charles VI à Amiens, Amiens, 1897, p. 6)

(6) On the way to Beauvais, the king stopped in Coucy on April 9. (E. Petit, "Séjours de Charles VI," Bulletin Historique et Philologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1893, p. 455) Froissart mentions that as soon as he was well, the king went to hunt in Gisors. (J. Froissart, Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XIV, 390) The earliest date given in the king's household accounts for his presence in Gisors is May 9, 1392. (AN, KK 23, fol. 175)

(7) Froissart's statement that the king returned to Paris around the time of the Ascension (May 27) is confirmed by documentary evidence. The king was in his council in Paris on May 28, 1392. (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII), fol. 95) Petit's itinerary (p. 455) gives

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no source but lists the king in Paris on May 27.

(8) Froissart's statement that there was a fete at the Hôtel Saint-Pol that night and that Clisson left after midnight does not coincide with the facts given in a letter of pardon issued by the king. (See the discussion in J. Pichon, Mémoire sur Pierre de Craon, Paris, 1860, pp. 14-18) The accomplices, besides several of Pierre's servants, were Binnables de Tusse and Jehan de Champchevrier (both knights), Guillaume de Tusse, Pierre de Creste, Jehan de Hubines, Poncelet le Maire, and Adam d'Avelus (all squires). (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5865 (Menant I), fol. 128)

(9) "plaies...en pluseurs parties de son corps" (AN, K 54, no. 20).

(10) Froissart, XV, 27.

(11) "velut vir non sane mentis, verbis fatuis utendo, gestus eciam majestatem regiam dedecentes exercuerat inter eos" (Religieux de Saint-Denis, Chroniques, II, 18, herafter cited as RSD).

(12) Froissart, XV, 32. Froissart had been in Paris during the attempt on Clisson's life, but he did not go on the expedition to Brittany. He relied on others for the details of the king's first psychotic episode, and his version differs somewhat from the Monk's. Froissart's main source was apparently his friend the lord of Coucy. He describes where and with whom Coucy rode in the march and later gives many details about the doctor who was also a friend of Coucy and who attended the king after he was taken to Creil. The friendship between Froissart and Coucy had developed many years earlier. In 1378 Coucy had composed a "roll of supplications," which he then sent to Pope Clement VII, asking him to provide certain benefices for ten of his "relatives, servants and familiars," and among them was Jean Froissart, for whom he requested a canonry in the church of Saint-Pierre in Lille. (K. Hanquet, "Documents relatifs au grand schisme," (vol. 1: suppliques de Clement VII 1378-79) Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, VIII (1924), p. 209) The pope granted this benefice to Froissart on Nov. 21, 1378. (K. Hanquet and D. U. Berlière, "Documents relatifs au grand schisme," (vol. 2: lettres de Clement VII 1378-79) Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, XII (1930), p. 113) In his poem on certain events of 1389, "Le Dit du

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Florin," Froissart made a humorous reference to the fact that he was still not in possession of the canonry, saying that Coucy was responsible for his troubles as well as for his nomination to the canonry because that nomination had cost him 100 florins and had profited him nothing. The tone of the entire poem is humorous, but Froissart made sure the reader would understand that he was only teasing Coucy by saying that they were good friends ("prives et acointes") and by describing Coucy as "nobles, gentilz et cointes." (J. Froissart, "Dits" et "Debats", ed. A Fourrier, Geneva, 1979, "Le Dit du Florin," lines 444-58) Coucy enjoyed Froissart's company so much that he invited him to go on a short trip with him in 1389. (Froissart, XIV, 3-4)

(13) "Non progrediaris ulterius, insigne rex, quia cito prodendus es." (RSD, II, 20) Froissart (XV, 37) attributes to the man these words: "Roy, ne chevauche plus avant, mais retourne, car tu es trahy."

(14) Froissart, XV, 37.

(15) Froissart's version (XV, 36-48) contains many details. He mentions that the vermilion colored lance enveloped with silk which the page dropped was one of the ones that the lord of La Riviere had brought back from Toulouse as a gift for the king. The Monk calls the lance a sword and does not describe it. Froissart notes the positions in the procession of thirteen important people and explains how they separated on the sandy plain and who rode with whom. This information was probably given to him by Coucy, one of the thirteen mentioned. The Monk, though in the procession, was surely not in the front with the great nobles and thus may not have seen the first manifestations of the king's psychotic behavior. It is curious that although the Monk states specifically that the king killed four men in addition to (not "including" as Bellaguet (RSD, II, 21) says) Polignac, Froissart says he never heard that in this fit of madness the king killed anyone. The Monk was certainly in a better position to know if there were any fatalities, for on account of his religious status, he would have been involved with prayers for the dead and burial arrangements. Froissart admits that several people were struck down, however, because no one made any defense, and it is possible that his statement that none of them died was the result of a cover-up by Coucy and the other leaders. Froissart himself was not the sort of person to indulge in hiding truths, no matter how tragic or

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sordid (cf. his account of the filicide committed by the count of Foix, whom he much admired and praised (XI, 98-100)).

(16) Froissart (XV, 42) did not know that the king's sword broke and attributed his capture to exhaustion. The Monk (II, 20), however, by saying that the king would have caused even more damage if his sword had not been broken, implies he was not at all exhausted.

(17) Froissart, XV, 42.

(18) RSD, II, 20.

(19) Froissart, XV, 46.

(20) RSD, II, 24.

(21) Louis of Orléans, who accompanied Charles VI to Creil, was still in Le Mans on Aug. 21, 1392. (E. Jarry, La Vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans, Paris, 1889, p. 95 n.5) They stopped in Chartres on Aug. 25. (Ibid., p. 95)

(22) Froissart (XV, 48) says that the king's condition was concealed for some time from the queen because she was pregnant. This was probably not the case, for Isabeau had given birth to the dauphin Charles on Feb. 6, 1392. Unless she had a miscarriage, her next child was Marie, born Aug. 22, 1393. (D. Godefroy, Histoire de Charles VI, Paris, 1653, p. 731. See also Anselme, Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, Paris, 1726-33, I, 114-15.)

(23) Guillaume de Harcigny resided in Laon, where he died in 1393 at the age of 93. He wrote an account of his travels through Italy, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt and composed treatises of scientific or medical interest. A manuscript containing his treatises on remedies for various wounds and maladies, the composition of water, artificial fire, the properties of precious stones, and the elements of Nature used to be in the Archives départementales de l'Aisne in Laon but disappeared, it seems, in the nineteenth century. (Pénant, "Guillaume de Harcigny médecin du roi Charles VI," Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Vervins ("La Thiérache"), III,

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12) A manuscript in the library of Torino (L IV.17), damaged in the fire of 1904, contained a "Receptes et Medecines" extracted from Guillaume's work and also his treatise entitled "Le Jugement des orines." (J. Camus, "La Seconde Traduction de la Chirurgie de Mondeville," Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Francais, XXVIII (1902), 111-12) Apparently the section of this manuscript which contained Guillaume's work was completely destroyed by the fire. A manuscript in the library of Saint-Quentin (Ms. 107) contains latin verses on medecine composed by Guillaume, which begin: "Noverint me universi Guillelmum qui possum dici..." (fols. 211-22). (L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, A Catalog of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin, Cambridge, 1963, col. 955) According to Froissart (XV, 48), Guillaume was a friend of the lord of Coucy. For more about Guillaume, see E. Fleury, "La Tombe de Guillaume de Harcigny," Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon, III; E. Fleury, "Notice sur Guillaume de Harcigny medecin de Charles VI," Ibid., VI (1857); Thillois, "Étude biographique sur Guillaume de Harcigny," Ibid., VI (1857) (text of his testament); E. Wickersheimer, Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge, Paris, 1936, I, 246-47.

(24) "tres bien sain en sa personne et du tout gari" (Jarry, Vie, p. 98 n.2).

(25) RSD, II, 34.

(26) Froissart, XV, 44.

(27) Froissart, XV, 48-49.

(28) Petit, "Sejours," p. 459.

(29) RSD, II, 86.

(30) Froissart, XV, 127. While in Abbeville, Froissart decided to go to England and left the city to get letters of introduction to King Richard from the duchess of Brabant and others. He sailed from Calais on July 12, 1393. (Ibid., 140-42)

(31) Froissart, XV, 126.

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(32) RSD, II, 86-88.

(33) RSD, II, 86-88.

(34) RSD, II, 92.

(35) AN, P 15, no. 5259.

(36) BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III), fol. 187.

(37) BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III), fol. 186v.

(38) Charles VI was at Mont-Saint-Michel on Feb. 15, 1394 and founded a chapel there, which he endowed with a yearly income of 100 livres. (S. Luce, Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel, p. 18 n.3, Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, ed. E.J. de la Laurière, D.F. Secousse, and others, Paris, 1723-1847, VII, 590-91; AN, JJ 145, no. 369)

(39) RSD, II, 404.

(40) On Aug. 24, 1395, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orleans made their official report to Charles VI about the trip they had made to Avignon in an effort to resolve the problem of the schism of the church. On the next day, the king received deputies from the University of Paris. (Lehoux, II, 344) According to Bonaccorso Pitti, an ambassador to the French court from Florence, the king went to Mont-Saint-Michel in September. (Ibid., 349) During this same month, Charles VI sent two of his physicians and one of his surgeons to treat the count of Nevers, who had broken his shoulder. (E. Petit, Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne, Paris, 1888, p. 551) The king presided at meetings of the council on Sept. 27 (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III), fol. 192v) and on Oct. 4 (BN, P.O. 1868 Martel 43058, no. 38). On Oct. 29 he gave his brother and three uncles the power to arrange a marriage between his daughter Isabelle and King Richard of England. (Lehoux, II, 351 n.1)

(41) Lehoux, II, 351 n.1.

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(42) "inhoneste et displicenter saltando" (RSD, II, 404).

(43) One of these periods of calm took place on Dec. 22, 1395, when the king received in person the homage of one of his vassals. (AN, P 15, no. 5270) During the first days of December, the duke of Burgundy had written to his wife that the king had been ill for awhile ("une piece de temps") but was now beginning to improve ("amender"). (F. Quicke, "Documents concernant la politique des ducs de Brabant et de Bourgogne dans le duche de Limbourg et les terres d'Outremeuse pendant la seconde moitie du XIVe siecle (1364-1396)," Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, XCIII (1929), 170)

(44) "modeste satis ad cuncta respondebat" (RSD, II, 404).

(45) RSD, II, 404.

(46) RSD, II, 408.

(47) Lehoux, II, 351 n.1, with reference to AN, LL 270, fols. 29-29v.

(48) The fact that the visits of the royal family to Notre-Dame were reserved for special occasions is proven by the canons' habit of recording them in their registers. (See AN, LL series)

(49) L. Mirot, Isabelle de France, reine d'Angleterre, comtesse d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Orléans 1389-1409, Paris, 1905, pp. 27-28.

(50) February 24-July 8, 1397 (RSD, II, 528 & 544).

(51) RSD, II, 528.

(52) The prevalent idea that the king had been bewitched dates from his first psychotic episode. During the third episode, rumors accusing the duchess of Orléans of bewitching him were powerful enough to make her leave Paris. In 1397, when the king begged to be put

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out of his misery, there were two sorcerers at court, sent from Guyenne by the marshal of Sancerre in order to break the spell that supposedly held him captive. (RSD, II, 542-46) These sorcerers caused much trouble in Paris with their accusations against various people, and they were finally beheaded on Oct. 30, 1398. (Ibid., 662-68) In 1403 two other sorcerers were burned to death in Dijon after attempting to cure the king (long distance) by their art. (Ibid., III, 114-16)

(53) RSD, II, 544.

(54) RSD, III, 348.

(55) RSD, III, 348. The Monk's accuracy in describing the events of December and January can be documented. The king reappeared in the council on Dec. 23, 1405. (BN, P.O. 3032 Vitry de Paris, no. 17) He was in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Poissy for a day and a half beginning on the evening of Jan. 11. (AN, KK 31, pp. 29-30) The queen was also in Poissy during January. (AN, KK 46, fol. 111) She left Paris on Jan. 10, slept that night in Saint-Cloud (ibid., fol. 112v), and then must have joined the king. She was back in Paris by Jan. 17. (Ibid.)

(56) Charles VI attended the council on July 31, 1405 (AN, JJ 162, fol. 59), Aug. 12 (AN, JJ 160, microfilm with folio numbers not photographed), and Sept. (exact day not given in the document) (ibid.).

(57) Note that during this period personal hygiene was important to the upper classes in France. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, for example, purchased in 1388 a house adjacent to his ducal residence in Dijon and established an "estuves" (baths) there. (E. Petit, Entrée du roi Charles VI à Dijon sous Philippe-le-Hardi, fêtes et réjouissances en Bourgogne, février 1390, Dijon, 1885, pp. 45 ff.) Duke Philip is known to have scented his bath with rose water, powdered violets, and other aromatics. (Ibid., p. 49) Rose water was also commonly used in the Middle Ages to cleanse the hands before and after meals. (P.J.B. Le Grand d'Aussy, Histoire de la vie privée des françois depuis l'origine de la nation jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1815, II, 244) For a description of items bought in May 1401 for the "estuves" in the queen's Hôtel Barbette in Paris, see AN, KK 42, fol. 25v. It is known that during the reign of Charles VI lead pipes brought

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running water inside certain Parisian houses. In 1385 Pierre de Giac, who lived near the royal Hôtel Saint-Pol, was permitted to pipe water from the king's fountain to his own residence. (F. Bournon, "L'Hôtel royal de Saint-Pol," Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, VI (1879), 108) In 1402 the Celestine monks, who also lived nearby, received a similar authorization. (Ibid., p. 109) Various household accounts furnish a number of details about bathing. The accounts of Philip the Bold mention an item that was lost when Charles VI bathed at the duke's house in Conflans during a visit there in 1390. (B. & H. Prost, Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363-1477), II, Paris, 1908-13, no. 3381) Philip's accounts also record the purchase of bath towels for his son John the Fearless. (Ibid., no. 3560) On bathing habits in the Middle Ages, see Dr. Cabanès, Moeurs intimes du passé (deuxième série): la vie aux bains, Paris, 1909. Cabanes (p. 182) also describes the public baths of medieval Paris, where prices were set by the provost of the city, and he notes the increase in rates from 1371 to 1400. These baths were open every day except Sunday and holidays. (Ibid., p. 184)

(58) There are letters signed "Par le Roy..." for the following dates: Nov. 16, 1405 (AN, JJ 160, microfilm), Nov. 17 & 22 (ibid.), Dec. 11 (ibid.), Dec. 14 (BN, P.O. 765 Cintray, no. 10), and Dec. 18 (AN, JJ 160, microfilm). There were chamberlains present on all these dates except Nov. 17 & 22. For the earlier period, when Charles VI was attending sessions of the council, letters subscribed "Par le Roy" with mention of chamberlains present exist for: July 22, 1405 (AN, JJ 160, microfilm), Aug. 9 (ibid.), Aug. 26 (AN, P 15, no. 5337), Sept. 3 (AN, P 15, no. 5340), Sept. 22 (AN, JJ 160, microfilm), and Oct. (two letters without the exact day) (ibid.).

(59) Juvenal des Ursins, Histoire de Charles VI, ed. D. Godefroy, Paris, 1653, p. 177.

(60) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 177.

(61) Brachet, pp. 635-36.

(62) AN, KK 26, fol. 102.

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(63) DSM-III, ed. American Psychiatric Association, 1980, pp. 188-90.

(64) K.F. Bernheim and R. Lewine, Schizophrenia, New York, 1979, p. 5.

(65) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 7. See also W.M. Mendel, Schizophrenia. The Experience and Its Treatment, London & San Francisco, 1976, pp. 2-3.

(66) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 8.

(67) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 17-20.

(68) M.B. Bowers, jr., "Biochemical Processes in Schizophrenia: an Update," Schizophrenia Bulletin, VI (1980), 393 & 396.

(69) S. Spring, "Stress and Schizophrenia: Some Definitional Issues," Schizophrenia Bulletin, VII (1981), 25.

(70) DSM-III, pp. 190-93.

(71) G.A. Kimble and N. Garmezy, Principles of General Psychology, New York, 1963, p. 539.

(72) S. Arieti, Interpretation of Schizophrenia, New York, 1974, pp. 37-38.

(73) DSM-III, p. 190.

(74) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 44.

(75) DSM-III, pp. 190-91.

(76) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 43.

(77) DSM-III, p. 191.

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(78) Arieti, p. 36.

(79) Arieti, pp. 34-36.

(80) M.B. Bowers, jr., p. 399.

(81) M.T. Tsuang and G. Winokur, "Criteria for Subtyping Schizophrenia," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXXI (1974), 45.

(82) DSM-III, pp. 191-92.

(83) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 40.

(84) DSM-III, p. 192.

(85) "son bon sens et son bon memoire" (Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, ed. S. Luce, Paris, 1861, p. 244, quoted by Brachet, p. 601).

(86) For a description of Postpartum Schizophrenia, see Arieti, pp. 181-96. For Jeanne's age, see Anselme, I, 110.

(87) Brachet, p. 594.

(88) R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, V, Paris, 1931, p. 120.

(89) Tsuang and Winokur (pp. 43-47) showed that the only symptoms found in Disorganized schizophrenics but not in Paranoids were catatonic traits. All other symptoms were present in both, and only the degree of persistence differed in each.

(90) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 177.

(91) RSD, II, 92.

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(92) RSD, II, 18 & 86.

(93) RSD, II, 404.

(94) AN, KK 26, fol. 102.

(95) Arieti, pp. 230-31.

(96) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 51 & 58.

(97) For the description of a Paranoid schizophrenic concretizing images of people as animals, trees, or buildings, see H.F. Searles, "The Differentiation between Concrete and Metaphysical Thinking in the Recovering Schizophrenic Patient," in his Collected Papers on Schizophrenia and Related Subjects, New York, 1965.

(98) Arieti, p. 244.

(99) Among several hundred members of the king's household in 1395 or earlier, none seem to have been named George. (See the lists of officers of the royal household in Godefroy, pp. 708-24) In later years Charles VI had as chamberlains George, baron of Clère, and George, lord of La Trémoille. I know of no other incidences of the name George in the nobility of northern France during the reign of Charles VI.

(100) Arieti, p. 224.

(101) Arieti, p. 230.

(102) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 25-26.

(103) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 156.

(104) Arieti, p. 397.

(105) Arieti, p. 396.

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(106) Kimble and Garmezy, p. 538. See also F. Fromm-Reichmann's description of a patient who was in despair over a violent action she had just committed in "Transference Problems in Schizophrenia," Psychoanalytic Quarterly, VIII, 412-26.

(107) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 172-73.

(108) DSM-III, p. 185.

(109) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 209.

(110) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 204-06.

(111) DSM-III, p. 185. See also H. Kind, "Prognosis," The Schizophrenic Syndrome, ed. L. Bellak and L. Loeb, New York, 1969, pp. 714-34.

(112) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 119-20.

(113) Brachet (p. 617) uses entries from household accounts of 1383 that mention the king's writing out of "examples" as proof of retarded mental development. This is absurd. Clearly Brachet did not understand that in medieval times the word "exemplum" was used in reference to the examples quoted by philosophers to prove certain statements. Such examples would not have been unusual fare for study by a fifteen-year-old. The king's "examples" might also have referred to rules of Latin sentence construction. The elegant and artistic signature used by Charles VI before 1392 does not coincide with Brachet's idea that his mental development was retarded. Note that after the onset of the king's schizophrenia, his signature changed. See the plate in Brachet facing p. 632.

(114) RSD, I, 564.

(115) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 4.

(116) RSD, I, 564.

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(117) RSD, I, 566.

(118) RSD, I, 564.

(119) "quamvis beneficiorum et injuriarum valde recolens extiterit" (RSD, I, 564). An example of Charles VI's bearing an unreasonable grudge is given by another chronicler. At a time before he became king, Charles saw the cardinal of Amiens at court one day and proceeded to cross himself several times, saying, "Chase away this devil, flee from this devil!" The cardinal was amazed and angry. The king asked Charles who told him the cardinal was a devil, but the boy refused to divulge any names and replied merely, "Everyone says it." (Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, p. 283, quoted by Brachet, p. 615) Juvenal des Ursins was apparently unaware of this story but said that in 1380, after he became king, Charles VI, having hated the cardinal of Amiens ever since he was dauphin, sought revenge. According to Juvenal (p. 5), people attributed this hatred to the fact that the cardinal had been rude to him "in several ways" when he was dauphin.

(120) M.B. Bowers, jr., p. 400.

(121) Froissart states (X, 348) that the general public did not know the purpose of Isabeau's trip to Amiens, and he implies (x, 350) that Isabeau herself did not know by omitting her name from the small list of persons who, he said, did know.

(122) For the date, see M. Thibault, Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France: la jeunesse (1370-1405), Paris, 1903, pp. 56-57.

(123) Froissart's account of the wedding is accurate. The Monk, on the other hand, expurgated all details of the unusual circumstances and made it sound like any other normal and magnificent royal wedding. He even said that the king chose Isabeau after seeing her portrait. (RSD, I, 356-60)

(124) M. Rey, Les finances royales sous Charles VI: les causes du déficit (1388-1413), Paris, 1965, p. 173.

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(125) Odette is called "Oudinette de Champdivers" in a reference to the king's gift to her for life of the "péage de Saint-Jean-de-Losne" in 1418 for services rendered to his daughter Jeanne, duchess of Brittany. (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5877 (Menant XIII), fol. 136, with reference to Memorial H, fol. 111v) As there is no mention of an Oudinette in the duchess' service after she left the royal court in 1405 to reside with her husband in Brittany, the king's mistress must be the person referred to in the queen's accounts simply as "Oudinette," Jeanne's "femme de chambre" in 1398 (AN, KK 45, fol. 26), 1399 (ibid., fol. 57v), 1402 (ibid., fol. 155v), and 1403 (AN, KK 46, fol. 19v). In 1423 Oudinette and Margaret, her daughter by the king, retired to Saint-Jean-de-Losne. (L. Cerf, L'Histoire vue par un médecin: héritiers et bâtards des rois: les Valois, Paris, 1939, p. 84) In 1425 Margaret went to live at the court of Charles VII, who legitimized her in 1428 and married her to Jean de Harpedenne. (Ibid., pp. 85-86) For the date of 1425, see J. Techener, Catalogue analytique des archives de M. le baron de Joursanvault, Paris, 1838, II, no. 3508.

(126) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 191.

(127) Kimble and Garmezy, p. 537.

(128) Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 63-64. See also chapter 4 in Mendel.

(129) Mendel, p. 45.

(130) The ambivalent nature of their relationship was probably one of the reasons why Isabeau did not continually reside with the king. In Paris, she owned a separate house, the Hôtel Barbette. (See her household accounts at the AN in the KK series) She also made extended sojourns at one or another of her properties outside the city. The castle of Melun appears to have been one of her favorite residences. The royal children usually lived with her but at other times stayed in an establishment of their own. For the queen's travels, see Y. Grandeau, "Itinéraire d'Isabeau de Bavière," Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1964, pp. 569-670. The king, then, was not constantly exposed to the members of his immediate family and in that way was protected from the kind of familial stress much studied today. He was perhaps

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protected from this same stress also by his rank, which demanded that even his family observe certain forms of etiquette in his presence. On familial stress, see C.M. Anderson, G.E. Hogarty, and D.J. Reiss, "Family Treatment of Adult Schizophrenic Patients: A Psycho-Educational Approach," Schizophrenia Bulletin, VI, pp. 490-505. On the nature of Charles VI's relations with his brother, see the last note to this chapter.

(131) The factors for which there is no information in the case of Charles VI are confusion and a family history of Affective Disorder.

(132) Tsuang and Winokur studied 112 Hebephrenics and 49 Paranoids and found the median age at admission to hospital to be 25 for Hebephrenics and 31 for Paranoids. They quoted another study, which found the median age of "onset" to be 25.3 for Paranoids and 21.5 for non-Paranoids. (p. 45) They then suggested that age be one of the criteria for choosing whether to diagnose a schizophrenic as Paranoid or Hebephrenic, 25 being the separation line. (p. 47)

(133) Arieti, p. 222.

(134) RSD, II, 6.

(135) See the article by Anderson et al. mentioned above.

(136) See, for example, the discussion of the events of May 1403 in Chapter 2.

(137) RSD, VI, 16-18.

(138) Searles, pp. 560-61; and Bernheim and Lewine, p. 108.

(139) The Monk, who is always careful to mention when the king was ill, makes no reference here to a relapse and goes on to give the particulars of the embassy. He states that the king was present in the council during the proceedings. (RSD, VI, 16-18)

(140) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 283.

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(141) Juvenal des Ursins (p. 106) states that Charles VI was "continually" making "orisons and prayers" because he hoped to cure his illness through the intercession of Saint Denis (the patron saint of France).

(142) "Aussi estoit-il aucunement empesche de maladie." (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 191)

(143) E. de Monstrelat, Chronique, ed. Douet-d'Arcq, Paris, 1857-62, I, 8.

(144) "hors aucuns intervalles de resipiscence telle quelle" (N. de Baye, Journal de Nicolas de Baye, ed. A. Tuetey, Paris, 1885-88, I, 137)

(145) "Le Roy retourna en sante et fut sain, en bon poinct, bon sens et entendement." (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 238)

(146) Froissart, XVI, 147-48.

(147) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 24. Studies show that certain schizophrenics perform poorly when exposed to several stimuli at once; unable to attend selectively, they are overrun both by thoughts and feelings from within and by stimulation from without. (Bernheim and Lewine, pp. 28-30. See also Chapter 3 in K. Salzinger, Schizophrenia: Behavioral Aspects, New York, 1973, pp. 86-100) Their thoughts may happen to be connected only because they occur at the same time, a characteristic which can make them respond to a question with a totally irrelevant idea. (Bernheim and Lewine, p. 27. For an example, see Salzinger, p. 67)

(148) Bernheim and Lewine, p. 107. Arieti (p. 228) says that the loss of the faculty of focal attention and of the ability to screen out irrelevant material applies to Hebephrenics, whereas Paranoids "show little evidence of this disorder."

(149) Arieti, p. 245. According to Mendel (p. 123), the crises generally occur more frequently in the first decade of chronic schizophrenia. See also M. Bleuler, "The Long-Term Course of the Schizophrenic Psychoses,"

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Psychological Medecine, 1974, no. 4, 244-54.

(150) A person who exhibits a lack of signs of expressed or observed emotion is said to show a flat affect. Among the symptoms of flat affect are a lack of facial expression and a monotonous tone of voice. The individual may complain of having no feelings. (DSM-III, p. 183) Today schizophrenics have been known to stop taking their medication periodically in order to provoke a psychotic episode deliberately because they miss the feelings they remember having had during past episodes. (Bernheim and Lewine, p. 61)

(151) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 191.

(152) "aucunement empesche de maladie" (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 191) Charles VI's reaction to his brother's murder may have been complicated by other factors, as well, for their relationship seems to have been problematic. Although Charles showered Louis with gifts of money, paid many of his expenses (which were entered in the king's own accounts in early years), and at times even ordered identical clothes for them to wear, there is evidence that he had ambivalent feelings towards him. Louis was the second person he tried to attack during his first psychotic episode in 1392, and in 1405 King Charles stubbornly refused to name him governor of Normandy despite Louis' efforts to convince him to do so (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 173).

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CHAPTER II

THE FRAGMENTATION OF ROYAL AUTHORITY

Louis, duke of Guyenne, the eighth child of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, was born between 8:00 and 9:00 PM on January 22, 1397 in the king's preferred Parisian residence, the Hôtel Saint-Pol.[1] At the time of his birth, Louis was not the heir to the throne, for he had one older brother still living, Charles, born on February 6, 1392.[2] While Charles lived, Louis was given no apanage and was referred to simply as "Monseigneur Loys de France."[3] Just before his fourth birthday, Louis' destiny changed. His brother Charles, the dauphin, died on January 11, 1401, the victim of a two-month illness that had shriveled his body to skin and bones.[4] Charles was buried on January 13 in the abbey of Saint-Denis, and on the following day the king gave Louis, the new dauphin, the duchy of Guyenne, which he now raised to the status of a peerage.[5]

Several months later, the choice of Louis' future bride became a subject of international intrigue. Before April, the king's brother Louis, duke of Orléans, obtained from Charles VI a promise that the duke of Guyenne would marry the first daughter born in the future to Valentina Visconti, duchess of Orléans, and, conveniently, Valentina gave birth in April, at the castle of Coucy, to Marie of Orléans.[6] This child's early death, and the fact that no daughter was born

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to Valentina in the next few years made it impossible for Louis of Orléans to withstand the fierce opposition to the king's promise.[7] In May 1401 the new emperor-elect, Robert of Bavaria, sent Queen Isabeau, who was his third cousin, one of his secretaries to explain to her that a marriage between the heir to the French throne and a member of the Orléans family was not in the interest of the house of Bavaria and that a granddaughter of the duke of Burgundy should be chosen instead.[8]

Isabeau, now just over 30 years of age,[9] had a great sense of duty to her relatives, and her first steps into the world of French politics were taken to further the interests of the house of Bavaria.[10] She also appears to have felt much obliged to Philip of Burgundy because he had been chiefly responsible for her marriage.[11] Since the interests of Louis of Orléans were directly opposed to those of both Philip and the Bavarians, Isabeau was not willing to become Louis' political ally. Thus, no additional steps were taken at this time to negotiate the marriage of the duke of Guyenne.

The Burgundy-Orléans conflict escalated to such an alarming degree in 1401 that all other events were cast into the shade. The conflict had already been brewing for some time. A few years earlier, after withdrawing his interest from Italy, Louis had turned his eyes towards the northeastern part of France with the intention of purchasing territory and forming a network of allies in order to drive

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a wedge between his uncle's Flemish and Burgundian properties. To this end, he befriended Emperor Wenceslas with loans of large sums of money, and on March 31, 1398 they signed an alliance directed against Burgundy and the house of Bavaria.[12] Louis and Philip also disagreed on the matter of the schism of the church. Philip the Bold was able to exert his influence over the king in this case, however, and on July 27, 1398, Charles VI withdrew France from the obedience of both rival popes despite Louis' efforts to support Benedict XIII, the Avignonese pope.[13]

In 1401 Louis of Orléans finally goaded his uncle to the breaking-point. The emperor-elect, Robert, Louis' enemy, unwittingly advanced Louis' position at this time by certain excessive demands he put on the French government, for he sent an embassy to Paris in June 1401 to ask for an alliance with the queen, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the counts of Savoy and Armagnac against the duke of Orléans and his father-in-law, Giangaleazzo Visconti, ruler of Milan. The duke of Berry definitely opposed such an alliance, and Duke Philip, not having the power to control the situation, left Paris and did not return for six months.[14] Louis availed himself of Burgundy's absence to promote his own interests. On July 7, 1401, the king ceded to him the county of Dreux and shortly therafter gave him the command of Toul, which had rebelled against the emperor-elect and placed itself under the protection of Charles VI.[15]

The negotiations which Philip the Bold was carrying on

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with the emperor-elect were viewed with displeasure by the king and the council in Paris, who were now making friendly gestures towards the duke of Milan, an enemy of the emperor-elect. Charles VI summoned Philip to Paris, but the duke came only as far as Senlis in October to attend a council that was held under the presidency of three cardinals to discuss the affairs of the Church. He found it prudent, however, as he made his way back to Arras, to write a letter on October 26 to the Parlement de Paris, giving his excuses for not coming to see the king. Although Charles VI was in good health on October 18,[16] he must have fallen victim to his mental illness again during the following week because Philip used the king's condition as one of his excuses. Duke Philip also took this opportunity to express to the Parlement his displeasure and dismay at the way the kingdom was being governed, but he refrained from actually naming Louis of Orléans responsible.[17]

By the end of November it was known that the duke of Burgundy planned to leave Arras on December 1 and march to Paris with a small army.[18] Louis of Orléans hastened to call together some of his vassals for support, and Philip the Bold entered Paris on December 7 with his sons John and Anthony and lodged in his Hôtel d'Artois.[19] He filled the neighborhood with troops commanded by John of Bavaria, bishop-elect of Liège, and under the threat of open warfare, the queen, with Louis of Anjou, king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, worked in all possible haste to

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bring the two opponents to a peaceful agreement.[20]

By December 15 the danger was past.[21] On January 6, Louis of Orléans swore to live henceforth in harmony with his uncle,[22] and on January 14, the queen and her three co-workers issued their decision as arbiters of the quarrel.[23] This document stipulated that if one duke heard of an action which was undertaken by the other and which threatened him, he was to report it immediately to the arbiters. If they could not resolve the difficulty, and the injured party wished to resort to the use of arms, first he would have to notify the other party of his intentions and then wait for a period of two months. During this time either the king would resolve the conflict by issuing an ordinance, or the arbiters would work again towards a reconciliation. The dukes, if they insisted on making war, would not be allowed to bring troops into the royal domain. If one party broke the conventions now agreed upon, the arbiters would support the other one.

The arbiters' ordinance was read publicly in a gathering attended by royal councillors in the duke of Berry's residence, the Hôtel de Nesle. The queen presided, and both dukes came before her to swear to obey the terms set forth in the document. This work as arbiter brought to public notice Isabeau's aptitude for politics and was the stepping stone to the new role she would soon play in the government.

During the following month, Louis of Orléans complained to the king that his apanage was of less value than those

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held by the royal uncles, and on February 28, 1402, the king ordered an inquest to ascertain the increase needed to make up the difference.[24] Although the king had proclaimed that he would not make any further alienations from the royal domain, the inquest was also to decide what part of the domain could be given to the duke of Orléans to increase his apanage.[25]

On the same day, the king emancipated his sons, the dukes of Guyenne and Touraine, so that they could do homage to him for their apanages.[26] Although emancipation of a four-year-old and a two-and-a-half-year-old was unusual, it was a prerequisite to the act of homage, and this act made it henceforth legally impossible to alienate any part of the princes' apanages in favor of the duke of Orléans.

Besides seeking to increase his apanage, Louis of Orléans pressed the king on other matters. In March 1402 his efforts to secure the restoration of France to the obedience of Benedict XIII antagonized the duke of Berry as well as the duke of Burgundy. In an apparent attempt to show impartiality, Charles VI made Orléans guardian of the person of the pope and Berry the guardian of the people of Avignon and those cardinals who had removed themselves from the palace.[27] In a session of the royal council held on March 16, Charles VI agreed to several procedures that would prevent an escalation of this new dissension, among which was a plan to send to Avignon two knights who were not partisans of either faction and who would have power over

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the representatives of both Berry and Orléans. King Charles also prohibited the dukes from taking up arms against each other at any future time, and he ordered them instead to come, whenever they were on the verge of declaring war, and explain their complaints in his presence. If he was for any reason unable to receive them, they were to go to the queen, who would choose as many princes of the blood and royal councillors as she wished to help her resolve the dispute. The king ordered a separate document concerning the queen's full authority drawn up, and at the close of the session the dukes and other princes of the blood in attendance swore their obedience to all points set forth by the king.[28]

Louis of Orléans continued as best he could with his efforts to advance his position. After being named "souverain gouverneur des aides en Languedoil" on April 18, 1402,[29] he lost no time in persuading the king to command the levy of an enormous tax throughout the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, away from Paris at the time and accused by rumor of accepting a large bribe to agree to the tax, planned to return to Paris to protest, but the king's abrupt return to a state of mental incapacity caused him to stay just outside the city until the king recovered. Finally, on June 18, King Charles abolished the tax, an action for which the duke of Orléans, in an about-face, was quick to take credit.[30] Then, on June 24, the king made the curious move of naming Philip the Bold "souverain gouverneur des aides en Languedoil" without discharging Louis of Orléans.[31] It is

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surprising that anyone thought they could share as equals the authority over the aides, and yet the ploy seemed to work for awhile because no open hostilies followed during the next six months.[32]

The king appears to have wished to prepare for a future explosion, however, for on July 1, 1402, he confirmed the power he had already bestowed upon the queen to act as an intermediary in the quarrels, but this time he increased her authority.[33] From now on Isabeau was empowered in the king's absence to deal with governmental business of any type with the aid of the dukes and whichever councillors she wished. Because of the dukes' habit of placing their own concerns above the king's, the queen had emerged as the only person eligible to watch over the interests of the immediate royal family and act as mediator in the ducal quarrels. She, too, had policies of her own, however, but at this time her involvement with the efforts of the emperor-elect to thwart a Franco-Milanese alliance posed no problem for her husband. Now that Robert had decided to convince the German electors to remove the Empire from obedience to the Roman pope, Charles VI was more sympathetic to the house of Bavaria, and it even seemed that he might abandon the Visconti alliance promoted by Louis of Orléans.[34] The queen's brother, Louis of Bavaria, an ambassador of the emperor-elect, arrived in Paris in September 1402 to discuss the schism of the church and also to try to arrange a marriage between Robert's son John and Michelle of France,[35] but negotiations dragged on,

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and no agreement was reached.[36]

Louis of Bavaria remained in Paris until March 1403,[37] and during his sojourn the queen tried to secure for him as much money and power as quickly as she could. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Isabeau arranged his marriage to a second cousin of the king, Anne of Bourbon, sister of the count of Vendôme and widow of a son of the duke of Berry. This marriage, celebrated on October 8, 1402, in the Hôtel Saint-Pol, brought Louis the seigneurie of La Basse-Marche, which contained seven châtellenies,[38] and two large sums of money: Anne's dowry of 120,000 francs,[39] to be paid by the king, and her widow's dower of 35,000 livres, to be paid by the duke of Berry.[40] In his own right, Louis was awarded by the king an annual pension of 12,000 francs.[41] In December 1402, or early January 1403, Isabeau tried to obtain the nomination of Louis as constable of France.[42] All the dukes were agreeable to this except the duke of Orléans, but, according to news sent by Louis of Bavaria to Padua, Orléans finally promised to withdraw his opposition.[43] This promise was not kept, however, and on February 6 the office was given to Charles d'Albret.[44]

The queen's labors on behalf of her brother seem to have caused Charles VI to suspect that in the future she might use the authority he had recently given her to support policies that he would not wish to endorse, for within a month of the departure of Louis of Bavaria from France, he imposed a very significant restraint on her power. The

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royal ordinance of July 1, 1402 had allowed Isabeau to attend to any governmental business during the king's absence using the "counsel and advice" of the dukes and whichever councillors she wished to summon.[45] This implied that if the dukes in attendance did not agree, Isabeau could make a final decision based on whichever counsel pleased her the most. According to the new royal ordinance of April 26, 1403, the government during the king's absence was to be taken over by the queen "and with her" the dukes, those of royal blood who were then at court, the constable, the chancellor, and "however many councillors the situation required."[46] It was specifically stated that any final decision would be made by the majority and "sounder part" of those present.[47] Provision had to be made for the absence from Paris of any of the dukes, and the ordinance stated that in order to prevent long delays in the expedition of governmental business, the council could make valid decisions even though all the dukes were not present. No decision concerning affairs of great import could be executed, however, until approved by the king and written up in a royal letter sealed with his great seal. The ordinance of April 26 was drafted in a rather private setting. The only persons present besides the king and a secretary were the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.[48]

In a second document, issued on the same day and signed with the same formula, the king ordered the queen, the dukes, the princes of the blood, and the royal councillors

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to take a solemn oath that they would be his "good, true and loyal subjects, obedient against all."[49] This oath was to be sworn in the king's presence. All prelates, counts, barons, knights, squires, burgesses, and other "gens d'estat" of the realm were to swear to obey only the king or his "commissioners and deputies."[50] Everyone was also required to swear to recognize as king, after the death of Charles VI, the duke of Guyenne or whoever was the king's eldest son at the time.

The possibility that the king might die before his heir entered his fourteenth year, the age of majority for kings of France set by Charles V in 1374 and confirmed by Charles VI in 1392, was the subject of a royal ordinance dated April 1403.[51] This ordinance was signed with the same formula as the two dated April 26 and is considered to have been drawn up on the same day.[52] The king stated here that his successor, no matter what his age, must be crowned immediately and the kingdom ruled in his name without any regency. The queen would have the "garde, nourrissement et gouvernement" of the new king and any of the other royal children who were still minors. During the minority the government would be controlled by a council made up of the queen, the dukes, the princes of the blood, and the royal councillors. Decisions would be based on the will of the majority of those present without regard for their "grandeur, auctorite et estas."[53] If the queen died during the minority, the council would take over the "garde et

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gouvernement" of the king.

These provisions cancelled the power which the king had conferred upon Louis of Orléans at an earlier date. In January 1393, having suffered his first attack of madness during the preceding summer and perhaps fearing an early death, Charles VI had named Orléans regent in the event that his successor was underage.[54]

The royal ordinances of April 1403 not only balanced the power of the dukes but also lessened that power by ordering the governing council to include at each session a number of councillors that would be sufficient to deal with the business being discussed. The provision that decisions be made by the majority was the best of all possible alternatives, but when put into practice, it promoted corruption because the rival dukes tried to fill up the council with their own creatures. Lehoux has suggested the queen, and Nordberg the duke of Burgundy, as the instigator of the ordinance concerning rule during a minority, but it is certain that neither of these personages would have welcomed rule by the majority.[55] Philip the Bold would not have willingly condoned an arrangement which made any royal councillor his equal.[56] As for the queen, the restrictions put on her authority by the ordinance of April 26 make it clear how little in control she could have been at this time. On April 24 Isabeau had ordered that messengers go in all possible haste ("hastivement toute nuit") to Louis of Orléans in Lizy-sur-Ourcq, near Meaux, to John of Berry in

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Montlhéry, and to Philip of Burgundy in Corbeil.[57] What she wrote to the dukes is not known, but since Berry and Burgundy returned immediately, it appears that she summoned them back to Paris. If she had been the instigator of the regency ordinance, she would surely not have summoned the duke of Orleans, whose earlier nomination as future regent was to be cancelled by the new ordinance.[58] It is more likely that after learning of the king's intention to settle matters in a way she could not like, Isabeau hoped that all three of the dukes would join together momentarily in an effort to prevent the king from issuing ordinances that were not in the best interest of any of them. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Louis of Orléans did not come to Paris after receiving her message. His absence indicates that he felt he would be unable to influence the king at this time. It was clearly in Louis' interest to try to prevent the issuing of an ordinance which cancelled his nomination as future regent, and it is most likely that he stayed away because he knew the king was adamant in his resolve to endorse the ideas expressed in the new ordinances.

The Monk of Saint-Denis reports that the king had a relapse of his mental illness which lasted three weeks, ending on April 25.[59] King Charles must have recovered the day before, however, because it is difficult otherwise to explain the queen's letters of April 24 to the three dukes. Since Charles VI was at times frightened by his relapses and

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perhaps even feared that the next relapse would cause his death, it may well have been fear that drove him, as soon as he emerged from this three-week-long relapse, to hastily prepare to arrange matters pertaining to the succession even though the dukes were not in Paris to advise him.

Nordberg has claimed that of the three ordinances of April 1403, two were never executed: the ordinance concerning the government during the king's absences and the ordinance regulating the government during an eventual minority.[60] To support his theory, Nordberg gave three reasons: (1) the two ordinances in question were not registered in the Parlement, while the third one was; (2) a letter of January 27, 1406 concerning the duke of Burgundy referred to the dispositions for a minority which had been made in 1393 instead of to those made in 1403; (3) the ordinance of December 26, 1407 concerning the minority would have been unnecessary if the ordinance of 1403 had been executed because it was similar "almost down to the smallest detail."[61]

All of these reasons can be easily refuted. In the first place, both of the April ordinances in question were marked "registrata" on the back.[62] Since it is known that they were not registered in the Parlement, it appears that they were registered in the Chambre des Comptes.[63] This alone is substantial evidence that they were in fact executed, for Nordberg was wrong to believe that all ordinances had to be published and registered in the Parlement for them to have

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the force of law.[64] The fact that one of the April ordinances was registered in the Parlement and the other two were not is not necessarily significant.[65] There was an obvious reason for the registration of the third ordinance: the members of the Parlement were among those whom that ordinance commanded to swear an oath of fealty to the king. The letters of 1406 and 1407 mentioned by Nordberg will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Let it suffice now to say that the letter of 1406 refrained from mentioning the ordinance of 1403 for a specific reason and that the ordinances of 1407 and 1403 had significant differences which Nordberg ignored.

The ordinances of April 1403 are good examples of instances when Charles VI endorsed wise political decisions after the onset of his mental illness. He had already adopted a policy that sought to balance the power of Berry, Burgundy, and Orléans by putting the three of them together in control of the aides, but the failure of that association had made it clear that they could not share power successfully. Nothing could have been more logical or clever after that than the king's decision to opt for majority rule when he was absent, but whether or not King Charles actually arrived at or agreed to the ideas expressed in the April ordinances by logical and sane thought processes must remain an enigma. It is entirely possible that his decision was based on schizophrenic logic. He may have sought to equalize the power-potential of the queen and

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the dukes in order to feel more secure in the face of his persecutory delusions, or he may have been trying to punish them because he perceived them as a threat. The fact that he made strange reversals of decisions during the fifteen days after he issued the April ordinances suggests that he was not functioning at this time at a level where his thoughts followed patterns of normal logic. Thus, it seems more likely that the content of the April ordinances happened to be wise by coincidence.

On Saturday, April 26, King Charles personally signed an agreement to marry the duke of Guyenne to Margaret of Burgundy, Philip the Bold's granddaughter.[66] In this act, Charles VI gave his "word as king" to draw up a marriage contract as soon as was desired by Duke Philip and the count of Nevers, Margaret's father. He also promised to have the queen consent to the plan. There are no names of witnesses in the document, and it is clear that the duke of Burgundy had taken advantage of a private moment with the king to obtain his signature on the act.

The project of Louis of Orléans to marry the duke of Guyenne into his family was now destroyed. Louis was back in Paris the following week, and on Thursday, May 3, he attended a meeting of the council with the three royal uncles.[67] He was unable, however, to prevent the king from keeping his promise to Philip the Bold, and the duke of Guyenne's marriage contract was drawn up on May 5 in a council attended by the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the

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constable, the chancellor, the bishop of Noyon, the count of Tancarville, "and others."[68] This document, probably because it was conceptualized in haste, postponed regulating the provision of property for the duke of Guyenne and the children who would be born of the marriage. The act's main concern was Margaret's dowry, which consisted of the castles and castellanies of Isle, Villemaur, and Chaource, all located in Champagne and providing an estimated yearly income of 3,000 livres tournois, and 200,000 francs to be used in the purchase of property for the couple and their children. If they remained childless, the dowry was to revert to Margaret. An application was to be made for the papal dispensation which was a prerequisite to the marriage since Louis and Margaret were second cousins, but "for the greater certainty of the marriage," the king had already caused Margaret and his son to be officially affianced in his presence.[69] In another document issued on the same day, Charles VI promised to marry his eight-year-old daughter Michelle to Margaret of Burgundy's only brother, Philip, and his son John, duke of Touraine, who was not yet five, to one of Margaret's sisters, who was not named.[70]

On Monday, May 7, the duke of Orléans managed to obtain from the king a royal letter which restored to him everything that the ordinances of the past twelve days had taken away.[71] The wording of this document was vague and circuitous, obviously designed to camouflage the contents. It is apparent that the wording was supplied by the duke of

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Orléans, who was aware that he could not count on his brother to be amenable to whatever was suggested at this time. The king had to be tricked. The duke seems to have based his approach on the expectation that the king's memory would be somewhat impaired and that he would interpret what was said on a surface level without considering all the possible implications of the statements.

In the first part of the letter of May 7, King Charles declared that in the past he had agreed to the marriage of the duke of Guyenne with a daughter "born or to be born" to the duke of Orléans. Since that time, he said, he had arranged the marriages of "several" of his children with "others." Various ordinances issued in the past, including his testament, he added, might be thought to detract from his brother's rights, and in order to dispel any suspicion concerning the validity of those documents and to safeguard his brother's rights, he now commanded that these rights "remain whole without being wounded ("bleciez") or worsened ("empirez") in any way" despite whatever the duke may have agreed to in the past when he was not fully aware of his rights or was fearful of incurring royal "indignation." King Charles concluded by cancelling any future act which he might issue by "inadvertance, coercion, or the importunity of suppliants" and which would be prejudicial to the duke's "rights, prerogatives, honors, and whatever by law and reason, common usage, and custom could and should" belong to him.

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The language of this document shows the duke of Orléans in the guise of a humble suppliant with rights he does not fully understand or is fearful of upholding lest he arouse the king's anger. The conflicting marriage agreements concerning the duke of Guyenne are mentioned in the same sentence, but the description of the agreement made with Philip the Bold is rendered vague by the omission of Guyenne's name and the use of the words "several" and "others." The duke of Orléans seems to have anticipated that the king's clouded memory would keep him from making any definite connection between the rival agreements. The duke was also careful to speak of cancellation only in the section dealing with future royal acts prejudicial to his rights. In the sections mentioning past acts, the emphasis on preventing the duke's rights from being diminished obscured the fact that several important royal ordinances were now being invalidated. Moreover, the idea of cancellation was paradoxically negated by the statement that this ordinance was being issued to safeguard the validity of past ordinances. The stress on the king's testament and codicil, which had little to do with the duke of Orléans, served to buttress the false impression that only those small parts of previous ordinances which concerned the duke might be invalidated and that the major portions of the documents would be left untouched. The words "bleciez" and "empirez," used in reference to what might happen to the duke's rights if they were not safeguarded are bizarre in

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this context and were probably fed to the king by the duke with the hope that he would interpret the words literally and see himself as actually causing physical harm to his brother if he did not sign this ordinance.

By maintaining all the rights of the duke of Orleans that had been expressed in past documents, not only did the ordinance of May 7, 1403 nullify the marriage contract of the duke of Guyenne and Margaret of Burgundy and revalidate the king's promise to marry the young prince to a daughter of Louis of Orléans, but it also automatically cancelled the April ordinances that had made new arrangments for the government after the king's death. Now the ordinance of January 1393 naming Orléans regent in case Charles VI's successor was a minor could never be invalidated.[72]

It is not known how soon the duke of Burgundy learned the contents of the ordinance of May 7. He had already arranged to give a "disner" for the king in the Louvre on May 8 to celebrate the marriage agreements of May 5, and the dinner was given as planned. Among Philip the Bold's guests were the queen and her daughters Isabelle, Jeanne, and Michelle; the countess of Nevers and her daughter Margaret, whose engagement to the duke of Guyenne had just been cancelled; Philip's daughter Marie-Marguerite, countess of Savoy; and his daughter-in-law Jeanne of Luxembourg, wife of Anthony of Burgundy.[73] At the dinner, the duke presented a necklace worth 1,000 écus together with a bowl ("hanap") and a pitcher ("aiguiere"), encrusted with precious stones and

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worth 700 écus, to the king; a bowl and pitcher worth 1,000 écus to the queen; and precious stones valued at a total of 1446 écus to the other ladies.[74]

On May 11, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy "and others," Charles VI revoked the ordinance of May 7.[75] He quoted the entire ordinance in this letter and stated that when he granted it at the request of the duke of Orléans, he had forgotten the contents of "certain" ordinances which he wished to remain valid. For this reason, and because the ordinance of May 7 was prejudicial to the rights and honor of the queen, the royal children, the kingdom, and his subjects, he declared it null. In closing, he added that if he ever made grants in the future that detracted from ordinances concerning the queen and the royal children, or their rights, and the kingdom and his subjects, such grants would be invalid. Since the ordinance of May 7 had automatically cancelled so much, it was probably not difficult for the duke of Burgundy to obtain this revocation.

The duke of Orléans had a small revenge when he precipitated the restoration of French obedience to Benedict XIII on May 28.[76] The restoration cannot be considered a real coup, however, since it was now inevitable. The city of Avignon had voted for obedience on March 31, and on April 1 the cardinals had returned to Benedict the pontifical bull and the keys to the castle of Pont-de-Sorgues.[77] The king of Castille had restored his country to Benedict's obedience on

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March 29 after having announced to Charles VI in February his intention to do so.[78] The only other monarch who had supported the Avignonese papacy and who had followed the French example by retracting his obedience was the king of Sicily, and he had reversed his decision in August 1402.[79] Aragon, Navarre, Cyprus, Scotland, and Savoy had always remained faithful to Benedict XIII.[80] The dukes of Berry and Burgundy were angered by the king's decision of May 28, but he declared that he had followed the opinion of the Universities of Orléans, Angers, Montpellier, and Toulouse, of the French and Picard nations of the University of Paris, and of the majority of the French clergy.[81] King Charles was especially pleased with a list of promises the duke of Orléans had extracted from Pope Benedict, and he caused them to be read aloud to his uncles.[82]

The duke of Orléans never again tried to procure a cancellation of the regency ordinance of April 1403. During the spring and summer of 1403, he turned his attention, instead, to guarding his frontier in Luxembourg and defending his allies in that area against the king of the Romans.[83] He also continued to prepare for a military expedition to Lombardy to resolve the crisis in Milan.[84]

Although he was now more in need of funds than ever before, Louis of Orléans was still obliged to wait for the promised increase of his apanage. Apparently inspired by a wariness of Louis' pursuit of financial gain, Charles VI, in a council attended by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and

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Bourbon on July 4, 1403, issued a document in which he stated that if the duke of Berry resigned as royal lieutenant in Languedoc and Guyenne, no successor to the post would be named, and the administration of those territories would be given to the duke of Guyenne.[85] Lehoux considered this ordinance a not-too-subtle invitation to retire,[86] but if one takes into account Berry's presence in the council when the act was issued and the fact that the duke of Guyenne, who was to administer the territories, was only six years old, such an interpretation seems highly unlikely. In the light of the efforts of the duke of Orléans to gain power two months earlier, it is better to explain the ordinance of July 4 as a preventive measure, which sought to eliminate the possibility of Louis extorting the nomination for himself at some future time.

Another royal ordinance, dated January 30, 1404, appears to have been issued for the same purpose. Here the king declared that after Berry's death, all royal revenues from Languedoc and Guyenne would be received by the duke of Guyenne.[87] In the text of this ordinance, the king gave as his reason for issuing it his desire to provide for the future of the duke of Guyenne, who, when he was older, would have his own household, but this does not explain why King Charles felt it necessary to deal with the matter now. It should be noted that when the ordinance was signed, Louis of Orléans was on his way back to Paris from his projected expedition to Lombardy, which he had abandoned during a long

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stay in Avignon spent negotiating with Pope Benedict.[88] The king, either of his own accord or under the influence of others, seemed determined to close off avenues that Orléans could exploit after his return. A second ordinance dated January 30 imposed a new tax for the inevitable war against England with the express stipulation that Louis of Orléans would swear, as the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon had already done, that the money collected would be used only for the war.[89] These ordinances did not, however, entirely remove Languedoc and Guyenne from Louis' grasp. On March 12, 1404, Charles VI named him captain-general in Guyenne and then gave him, before April 18, 50,000 livres on the aides of Languedoc.[90] These grants may well have been extorted from the king during moments when he was not functioning well, for the Monk of Saint-Denis implies that he was "ill" from February 23 until mid-May.[91]

The balance turned even more in favor of Louis of Orléans after the death of the duke of Burgundy on April 27, 1404. Although Louis' plans to marry the duke of Guyenne into his family had failed, the king agreed on June 5, 1404 to marry his daughter Isabelle, the fourteen-year-old widow of Richard II of England, to Louis' eldest son, Charles, who was then nine.[92] Isabelle's dowry included the jewels and furnishings she had brought back from England and the 300,000 francs that would have been paid to Richard II had his marriage to Isabelle been consummated. Since only 200,000 francs of this sum were to be used to purchase land

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for Isabelle and her heirs, Louis could use the remaining 100,000 for his own purposes. In the contract, the king also transferred to Louis all the "rights, actions, quarrels, and demands" he had or could have *versus* Henry IV and others because of Isabelle's first marriage. This meant that if Louis could successfully negotiate the return of the 200,000 *francs* Richard II had received as a partial payment of Isabelle's dowry, he could keep the money. Thus far, however, Henry IV had refused to return the sum, saying he would apply it to what the French still owed England for the ransom of King John, Charles VI's grandfather.[93] A few months later, as France prepared to send an army into Guyenne to fight the English, Louis must have realized how slim his chances were of convincing Henry IV to return the money in the near future. Nevertheless, he did find a way to get the 200,000 *francs*. On September 20, 1404, he gave back the rights Charles VI had granted him in the marriage contract and received that very sum in return.[94]

Besides arranging the marriage between his son and Isabelle of France, Louis of Orléans obtained other advantageous grants from the crown in May and June, 1404. On May 22, Charles VI increased his apanage with the gift of all royal rights, estimated at a value of 500 *livres parisis* a year, over the county of Soissons and other lands Louis had purchased from Marie de Coucy.[95] On May 24, the king named Louis lord of Pisa and gave him 10,000 *francs* from the revenues of the Lendit and 30,000 *francs* "*en recompense de*

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ses services."[96] On June 5, making the final promised increase to Louis' apanage, King Charles gave him the cities, castellanies, and lands of Châtillon-sur-Marne, Montargis, Courtenay, and Crécy-en-Brie.[97]

Sufficiently endowed for the moment, Louis left Paris in July to take possession of his recently acquired county of Soissons.[98] He did not return until a week or so before the wedding of the duke of Guyenne, which was celebrated on August 30.[99] The young prince's wedding also brought to Paris the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, who was the father of the bride.[100] Although Duke John stayed in Paris a month, it seems that he was not involved with governmental affairs at this time, for he does not appear to have attended any sessions of the royal council.[101] He was not new to the political scene in Paris, however, for while his father was alive, he had sometimes sat in the council either with Duke Philip or without him.[102] The rivalry that was soon to flare up between John and the duke of Orleans and quickly destroy the fragile equilibrium of the government had not yet alienated them from each other. In fact, not long before, Louis of Orléans seems to have made an attempt to befriend John, for in July 1403 he had entertained him for several days at his castle in Coucy.[103]

During the autumn of 1404 and well into 1405, the duke of Orléans continued without restraint to procure grants of great sums of money from the king. On September 9, 1404, Charles VI renewed Louis' annual pension of 12,000 francs

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and added 54,000 francs for his household expenses for the year from October 1, 1404 through September 30, 1405, 5,000 francs for his argenterie for the same period, and a total of 46,000 francs for other purposes.[104] On September 7, 1404, King Charles gave him 20,000 francs for the purchase of a single jewel, and on January 29, 1405, he gave him another gift, this time 10,000 francs.[105] In May 1405 Louis was accorded 200,000 francs for his expenses for the submission of Savona.[106] Louis' wife and son Charles also received financial support from the crown for the same fiscal year.[107] Louis of Orléans and his family received in all at least 361,000 francs in royal grants during the fiscal year from October 1, 1404 through September 30, 1405.

There was clearly a relationship between this sum and the announcement made in the Parlement on March 5, 1405 that a second tax was to be levied.[108] The royal coffers were so empty that on February 5, 1405, the king had ordered that as many of his jewels be pawned as would be necessary to pay off the 120,000 francs that he had given to the queen's brother at the time of his marriage in 1402.[109] The Monk of Saint-Denis reports that the new tax was instigated by the duke of Orléans and opposed by the duke of Burgundy.[110] Because of his opposition, the duke of Burgundy received the favor of the people, while Louis of Orléans received their scorn and hatred.

In 1405, for the first time, the queen, as well, was a target for the wrath of the people. The reason for this

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seems to have been her closer contact with the duke of Orléans in this year and the discovery, made public by the city of Metz, that she had sent six horses laden with bags of money to Bavaria. The opinion of the people, recorded by the Monk, was that she wished to impoverish the French and enrich the Germans.[111] Actually, this money was probably the 57,000 francs Isabeau gave her brother, Louis of Bavaria, in cash on July 22, 1405 in return for certain annual revenues from five Bavarian dominions.[112]

It may have been his disagreement with Louis of Orléans regarding the new tax that motivated John of Burgundy to cultivate relations with the queen, and the moment for this was especially propitious due to the wedding on February 14, 1405 of Princess Michelle and John's son Philip. On the day before this event, Isabeau personally signed a letter which historians have interpreted as an alliance with Burgundy.[113] A close examination of its contents, however, shows that the document was nothing of the sort.

The queen declared in this act that in consideration of the marriage ties between their two families, the services performed by John and the late duke, his father, and the love and obedience which father and son had always shown to the king, to her, to the royal children, and to the kingdom, and in order for John to "be held more and more" to such behavior, she swore to guard and defend his person and status, to advise him, to do all in her power to procure for him that which would contribute to his well-being and honor,

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and to help him avert all that would be to his detriment or dishonor.[114] To these ends, she would use all her power against everyone except the king, her children, and all those to whom by "reason and honesty" she was more obliged because they were more closely related to her than John was. In other words, she would be unable to help John against the duke of Orléans, since, as her brother-in-law, he was more closely related to her, and she would be unable to help him against such personages as the king's uncles, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon. Isabeau was also implying to Duke John that the interests of her brother, Louis of Bavaria, would necessarily receive more support from her than would his own. The theory implicit in this letter is that the right to power is dependant upon the degree of relationship by blood to the king. Love for the king, obedience to him, and services rendered, all mentioned as reasons for Isabeau's goodwill towards John the Fearless, are tacitly defined as prerequisites for the retention of the rights accorded by birth.

The queen's adoption of such ideas denotes a strict political conservatism on her part. The oath which she took in this document obliged her, in effect, to put aside personal preferences and do her duty along the hierarchical lines she had set out for herself as queen. Implicit here, also, is the view that others should act in the same way. Thus she expected John of Burgundy to seek only what was his by right. According to Isabeau's theory, John's rights were

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necessarily less than his father's had been, since he was the king's cousin, whereas Duke Philip had been the king's uncle. Her letter almost seems to represent a warning to John upon his entry as duke into the world of politics: he must keep to his place in the hierarchy. Isabeau had not always followed the theory she expressed here, but her actions in 1405 are evidence of her efforts to put the theory into practice at that time. It appears that the ideas she set down on paper in the letter for Duke John had taken root in her mind at some point after the death of Philip of Burgundy in 1404.

Beginning in 1405, John the Fearless developed a political theory of his own, but his theory did not accord with the one set forth in the queen's letter of February 13. The rapid development of his political ideas began when his situation changed with the death of his mother, Margaret of Flanders, on March 21, 1405, at which time he inherited her county of Flanders. He immediately went on an inspection-tour of the county, and because of the deterioration in the relations between France and England, he found himself obliged to prepare the area for war. Although neither the Flemish nor Duke John had anything to do with the French attack on the English outpost of Marck, near Calais, which resulted in the crushing defeat of the count of Saint-Pol and the French army, the English sent a fleet to attack the duke's Flemish port of Sluis.[115] John was able to send enough support to Sluis so that the attack

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was unsuccessful, and then, after taking Gravelines, he wrote to Paris to ask for men and supplies for his proposed siege of Calais. The king was ill, and Louis of Orléans influenced the council to refuse John's request. John's resentment against Louis for this was further enflamed by the royal nomination on July 6, 1405 of Louis as captain-general in Picardy and Normandy.[116] By this time, Louis had also cemented an alliance with the duke of Guelders, an enemy of John's brother, Anthony, duke of Limbourg.[117] The chronicler Monstrelet states that after the royal council refused to give John the Fearless aid to besiege Calais, he resolved to go to Paris "to better expedite and conduct his affairs,"[118] but he made no move to do so right away.

While the duke of Burgundy was involved in protecting Sluis during the end of May, the queen was subjected in Paris to the humiliation of listening to an insulting speech made in her presence by an Augustinian friar. According to rumor, the queen and the duke of Orléans had appropriated for themselves the entire proceeds from the recent tax, estimated by the Monk of Saint-Denis at 800,000 écus.[119] Popular feeling was against the queen, and the Augustinian friar, Jacques Legrand, took it upon himself to deliver to her on May 27 a sermon in which he accused her court of moral corruption and attacked the extravagant fashions of which she was the "principal inventor.[120] He even claimed that the frivolous atmosphere of her court kept the knights

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and squires from going to war for fear of disfiguring themselves. Several of her courtiers, hoping to bring about the friar's demise, went to tell the king that he had grievously insulted the queen. Charles VI's reaction illustrates the ambivalent nature of his feelings for Isabeau as a result of his mental disorder. Instead of being angry, he was so pleased that he invited Legrand to preach in his chapel on Whitsunday (June 7).

At one point during this sermon, the king, who was listening behind the screen of his oratory, stepped out into full view of the friar. Legrand was not intimidated, however, and, with increased fervor, directed the rest of his harangue to the king himself. King Charles was very impressed with Legrand and resolved to put an end to all the excesses mentioned in the sermon, but two days later he entered a psychotic state that lasted, with brief intermissions, until the end of July.[121]

Although the Monk says that the king was ill from June 9 until the end of July, it is known that Charles VI dealt with governmental business on June 13, July 22, and July 27.[122] He must also have been present when the royal ordinance of July 5 which named the duke of Orléans captain-general of Picardy and Normandy was issued, for the council would not have taken such an important nomination upon itself.[123] The fact that during this period the king was slipping rather abruptly in and out of a psychotic state suggests that the nomination was extorted from him by his

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brother at a moment when he was not functioning at a high level.

During one of the brief intermissions when he was functioning somewhat better, Charles VI, apparently still preoccupied with the idea of reform, decided to summon a council of all the dukes. Louis of Orléans was in Normandy at the time and thus could not make an attempt to prevent the royal summonses from being issued.[124] The duke of Burgundy received his summons in Douai on July 26 and made plans to arrive in Paris on August 19.[125] He left Arras on August 16 with 1,700 men-at-arms after arranging to be joined later by his brother Anthony, who led an additional 1,000 men.[126] The approach of this sizeable army alarmed the queen and the duke of Orléans, and they decided to leave Paris with as much secrecy as possible. On Monday, August 17, they made a show of going out of the city to hunt, and instead of returning, they headed south to Melun, where they arrived on Wednesday in time for supper.[127] They had left instructions with Louis of Bavaria; Edward of Bar, marquis du Pont, the king's first cousin; and Jean de Montaigu, the king's grand maître d'hôtel, to follow as quickly and as secretly as they could with the duke of Guyenne and the other royal children.[128]

It was important not to leave the duke of Guyenne behind, in case John the Fearless used his military strength to force the king to empower the young prince to replace him during his absences. Since the duke of Guyenne was still

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underage, Duke John could have himself appointed as his governor, and in that way he would legally control the government. The queen and Louis of Orléans did not take the prince with them because he was in bed with a nosebleed on the day they left, and there was no plausible reason for them to take a sick child to hunt.[129] Evidently they felt that it was important to maintain the fiction of the hunt in order to keep their departure from taking on the appearance of a flight made in fear. An obvious flight would have shown the weakness of their position and surrounded John the Fearless with an even greater aura of strength than he possessed.

Against the advice of his physician, the duke of Guyenne was taken from his bed by Charles, lord of La Rivière and count of Dampmartin, and one of the Boucicaut brothers on the afternoon of August 18 without the knowledge of the king, the king of Navarre, or the dukes of Berry and Bourbon.[130] A bad rainstorm complicated the secret departure. From the Hôtel Saint-Pol, the children travelled on the Seine by boat as far as Vitry-sur-Seine. They stopped for the night in Ivry-sur-Seine, and while they slept, the duke of Burgundy, now in Louvres, 24 kilometers northeast of Paris, learned of their departure.[131] At dawn, Duke John rode in haste to Paris to confirm the report, and then, accompanied by the lord of Saint-Georges and men-at-arms, he went in pursuit of the royal children.[132] He caught up with them in Juvisy, and despite the arguments of

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Louis of Bavaria, he was determined to bring them back to Paris. He was careful to preserve appearances, however, and asked the duke of Guyenne if he would like to return to Paris to see the king.[133] The young prince replied that he would indeed. Since they were surrounded by Burgundian men-at-arms, the children's escort abandoned all efforts to resist, and the duke of Guyenne and the others were taken back to Paris. The marquis du Pont, the lord of La Rivière, and several other members of the children's escort went to tell the queen what had happened.[134] Fearing that they, too, would be pursued, the queen and the duke of Orleans left their mid-day dinner in Pouilly and hastened to the safety of the castle in Melun.[135]

The duke of Burgundy's act of bringing the duke of Guyenne back to Paris was illegal even though the young duke had acquiesced. Louis was still a minor, under the guardianship of the queen, and only an order from her or from the king could have legalized his return to Paris. Duke John used a show of military strength to frighten the dauphin's escort and ensure the success of his plan, but he also made a special effort to add a cloak of respectability to his maneuver. In accordance with an arrangement that had been made earlier, the king of Navarre and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon rode out of the gates of Paris to meet the returning cortege and in this way signified their approval to the public. On the same day, John the Fearless wrote to various French cities to announce what he had done and

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why.[136] He declared that he had come to Paris in the first place to do homage to the king for the county of Flanders and, in the second place, because the king had summoned him to help look after the government. At Louvres, he said, he had learned that as soon as King Charles had suffered a relapse, the royal children had been taken in secret out of Paris without the knowledge of the other princes. This had seemed so strange and unprecedented to him that he had resolved for the good of the king, the dauphin, and the kingdom to bring the young prince back.

Duke John's profession of good faith was evidently taken at face value. On the following day, deputies from the University of Paris came with the rector to thank him and to press him to proceed, no matter what happened, with his demands for the reformation of the government.[137] The burgesses of Paris, who held the duke of Orleans in dislike, also supported John the Fearless, and they were especially pleased because his troops, both in the city and outside, were paying for the food they ate, instead of comandeering it, and this kept food prices stable.[138]

Because of the large number of troops the duke of Burgundy had brought with him, Louis of Orléans seems to have feared that he would take the duke of Guyenne out of Paris and use him as a hostage to bargain for power in the government. In order to prevent this from happening, Louis sent a letter on the day after the abduction to the members of the Parlement de Paris, asking them neither to allow the

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dauphin to be "transported nor to let more men-at-arms into the city."[139] The evidence indicates that Louis misunderstood Duke John's motives for the abduction. John declared in a letter which he and his brothers addressed on September 8 to the important French towns that the duke of Orléans had said in the past that the marriage of Margaret of Burgundy and the duke of Guyenne could be annulled and that she could be sent back to her father in a "carriage or cart" ("char ou charrete").[140] John the Fearless had also heard that "someone" wanted to annul the marriage of his son Philip and Michelle of France. The secret departure from Paris of the dauphin, Margaret, and Michelle caused him, he implied, to think these annulments were imminent and to take immediate action because he knew that the annulments would be against the king's "wishes" (viz. the promises and contracts made by the king). That these were Duke John's real reasons is confirmed by his actions after he brought the children back to Paris. He obviously had no thought of using the dauphin either as a hostage or to provide legal sanction for his political decisions because on August 23 he moved out of the Louvre, where he had been residing with the children since August 19 and left the duke of Guyenne under the guardianship of the duke of Berry.[141]

During this period, John the Fearless was not in control of Paris. The duke of Berry was named captain of the city on August 21,[142] and John did not try to take that office away from him. Before moving out of the Louvre, however, he

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presented on August 21, during a session of the council, a petition for the reformation of the government. Since the king had not yet recovered from his relapse, the duke of Guyenne presided, and in the presence of the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the royal councillors, the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, and deputies from the University of Paris, John's "requests" were made orally by Jean de Nielles, his councillor and chamberlain.[143] On August 26 the requests were delivered in written form to the Parlement by Baude des Bordes, the duke's secretary, and other copies were brought to the Chambre des Comptes, the University of Paris, and elsewhere.[144]

This document, drawn up in the form of a letter to the king from John and his brothers Anthony and Philip, is actually a very general description of the state of the government.[145] In the letter, the brothers pointed out that the king was poorly provided for, that much of his clothing, his jewels, and his plate had been pawned for insignificant reasons, that his servants were denied audience and were afraid to tell him the truth, that his officers were appointed unjustly and worked against his interest, that many of the royal fortresses in the royal domain were falling into disrepair, that the revenues from the domain had dwindled, that the clergy was oppressed by officers of justice and men-at-arms, that those who served in the royal army were not paid, that the taxes for war were used for

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other purposes, and that the war against England had been interrupted when it should have been continued. This last complaint was clearly an allusion to the council's refusal, prompted by Louis of Orléans, to send Duke John money and soldiers for the siege of Calais, which he had wished to undertake a few months earlier. In order to solve all the problems mentioned, John and his brothers asked the king at the end of their letter first to summon as soon as possible a council composed of carefully chosen men who would not be afraid to tell the truth and then to execute whatever decisions the council made.

The duke of Burgundy's "requests" show that his main purpose in coming to Paris at this time was not to take over the government but to effect the formation of a council which Louis of Orléans would be unable to control. Additional proof that he had no intention of gaining complete ascendancy himself can be found in the letters he sent to the towns, asking them to send deputies to Paris to hear his "intentions." He also summoned prelates and nobles and thus was attempting to organize a meeting of the États Généraux.[146] A coup d'état could not be made in the face of a multitude of persons brought in especially for consultation when their political views were as yet unknown.[147]

Though quite reasonable, the duke of Burgundy's ideas were not carried out with the immediate enthusiasm he seems to have expected. The Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes

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replied rather coldly to his requests,[148] and the primary concern of the other princes of the blood then in Paris was not to institute reforms but to bring about a reconciliation between John and the duke of Orléans. This was not, however, a simple task. Louis responded to the Burgundian letter of requests for reform with an open letter, dated September 2, copies of which were sent to the French towns.[149] Louis refuted the implied accusations against him, saying that the mismanagement of the kingdom dated from the death of Charles V and that the royal uncles were to blame. He also questioned again Duke John's right to abduct the duke of Guyenne.

On September 8 the duke of Burgundy offered a rebuttal to the points made in Louis' letter, but he had little ground to stand upon when defending his father and uncles.[150] He attempted to whitewash Philip the Bold by saying that unlike "someone," he had never purchased duchies, counties, baronies, lands, cities, or castles in the kingdom nor filled his treasury with the kingdom's money. Instead, he claimed, Philip had spent his own funds in the service of the king. In the light of what is known of Duke Philip's activities, however, these statements are clearly a distortion of the truth.[151] There is also evidence to prove that, like Philip the Bold, Charles V's other brothers, the dukes of Berry and Anjou, were not free from the taint of greed and corruption.[152]

While the pamphlet war raged between the dukes of

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Burgundy and Orléans, the duke of Berry gathered troops in Paris to eliminate the possibility of any threat to the security of the royal family. The duke of Burgundy was prohibited in the name of the king from assembling men-at-arms, and the duke of Bourbon went to Melun to issue the same prohibition to Louis of Orléans and to ask the queen to return to Paris. Both dukes refused to disperse their troops, and the queen refused to return until the duke of Guyenne was restored to her care.[153] After the failure of two more embassies, the duke of Berry went to Melun himself shortly after September 8, but he, too, was unsuccessful.[154]

On September 21, 1405, Louis of Orléans commanded his troops to march towards Paris and take the bridge of Charenton, but before they had carried out his order, he recalled them.[155] During the following days it was rumored in Paris that the duke of Orléans had agreed to disband his army but that the duke of Burgundy had refused to do likewise. This rumor and the fear that the duke of Orléans would punish them if he defeated the duke of Burgundy seem to have caused the Parisians to withdraw their support from Duke John. Without their support and that of the princes or the council, John the Fearless found himself in an untenable position. At this time he had 4,560 "lances or men-at-arms, knights, and squires" in his service,[156] and the cost of their wages was causing him severe financial problems.[157] It was no longer possible for him to live up to his boastful motto, "I hold," which was inscribed on the pennants of his

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soldiers,[158] and on September 26 he agreed to disband most of his army.[159] Negotiations continued for three weeks, however, before the princes were able to bring about the return of the duke of Orléans and the queen to Paris.

During these negotiations the king was still "absent," and the queen made use of the authority he had granted her in March 1402, which allowed her to act as mediator in quarrels between princes of the blood. On October 12, in a session of the council held in Vincennes and attended by the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and other notables, Isabeau issued a letter in the king's name to announce that both Burgundy and Orléans had been prohibited from waging war against each other, forbidden to speak ill of each other, and ordered to discharge their armies.[160] On October 16 an agreement was reached, and the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans swore to live in peace with each other.[161]

John the Fearless had agreed to disband his army only on condition that the dukes would study his requests for reform,[162] but in the weeks that followed, he became aware that his terms had been accepted in bad faith. The fact that the king was still in the throes of a psychotic episode gave the dukes an excuse to delay the institution of the reforms he had requested. Duke John's program received support, however, from the University of Paris, whose intercession had been requested by "certain circumspect men."[163] On November 7 Jean Gerson, chancellor of Notre-Dame

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and almoner of the late duke of Burgundy, gave his ideas on the necessity for reform in a speech entitled "Vivat Rex," which he delivered before the kings of Sicily and Navarre, and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orléans, and Bourbon.[164]

Gerson's speech not only included his views on reform but also defined the roles of the king and other members of the governmental hierarchy. His ideas were based primarily on the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas.[165] Gerson thought that the king should believe in and execute the decisions of his council and that the University of Paris should be consulted on all questions concerning the government of the kingdom.[166] Gerson's idealized view of the workings of the government depicted a king with less personal power than that actually wielded by the kings of France, and this image was probably incomprehensible to most of the people who heard the orator on November 7. Even John the Fearless had not gone this far in his "requests" for reform. Duke John had, in fact, done little more than state that the king was being abused and accuse the royal officials of corruption.

The view of kingship that Gerson expressed in the "Vivat Rex" seems to have been totally ignored by his audience. The Monk of Saint-Denis, wishing not to "bore" his readers, wrote in his chronicle what he thought were the main points of the speech, and he did not mention that Gerson's concept of government and kingship opposed the existing reality in France.[167] The effect that the "Vivat Rex" did have, however, was to cause special efforts to be made immediately

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thereafter to bring the king out of his psychotic state.[168]

Additional suggestions for reform were sent in the form of a "mémoire" by the Parlement de Paris to the king's Great Council, which responded favorably and asked the Parlement to review the mémoire, correct certain "defaus," and then send it back. The Parlement worked on the corrections on November 24.[169]

In the face of this general interest in reform, which the duke of Burgundy's "requests" had initiated, a new coalition was formed. On December 1, 1405, the queen and the dukes of Berry and Orléans signed an alliance of mutual support directed against the duke of Burgundy.[170] They agreed to defend one another against everyone except the king and the royal children and to look after the affairs of the king, the kingdom, and the "chose publique" either acting together or, if separately, each of them doing nothing without the consent of the other two.

The duke of Burgundy tried to gain the support of the constable and several royal chamberlains, and during a long meeting on December 5, he invited them to dine with him on the next day in his Hôtel d'Artois.[171] His plan was ruined, however, by the dukes of Berry and Orléans, who later ordered them not to attend the dinner. Unsure of how Duke John would respond to this, Berry and Orléans arrived at a meeting of the royal council on December 7 with men who were secretly armed.[172] The queen, making use of the power given her in 1403 to govern with the council in the king's

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absence, was also present. John the Fearless had evidently decided that it was futile to attempt to employ force at this time, for he came to the meeting with an entourage that was completely unarmed. He found another way to further his plans, however, later in December: he began to ingratiate himself with the king, who was then somewhat recovered from a long psychotic episode.

The Christmas festivities afforded Duke John the opportunities he needed, and he dined with the king on December 25 and 26, 1405, and supped with him on December 30.[173] John's behavior on these occasions and perhaps his assiduous attendance of the royal council during the following weeks seem to have given the king cause to notice "his very great loyalty, sense, and prudence" and "the good and true love he has for us and the goodwill he has concerning our business and affairs and those of our kingdom."[174] John the Fearless took advantage not only of the king's grace but also of a moment when his memory was impaired by extorting from him a document of extraordinary import for the future of the kingdom, a document whose shocking contents have been completely ignored by all historians who have mentioned it.[175]

On January 27, 1406, Charles VI substituted John the Fearless for his deceased father as a member of the council which was to assist the queen in governing the kingdom during the royal "absences."[176] Actually, this substitution was completely unnecessary because the ordinance of 1403

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that had established the composition of this council had included a category called "those of our blood and lineage who will (then) be at our court,"[177] and Duke John obviously fell into that category. The ordinance of 1406 was clearly a decoy used to distract the king and to disguise the import of the second ordinance that John the Fearless solicited at the same time.[178] This second ordinance, which contained the same date, closing formula, and secretarial signature as the first, accorded Duke John his late father's position in the government of France, if the king died when the dauphin was still a minor.[179] On the surface there was nothing either extraordinary or objectionable in this, but the ordinance specifically stated that John was to take his father's position as detailed in the royal ordinance of January 1393 which had granted the tutelage, guardianship, and government of the royal children after the death of Charles VI to the queen and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bavaria. The duke of Orléans had not been mentioned in that ordinance because in a separate document issued at the same time he had been named regent for the future underage king. Both of these old ordinances had been cancelled by the ordinance of April 1403 which replaced the proposed regency with a large council that would rule by the will of the majority. The ordinance solicited by John the Fearless in 1406 implicitly annulled the provisions made in 1403 by specifying that he was to have the same position his father had been given in the ordinance of 1393 and that he was to

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enjoy the tutelage with the persons listed in that ordinance. Thus, the duke of Orléans, whose nomination as regent had previously been cancelled and whose name was not on the list, would have no part in the tutelage of the future king.

The original ordinance of 1393 stated that whenever the queen was ill or unavailable, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were to be the underage king's principal tutors.[180] Since the duke of Berry was already over 65 years old, the future of John the Fearless looked bright indeed. Moreover, with the cancellation of some of the provisions made by the ordinance of April 1403, that entire ordinance would certainly be considered invalid, and thus the arrangements it contained regarding the government of the kingdom during a minority would also be annulled. This would allow the tutors of the future king to restore the fusion of the tutelage and the regency in accordance with the custom that had been maintained until Charles V's ordinance of 1374.[181]

Charles VI was surely unaware of the extreme import of what he granted to the duke of Burgundy on January 27, 1406. The royal secretary Guillaume de Neauville and the unnamed persons present in the council when the document was drawn up appear to have been bound by Duke John to an oath of secrecy, for otherwise the other dukes, especially Louis of Orléans, would have made great efforts to obtain its cancellation as soon as they heard of it. No cancellation was sought, however, during the lifetime of the duke of

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Orléans. It may have been the need to keep secret this new anti-Orléans ordinance that caused the duke of Burgundy to make a special show of friendliness towards Duke Louis during the succeeding months, for this kind of behavior was a way of allaying suspicions.

Duke John's overtures were no doubt aided by the fact that Louis was preoccupied with other problems. As governor of the duchy of Luxembourg, Louis had become involved with the tense political situation in the city of Metz, one of Luxembourg's southern neighbors, and he spent at least half of February and the first part of March 1406 north of Paris visiting his properties, sealing pacts on February 13 with the four lords who had been at war with Metz since the previous year, and signing an alliance on March 3 with the duke of Bar, who promised military aid against the city.[182] After Louis returned to Paris, Duke John invited him to dinner at the Hôtel d'Artois on April 13,[183] and when the king named John to replace Louis as captain-general in Picardy and West Flanders on April 21, it seems that Louis offered no objection and was content to receive, instead, the office of captain-general in Guyenne.[184]

The office of captain-general in Picardy and West Flanders was extremely important to John the Fearless, for it enabled him to control all the French military operations in that area. It is clear that he was granted the post at his own solicitation, and he evidently made the request at this time because he was negotiating a commercial treaty as

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count of Flanders between his Flemish subjects and the English. As captain-general, not only could he pursue his negotiations without interference, but he was no longer obliged to hear insulting messages from the English such as the one sent to his ambassador and maître d'hôtel Thomas de Bauffremez two months earlier.[165] The English ambassadors had told Thomas that they could not come out of Calais to negotiate unless they had a safe-conduct from the duke of Orléans, since he was captain-general and clearly could not be controlled by Duke John.

Realizing that he must obtain the office of captain-general for himself, John the Fearless sought to impress the government in Paris by appearing pro-French in his negotiations. In early March he instructed his ambassadors to tell the English that he insisted on free passage for French merchants who travelled to Flanders by sea. Within two months of obtaining the office of captain-general, however, his policy changed, and he declared to the English that he was ready to drop his demand for free passage by sea for French merchants and concede all points except free passage for them by land.[166]

The duke of Burgundy's nomination as captain-general must also have served to make his friendly overtures to the duke of Orléans easier for him to sustain with grace. On May 1, 1406, John and Louis dined together in Saint-Denis, and on May 6, when they dined together again, John gave Louis a bejeweled replica of the object he used as his device, a

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carpenter's plane.[187] On June 12 Louis and John were both in Compiègne, probably seeing to the arrangements for the double wedding that was to unite members of their families with children of the king.[188] This ceremony, attended by the queen, the duke of Guyenne, and the other royal children, took place in Compiegne on June 29.[189] John, duke of Touraine, the king's second surviving son, married the duke of Burgundy's niece, Jacqueline of Bavaria, daughter of the count of Hainaut; and Isabelle of France, the king's eldest surviving daughter and widow of Richard II of England, married Charles, son of Louis of Orléans.[190] During one day of the wedding festivities, John the Fearless appeared in a black surcoat embroidered with images of a cudgel, the device of Louis of Orléans.[191] The following month saw John and Louis tied together in a matter of international politics. They were given joint sovereignty over the Italian city of Pisa and paid homage for it to Charles VI on July 27.[192]

Despite the duke of Burgundy's public show of accord with the king's brother, he did not reap many tangible rewards. As count of Nevers, Duke John had been assigned by the king a personal yearly pension of 12,000 francs.[193] His father, Philip the Bold, had received towards the end of his career a pension from the king of 36,000 francs, augmented by a royal letter of January 31, 1403 to a total of 100,000 francs.[194] At Philip's death, all pensions to the house of Burgundy ceased. The annual 12,000 francs for the guard of

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Sluis was reinstated for the widowed duchess but did not continue after her death in April 1405. In that same month, John the Fearless petitioned for the reinstatement of this pension, but his efforts were unsuccessful until the following year.[195] The third expedition of the constable d'Albret against the English in Guyenne, undertaken around December 1405,[196] undoubtedly caused the French to be interested in the guard of all ports which might be attacked by the English, and therefore, on January 23, 1406, Charles VI granted the annual pension to the duke of Burgundy for the guard of Sluis together with a gift of 18,000 francs to repair the castle there.[197] Later, the king gave Duke John two monetary gifts: 12,000 francs[198] and 15,000 francs to cover his expenses at the wedding of Compiègne.[199] It seems that by this time Charles VI had also granted him the annual pension of 36,000 francs that Philip the Bold had received, but if this is so, the payments were in arrears in 1406.[200]

During 1406 John the Fearless actually received from the king only the two monetary gifts and 10,000 francs of the 30,000 granted for Sluis, bringing the total to 37,000 francs.[201] Although the accounts of Louis of Orléans for 1406 no longer exist, those for the period from October 1, 1404 through September 30, 1405 show that in that fiscal year he received in gifts, pensions, and cessions of various types of royal taxes over 400,000 francs from the king.[202] The difference in the financial benefits the two dukes obtained from the crown could not have failed to irritate

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John the Fearless.

An additional cause for the discontent Duke John must have felt during this period was the slow implementation of the reforms he had so urgently requested. Taxation was, in fact, increased in 1406 to support the military campaigns against the English, and an aide was to be collected in John's county of Artois and in two adjacent counties beginning on March 1.[203] On August 31 the king levied an aide of 42,000 francs for the expedition to Guyenne, and on September 16 he ordered the collection of an additional 23,000 francs for a campaign in Picardy.[204] At one point Duke John objected, but he was silenced by an increase in the amount he was allotted to lead the expedition to Picardy.[205]

The preparations for war prevented the financial departments from running smoothly. Around the middle of August, the eight-year-old duke of Guyenne went to the king, accompanied by several members of his household. He told his father that he had no money to pay his creditors and asked him to remedy the situation.[206] Since the young prince's expenses were paid by the queen at this time, she must have been the author of this dramatic plea to the king. According to the Monk, Charles VI was moved by his son's words to begin an examination of the state of the financial departments but fell victim to his "habitual illness" before anything was accomplished.[207] This incident illustrates the failure of the duke of Burgundy's efforts to implement a

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program of reform. The failure was not entirely due, however, to the king or the other dukes.

On February 3, 1406, Charles VI had decreed that of all the members of the Parlement, only those who had served for twenty years would henceforth be entitled to a grant of "wages for life."[208] This decision, which involved the cancellation of many grants, was justified by the fact that the wages were paid from the severely depleted revenues of the royal domain and the taxes. The Parlement, after registering this ordinance, objected to it and recommended that it be torn up. Although the chancellor promised on February 17 that the document would be "corrected and rewritten,"[209] no changes seem to have been made until the following July 28.

The new ordinance of July 28, 1406 has been the subject of confusion among historians because a notice penned by a fifteenth-century hand on the back of the original document states that it was neither published nor registered.[210] In fact, on August 14 the members of the Parlement refused to publish the ordinance, for to do so, they declared, would be "against the honor of the king."[211] This decision was certainly motivated by the fact that among the reforms instituted by the ordinance was the same cancellation of wages for life that they had objected to in February.[212] The ordinance also reduced the number of royal councillors, maîtres extraordinaires de la chambre des comptes, généraux maîtres des monnaies, and maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel du

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roi. In addition, no monetary gifts were to be granted in the king's name from the revenues of the royal domain until all the customary charges on those revenues had been paid in full, and several categories of royal officers were not to receive monetary gifts from the king at all. All officers were prohibited from selling their offices for profit, and the seneschals, bailiffs, and councillors of the Chambre des Comptes were not to be allowed to receive salaries or gifts from other sources.

Nordberg has laid much stress on the "reformation" of the council contained in this ordinance.[213] It is more to the point, however, to emphasize the fact that the councillors named here were being "retained again" ("de nouvel retenuz") and that based on the extant records of attendance, few of them seem to have been discharged.[214] There was no question at this time, then, of a notable reformation of the council. Since no new members were added, the council was slated to remain just as pro-Orléans as the Burgundian Jean Chousat had claimed it was in his letter of 1405. Thus, the fact that this ordinance was not executed had virtually no effect on the composition of the royal council.[215]

The fate of the ordinance of July 28, 1406 makes it clear that the dukes were not solely responsible for the slow institution of administrative and financial reforms. The blame for the failure of the attempts of February and July 1406 can be laid at the door of the Parlement. Reformation involved the restriction of monetary benefits enjoyed not

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only by the princes but by every royal officer. The officers were perhaps even more resistant than the princes to the cancellation of benefits because they did not have significant other sources of income, unlike the princes, and there was less likelihood that exceptions would be made for them individually.

After the Parlement refused on August 14 to publish the reform ordinance, plans for two simultaneous military expeditions against the English seem to have occupied the minds of the dukes and councillors to the extent that they postponed the negotiation of a reform package that would please everyone. The duke of Burgundy left Paris on September 1, 1406 for Picardy,[216] and Louis of Orléans departed on September 18 or 19 to lead an army into Guyenne.[217] Both of these expeditions accomplished little.

According to a royal letter of September 23, 1406, John the Fearless was to force the English to lift the siege of the castle of Balinghem, located between Ardres and Guînes, and to do "other things concerning the war and the defense of Picardy and beyond."[218] Evidently lifting the siege of Balinghem required a minimal effort on John's part, for it was mentioned neither by the Monk of Saint-Denis nor Monstrelet. These chroniclers concentrated instead on the enormous preparations he made in October to besiege Guînes and Calais.[219] Neither of these objectives, though of great significance, was mentioned in the king's letter of September 23. The objectives expressed by Charles VI were

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of a defensive nature and make a startling contrast to Duke John's aggressive plan to attack the two chief English strongholds in Picardy.

In a document dated September 24, 1406, John the Fearless stated that King Charles had charged him to ensure that war was not waged against the English possessions in Picardy "if it seemed expedient."[220] Thus, the official attitude of the French government regarding the Burgundian expedition seems to have been rather conservative from the beginning. It is likely that once he had quickly accomplished the task set for him, John the Fearless decided on his own to make use of the army and funds at his disposal. Such a plan was definitely self-serving. As count of Flanders, Duke John was still in the process of negotiating an Anglo-Flemish treaty, since the conference set for September 8 had been postponed several times.[221] If, in the interim, he was able to mount a large enough attack against the English, he would be in an enviable position when the conference finally did take place.

The departure of the Burgundian army for Guînes was fixed for November 8, and during the month of October, John the Fearless assembled over 10,000 men in and around Saint-Omer.[222] Before the army set out, however, the lord of Calleville and eight royal chamberlains came to inform the duke that King Charles had cancelled his expedition.[223] Duke John was so intent on carrying out his plans that he offered to pay the expenses of 2,000 combattants for two or three

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months, but he could not obtain a reversal of the king's decision.[224]

The intense interest of John the Fearless in his expedition betrays his ulterior and personal motives, and Lehoux may well have been correct to theorize that his ultimate objective was to annex Guînes and Calais to his apanage.[225] We must question, however, Lehoux's supposition that the French government became aware of Duke John's plans for annexation and cancelled his expedition because it feared the eventuality of his success. Actually the government had nothing to fear if John was successful, for he was acting as the king's lieutenant and thus could not have taken any conquests for himself without committing treason. It is clear from his actions after he abducted the duke of Guyenne in 1405 that blatant treason was not on his mind during this period. At most he could have hoped that if he did succeed in taking the English fortresses, the king would give them to him as a reward because they were adjacent to his counties of Artois and Flanders. Such a hope on his part would not have been totally unrealistic if he had been allowed to continue his expedition, for the king owed him a great deal of money, and the donation of the fortresses would have cleared up the debt without taxing the severely depleted royal coffers.

Duke John's expedition was probably cancelled simply because the government had not intended the campaign to be conducted on such a grand scale. If the English lost

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Calais, the French were sure to be confronted with a full-scale war in Picardy, and the government in Paris probably thought it more expedient to await the outcome of the expedition of Louis of Orléans in the south before committing itself wholeheartedly to war in the north. There was also the problem of financing both the Burgundian and Orléanist expeditions simultaneously.

At the time when the expedition of John the Fearless was called off, Louis of Orléans had not yet accomplished anything in Guyenne. He had begun the siege of Bourg on October 31,[226] but the sudden and unexpected cold and rainy weather made his progress difficult. The location of Bourg on the Gironde Estuary made the French army susceptible to English naval attacks, and Louis summoned the French admiral, Clignet de Brébant. In the naval battle that ensued, Clignet lost one of his twenty-two ships to the English, but both sides withdrew before either could emerge truly victorious.[227] The siege of Bourg dragged on, and at the end of December, the duke of Orleans sent a letter asking the Parlement to try to convince the king to grant him 100,000 francs per month for the payment of his troops.[228] Evidently King Charles could not be convinced to do this, for Louis was obliged to lift the siege on January 14 and return north.[229]

Before returning to Paris, the duke of Burgundy at last concluded on November 30, 1406 an Anglo-Flemish treaty, which he was obliged to submit to Charles VI for approval

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because Flanders was a fief of the crown. Since his attack on Guînes and Calais had been cancelled, Duke John evidently found himself at a disadvantage during the final negotiation of this one-year treaty because he consented on the same date to the drafting of a separate agreement, which he did not plan to submit to King Charles.[230] The terms of this second agreement put John in an awkward position as vassal of the king of France, for he promised that the Flemish would not attack the English possessions in Picardy.[231] For the moment it was safe for him to make this promise, however, because the king was obviously uninterested in continuing the war in Picardy.

John the Fearless returned to Paris by December 10, 1406,[232] but he did not stay there long. He went back to Flanders shortly after January 18[233] and, from afar, petitioned for the payment of certain sums the king owed him. On April 15, 1407, in a session of the council which Louis of Orléans did not attend, Charles VI ordered that Duke John be paid 347, 591 francs, of which 189,666 francs represented debts which had never been paid to Philip the Bold.[234] In the same month, plans for governmental reform were again discussed in Paris. The cancellation of the duke of Burgundy's military plans and the failure of the expedition of Louis of Orléans in Guyenne constituted bad publicity for the government after the levy of heavy taxes for the war, and the princes no doubt saw the need to make a show of concern for reform at this time.

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In an ordinance issued on April 28, 1407, Charles VI announced that he had deliberated with a large number of councillors on the matter of reform and that he had decided to reduce the number of royal officials.[235] He stated that his first step was going to be a reduction in the number of the councillors who attended his "grands consaulx secrets et privez," and he then named the persons who were to be on the new list. Whereas the list of councillors in the ordinance of July 28, 1406 had contained 51 names, the list in the new ordinance comprised only 26 names. Again it was a question of retaining a group of men who were already councillors rather than making new nominations.[236] The reduction of the size of the council by half was an efficient way to save money, for councillors usually received an annual pension of 1,000 francs for their services.[237]

The duke of Burgundy was still in the north, dealing with his recalcitrant Flemish cities, when the ordinance of April 28 was issued, and it is interesting to note that among the councillors of the July list who were not included in the new council were three of his much favored officers: Jean de Nielles, David de Rambures, and Guillaume de Vienne. The only members of the new council likely to expend much energy in supporting Duke John were Regnier Pot and Louis de la Trémoille, bishop of Tournai.[238] John the Fearless became aware that his prospects, which had seemed bright in the middle of April, were now dimmed considerably. Although payments on the grant made to him by the king on April 15

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were supposed to take precedence when the aides of the elections of Amiens, Beauvais, Arcque, Chalons, and Troyes were disbursed, it appears that little or nothing reached him in May or June.[239]

The reformation of the government in Paris was not proving to be beneficial as far as Duke John was concerned. The council was still under the influence of Louis of Orléans. John the Fearless may have realized at this time that his idea of a reform program had been too idealistic and would never work while his cousin of Orléans remained on the scene. The obvious answer was to eliminate Louis, and this is exactly what John planned to do in June 1407. Testimony from the inquest made after Louis' murder shows that the man who rented the house for the assassins in November had tried to rent one near the royal Hôtel Saint-Pol around the feast of Saint John the Baptist (June 24).[240] After being informed by the real estate agent that nothing was available in that area, the man, who was disguised as a student, went away and did not return until November.[241] Evidently John the Fearless changed his mind and cancelled at the end of June his plans to assassinate the duke of Orléans.

The reasons for his change of heart remain obscure. He certainly must have realized that the enormity of the crime made it a dangerous undertaking, for if his assassins were caught or traced, he would be faced with many problems. In any case, somehow the balance shifted in his mind and he

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decided it was not worth it to take the risk. The shift may have been caused by his receipt of a promising bit of news at the end of June. It is known that the first payment of the new aide from the counties of Artois and Boulogne was scheduled to be delivered in Paris by the end of May,[242] and perhaps in late June Duke John received word that the government had promised to use this money to make a large payment on what it owed him. If such a promise was in fact made, it was an empty one, however, as John discovered in the ensuing months.

Later in 1407 the relationship between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans was troubled by the war in Liège. This war had begun in 1394 between the duke of Burgundy's brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, bishop-elect of Liège, and the city of Liège. The bishop-elect desired absolute power, and the city was fighting for the same sort of political freedom which the cities of the Empire enjoyed.[243] Towards the end of 1406, the Estates of Liège elected Henry of Hornes, lord of Perwez, their ruler and gave the bishopric to his son Thierry.[244] By the end of January 1407, the only stronghold which remained under the control of John of Bavaria was Maestricht. Anthony, duke of Brabant, brother of John the Fearless, was co-seigneur of Maestricht and tried to serve as a go-between. Maestricht allowed Anthony to enter the city in October but refused to accept Thierry of Hornes as bishop of Liège.[245] The Liégeois viewed Anthony's arrangements with Maestricht as traitorous to the

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alliance he had made with them on October 1, 1407[246] and broke the truce he had negotiated for them with Maestricht. Ten days after Anthony's departure from the city, John of Bavaria arrived with an army, and on October 30 Maestricht dropped its policy of neutrality and agreed to support him. As a result, the city of Liège resolved to lay siege to Maestricht.

The duke of Burgundy did not wish Maestricht to fall, for a complete victory of the Liégeois over their ruler would set a bad example for his Flemish subjects, who had been causing him many problems in 1406 and 1407 with the manifestation of their discontent.[247] There was no easy way for John the Fearless to resolve the problem of the siege of Maestricht. If he sent troops to attack the Liégeois while they besieged the city, the Liégeois would be entitled to apply to the king of France for aid because Charles VI had promised to protect them in return for their agreement in 1399 to withdraw obedience from the Roman pope.[248] Thus, Duke John would find himself fighting the king of France. It seemed as if the Liégeois were going to be successful in their attack because they could count on the support of Louis of Orléans, who was attached to them through an alliance contracted on December 1, 1404.[249] The Liégeois had also signed an alliance with Louis' ally, the duke of Guelders.[250] The future of the war in Liege must have seemed hopeless to the duke of Burgundy.

At this same time, the influence of Louis of Orléans also

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upset the relations of John the Fearless with the English. Duke John had obtained permission from the king on July 22 to negotiate a "seurte generale" in the English Channel.[251] The conferences he had planned had been constantly postponed, and then, at the end of October, Clignet de Brébant, who had been named admiral in 1406 at the request of the duke of Orléans,[252] attacked English ships off the Flemish coast, making negotiations even more difficult for John.[253] It must have appeared to Duke John that every way he turned, his way was blocked by Louis of Orléans. He probably also attributed to Louis the delay in his receipt of the money the king owed him. To assassinate Louis may have seemed too risky and perhaps not quite necessary in June, but now, John felt that there was no other alternative.

Louis of Orléans was murdered on the evening of November 23, 1407, the day before the siege of Maestricht began. His death may well have prevented the success of the siege, which the Liégeois abandoned on January 7,[254] but it created greater problems for John the Fearless and eventually plunged France into a civil war. In the hysteria and confusion that followed Louis' murder, Duke John made the mistake of confessing his involvement with the crime to his uncle and godfather, the duke of Berry, and also to the king of Sicily.[255] He was apparently moved to confess when the other dukes agreed on November 25 to allow the provost of Paris to search their residences for traces of the

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assassins. It is possible that the chief assassin, Raoul d'Anquetonville, and his accomplices were still hiding in the Burgundian Hôtel d'Artois, but even if they had already left, John could not be sure that one of his servants did not know something to tell the provost.

News of the duke of Burgundy's guilt spread quickly among the other princes, and the duke of Bourbon declared that he would never again meet the criminal face to face.[256] On the following day, after being refused entry to the royal council, John the Fearless thought it best to leave Paris before the dukes openly turned against him.[257] While he made a hasty departure for Flanders on November 26, the members of the Parlement were informed of his part in the plot.[258] On December 10 Valentina Visconti, the widow of Louis of Orléans, arrived in Paris to ask the king to prosecute the murderers.[259] The king was ready to oblige her, but the dukes seemed inclined to negotiate with the duke of Burgundy in order to avert what would otherwise certainly turn into a civil war. Thus, in December, plans were made to hold a conference before the end of January with John the Fearless in Amiens.[260]

The murder of Louis of Orléans caused the princes in Paris to worry about the future of the government, and they thought it advisable to examine again the provisions that had been made for ruling the kingdom if Charles VI died before his heir reached the age of majority. On December 26, 1407, during a lit de justice in the Parlement, the king

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issued a "perpetual and irrevocable" edict dealing with this matter.[261] Though basically similar in content to the ordinance issued in April 1403, the new ordinance possessed several characteristics that were significantly different. In the first place, this ordinance was incontestable because it was published in the Parlement in the king's presence. Thus, in the future, the Parlement would not consider valid any letter of cancellation obtained from the king in a more private setting. An eventual cancellation would have to be issued with the same solemnity of a lit de justice. An added feature of the new ordinance was the specification that it applied to all future kings of France not yet in their fourteenth year and not just to the heir of Charles VI. For this reason, when the members of the underage king's governing council were mentioned, the nonspecific phrase "[those] closest to the royal blood and lineage" was substituted for the names of actual persons. In this way, the duke of Burgundy's name did not have to appear in the document, and if the king did die in the near future, John the Fearless could not immediately claim a place in the new government by virtue of the fact that he had been mentioned by name with the other dukes who were to form the nucleus of the ruling council. It should also be noted that the new ordinance of December 26 unwittingly but necessarily cancelled the 'secret' letter of January 27, 1406, which had given the duke of Burgundy a great deal of control in the event of a minority.

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On the same day he held the lit de justice, Charles VI issued an important act concerning the government and the duke of Guyenne. No copy of this document exists, and knowledge of it comes from only two brief notices. One reference appears in the other ordinance of December 26 in the king's statement that the present regulations were not to invalidate the other "constitution and ordinance" bearing the same date "in favor of" the duke of Guyenne and the other royal children.[262] The second mention of the lost ordinance can be found in the chronicle of Juvenal des Ursins, who, when mentioning the December lit de justice, comments that the duke of Guyenne was then given the power to rule "as regent" when the king was ill.[263] This remark appears to be somewhat misleading. Since he was still a minor, it is unlikely that the duke of Guyenne could have been granted the right to rule as regent. He was probably empowered to represent the king in the council during royal "absences" without really having the authority to make decisions. The fact that the ordinance was said to be also "in favor of" the other royal children can be explained by the probable existence of a clause which stated that if the duke of Guyenne died, the king's eldest surviving son would enjoy the same privilege.

The precautions taken on December 26 were necessary for the future safety of the monarchy, since no one knew what would be the outcome of the conference in Amiens with the duke of Burgundy. Duke John was gathering his forces and

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spreading propaganda. By December 12 he had arranged to borrow 16,000 francs from Burgundian sources for his "protection," and before December 21 he held an assembly in Ghent, where, in his name, Simon de Saulx delivered an oral justification of his murder of Louis of Orléans.[264] With an aggressive and self-righteous attitude, John the Fearless was in the process of fashioning an image of Louis as a tyrant and a traitor. In contrast, he portrayed himself as a loyal servant of the crown, the savior of the monarchy.

Since the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry seem to have been the authors of the idea of a conference with Duke John, they may well have been responsible for the king's letter of December 21, 1407, which reassigned to John his pension of 36,000 francs.[265] This move was certainly made to prepare the way for a successful meeting in January. It was undoubtedly in the same spirit that the queen sent Duke John a gift for New Year's Day, 1408.[266] Also in anticipation of the conference, a number of administrative and financial reforms were instituted by a royal ordinance dated January 7, 1408.[267] The drawing up of an ordinance of this nature allowed the royal ambassadors to tell John the Fearless at the meeting in Amiens that the reforms he had demanded had now been approved by the king. The document was clearly intended for use as a ploy in the negotiations because its execution was delayed for nine months.[268] The government evidently wished to be able to say that the ordinance had been approved but did not want to order the execution until

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it was absolutely necessary. The duke of Burgundy was probably meant to infer from the government's 'goodwill' that he should now do his part and docilely re-enter the fold with an apology. The royal ambassadors learned soon enough, however, that the scenario they had hoped for was not to take place.

The duke of Burgundy arrived in Amiens between January 16 and 19, accompanied, according to Monstrelet, by an army of 3,000 men.[269] He brazenly displayed over the entry of his lodgings the painted image of two lances, one used for tournaments and the other for war. His message, Monstrelet explains, was that he stood ready for either one; the choice depended on the ambassadors from Paris.[270] After spending about ten days in conference with Duke John, the King of Sicily and the duke of Berry realized that any hope of obtaining an apology from him was unrealistic. At John's order, a second justification of his crime was delivered in Amiens, and he told the royal ambassadors that he would go in person to defend himself before the king.[271]

By the time the duke of Burgundy began his march towards Paris around February 18, the queen had summoned her son-in-law, the duke of Brittany, to come to Paris with military support.[272] More men-at-arms were convened by the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry.[273] John the Fearless was met in Saint-Denis, shortly after his arrival there on February 25, by the king of Sicily and the dukes of Berry and Brittany, and they informed him that he had been

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authorized to enter Paris with no more than 200 men-at-arms.[274] Duke John paid little heed to this injunction, and when he entered the city on February 28, he brought with him at least 800 men but encountered no active resistance.[275] The people of Paris greeted him with joyful cries of "Noël," which, according to Monstrelet, greatly displeased the queen and "several other princes."[276] Charles VI was evidently detained by his habitual "illness," for Duke John went directly to pay his respects to the heir to the throne, the duke of Guyenne.[277]

Although the queen and the princes of the blood at first tried to prevent it, John the Fearless was finally permitted to have Jean Petit present his justification in the Great Hall of the Hôtel Saint-Pol on March 8.[278] The person of the absent king was represented by the duke of Guyenne. The duke of Burgundy's justification was based on the claim that his murder of Louis of Orléans had actually saved the monarchy because Louis had been planning to have the king and his heirs killed in order to take the crown for himself. For this far-fetched explanation to be successful, it was only necessary that the king, alone, believe it to be true, and it certainly was the sort of story that could easily play upon King Charles' delusional fears of persecution. Duke John was evidently aware that he had a better chance of obtaining a royal pardon when the king was in poor health, for he pressed for an interview with King Charles on the following day. On March 9, according to the chronicler

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Cochon, the king was only partially recovered ("gary si con sy"), but he received John in the evening in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, Brittany, Lorraine, and other notables.[279]

At this interview, John the Fearless had a speaker tell the king little more than that he had discovered Louis' murderous intentions and had ordered him killed out of loyalty. In his present condition, King Charles was prepared to believe this at once. He immediately issued a letter of pardon, in which he declared that he had removed all "displeasure" from his heart, and then he personally signed a second letter, authorizing John to pursue anyone who tried to dishonor him. [280] In this way, Charles VI's illness played a key role in the solution to Duke John's predicament.

The queen was uncertain what other grants the king would make in the near future to the duke of Burgundy, and, in order to protect the interests of the monarchy, she took the duke of Guyenne and the other royal children with her to Melun.[281] She fully intended to keep the heir to the throne under her guardianship. During her absence, the duke of Burgundy was able to obtain, in April, the dismissal of the admiral of France, Clignet de Brébant, who had troubled his negotiations with England in 1406 by attacking English ships off the Flemish coast.[282] Clignet had also pursued him with men-at-arms as he fled from Paris after the murder of Louis of Orléans. Later in April, when Guillaume de Tignonville,

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provost of Paris, was discharged because of his conflict with the University of Paris, Duke John may have influenced the nomination of his successor, Pierre des Essarts.[283]

John the Fearless appears to have done little work during this period to promote the program of general reform he had requested so fervently in the past. In any event, no order was given to execute the reform ordinance that had been drawn up on January 7, 1408. This may not have been John's fault, however, for there is evidence to show that he was unable to obtain everything he wished at this time. There is no record, for example, that he received any extra financial gift ('don extraordinaire') from the king in 1408. The total of what he did obtain from the royal revenues in this year amounted to only 43,600 francs, little more than half of what he had received in 1407 while Louis of Orléans was alive.[284] Duke John's efforts in his own behalf may have been impeded by the improvement in the king's mental health in May and June.[285]

By the end of June, the situation in Liège caused the duke of Burgundy to make preparations to bring aid to his brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, who was again being besieged in Maestricht by the rebellious Liégeois.[286] In the light of the conciliatory attitude which the French had adopted regarding John the Fearless, it was now extremely unlikely that any French troops would be sent to support Liège, and therefore Duke John would not be placed this time in the awkward position of possibly fighting the king of

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France. With his departure imminent, John sent messages to the queen in Melun on June 26 and again on June 27.[287] The import of these communications is unknown, but immediately afterwards Isabeau returned to Paris. It is possible that the king's mental state had deteriorated again and she feared that before his departure, Duke John might be able to obtain either grants of money and men-at-arms for his expedition or more significant privileges.

Upon her arrival in Paris, Isabeau appears to have found the king in one of his in and out states. He may even have seemed inclined to consider John the Fearless in a friendly manner. In a situation such as this, the only recourse was to make King Charles inaccessible to John, and since he was not ill enough to be shut up in the Hôtel Saint-Pol, Isabeau engineered his removal from Paris. On June 30 the king was in Corbeil, en route to Melun.[288] It seems that the queen stayed in Paris until King Charles' journey was successfully under way because, according to the Monk of Saint-Denis, she left the city on July 1, four days before the duke of Burgundy's departure.[289]

While John the Fearless remained in Paris, preparing for his trip, the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Bavaria, the constable, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Chartres, and other notables attended a meeting of the royal council in Melun during which the king cancelled both the letter of pardon and the signed letter which he had issued for Duke John on March 9.[290] In the letter of revocation, Charles VI

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claimed he had issued the pardon because he was told that Louis of Orléans had been physically beaten with John's consent but that the two had been reconciled afterwards. King Charles also denied any previous knowledge of Duke John's part in Louis' murder. These statements must have been prevarications, but they provided a logical reason for the cancellation.

This coup against the duke of Burgundy appears to have been organized by the queen, but she may have received valuable support from the duke of Berry. The presence of the old duke in Melun shows that his policy had undergone a change at this time and that he was no longer so intent on maintaining a conciliatory attitude towards John the Fearless. It is not known if Duke John knew right away what transpired in Melun on July 2, but the chronicler Monstrelet remarks that when the duke left Paris on July 5, he was very angry with "several princes and governors of the kingdom."[291]

The king was back in Paris by July 12,[292] but the queen did not return with the duke of Guyenne until August 26.[293] It was necessary for the duke of Guyenne to be brought back to Paris to represent the king if he was ill when the duke of Burgundy's Justification was officially refuted. The duchess of Orléans entered the city in a litter draped in black on August 28 with her daughter-in-law, Isabelle of France.[294] Valentina went on September 5 to the Louvre, where Jean Jouvenel, a royal lawyer, told her before a large

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gathering that certain powers had been delegated for periods when the king was absent to the queen and the duke of Guyenne, both of whom were present.[295] On September 11, before the queen, the duke of Guyenne, and an assembly of dukes, counts, lords, burgesses, and members of the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, and the University of Paris, the abbot of Cérisy refuted, in the name of the young duke of Orléans and his mother, both present, the duke of Burgundy's justification of the murder of Louis of Orléans.[296] After this speech, Guillaume Cousinot, the widowed duchess' lawyer, presented her pleas for justice.[297] The duke of Guyenne, who had been instructed beforehand, then declared that the vindication of Louis of Orléans was accepted and that justice would be done.[298]

A few days later, three ambassadors were sent to notify the duke of Burgundy that the king was committed to the pursuit of justice in the case of Louis of Orléans' murder and that he had ordered the conflict between John of Bavaria and the Liégeois to be submitted to him.[299] These orders probably came from the royal council and not the king himself, for Charles VI appears to have been ill during this period.[300] The duke of Burgundy replied that it was too late for him to withdraw military support from his brother-in-law, for such an action might cause the bishop-elect to fall into the hands of the Liégeois.[301] He agreed, however, to come to Paris as soon as his campaign was over.

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On September 23, 1408, Duke John routed the Liegeois in the battle of Othée. Even before news of his victory reached Paris, men-at-arms were being gathered in the city to serve under the duke of Berry and the constable.[302] The reason for this was not only to protect the government from possible immediate reprisal from the duke of Burgundy for its endorsement of the speech of the abbot of Cérisy but also to guard against a popular uprising in Paris, for the sympathy of the Parisians for John the Fearless was well-known.[303] In mid-October it was rumored that the queen and the dukes intended to remove the chains which the Parisians were allowed to stretch across the streets to serve as an impediment to attack by cavalry, and, in response, the Parisians threatened the prévôt des marchands with revolt.[304] The provost of Paris was authorized to circulate through the city with armed guards, and this prevented an uprising. The queen summoned the prévôt des marchands and the principal burgesses to the Hôtel Saint-Pol. Speaking "more affably than usual," she told them that she and the king looked upon them with favor and that they should not believe the rumor that the protective chains were to be taken away.[305] Isabeau's affability did not serve her on this occasion, for when she applied to the burgesses for a loan in order to pay the troops, they refused.[306]

From Othée, John the Fearless returned to Flanders, and there he received a message which prohibited him, in the

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name of the king, from bringing more than the members of his household to Paris. His reply was that he would come accompanied as he saw fit.[307] The queen feared that the Parisians might open the city to him and offer him their support, and this possibility made it imperative for her to remove the king from Paris as she had done in July. This time, however, it was necessary to proceed with great secrecy, for, otherwise, the hostile Parisians might attempt to prevent his departure or notify the duke of Burgundy before the king was safely away.

While the escape of the king was being planned, an authorization was issued for the execution of the reform ordinance that had been drawn up on January 7, 1408.[308] The decision to execute this ordinance now, after such a long delay, appears in the light of an almost desperate attempt to quiet the Parisians and show them that the duke of Burgundy was not the only one who supported governmental reform. The royal family did not linger, however, to witness the effects of the execution. Their flight must have been hastened by the dread of an uprising, for they certainly did not have to leave so quickly on Duke John's account, since instead of marching south, he had gone north to Bruges during the last days of October.[309]

On November 2 or 3, 1408, Charles VI was led from the Hôtel Saint-Pol across the adjacent property of the Celestine monks to the right bank of the Seine.[310] A boat carried him across the river and beyond the city walls to

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the abbey of Saint-Victor, and from there he proceeded by land to Melun with a heavy military escort.[311] It seems that King Charles was joined in Gien by the queen, the duke of Guyenne, the other royal children, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, and the duke of Berry.[312] After passing through Orleans and Blois, the royal family took up residence in Tours.

The departure of the king was no surprise to the duke of Burgundy, for he had learned as early as October 26 that the trip was being planned, and he even knew then that the ultimate destination was Tours.[313] Nevertheless, he began his march south. On November 14 he left Douai, and after stopping in Arras, where an army of 20,000 men was waiting, he continued on towards Paris.[314] Once installed there, he hoped to negotiate for the return of the king and then obtain the revalidation of his letter of pardon.

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NOTES

(1) The duke of Guyenne's baptism took place on the day after his birth in the church of Saint-Pol, which stood across the street from the royal hôtel. (RSD, II, 522-25) The archbishop of Vienne performed the ceremony, and Louis' godparents were the king's brother, Louis, duke of Orléans, Pierre de Villaines, called le Bègue, and Jeanne of Luxembourg, who lived in the queen's household until 1408 and was a sister of Saint Pierre of Luxembourg. (Y. Grandeau, "De quelques dames qui ont servi la reine Isabeau de Bavière," Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1975, pp. 203-05)

(2) RSD, I, 732.

(3) See the household accounts of the queen: AN, KK 45, passim. In these early years, Louis and the other royal children did not always reside with their mother even if they were all in Paris at the same time. On other occasions, while the queen remained in Paris, the children travelled outside the city with their damoiselles, nourrices, berceresses, femmes de chambre, and other servants. In 1398 we find the children without their mother in Champigny, Beauté-sur-Marne, Vincennes, (AN, KK 45, fol. 2v) and Meaux (fol. 13v). In the first months of 1399, Louis and his younger brother Jean remained with Isabeau in the Hôtel Saint-Pol, while the other children lived in the Louvre. (Ibid., fol. 29v) The queen's accounts for the year 1400 state that all the children were "hors de la compagnie la Royne" during that entire twelve-month-period. (Ibid., fols. 61-61v, and 73v-74v)

(4) RSD, II, 770.

(5) AN, J 369, no. 1 (A, B, & C) and Ordonnances, VIII, 418.

(6) E. Collas, Valentine de Milan, duchesse d'Orléans, Paris, 1911, pp. 238 & 242.

(7) There is no further mention of Marie of Orléans after Aug. 8, 1401. (Collas, p. 242) Valentina's next daughter was born in May 1406. (Ibid., p. 243) On May 22, 1401, the duke of Orléans requested from Benedict XIII a dispensation for the marriage of his daughter and the duke of Guyenne, and Robert de Braquemont brought the

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dispensation from Avignon to Paris in October 1401. (N. Valois, La France et le grand schisme d'occident, III, Paris, 1901, p. 241 nn. 1 & 3)

(8) J. Weizsäcker, Deutsche Reichstagsakten, IV, Gotha, 1882, no. 29 (instructions given by Robert to his secretary, "meister Albrecht").

(9) The exact date of birth of Isabeau of Bavaria is unknown. For a discussion of her age, see T. Straub, "Die Mailander Heirat Herzog Stephans III des Kneissels und das wirkliche Geburtsjahr Herzog Ludwigs des Bärtigen und seiner Schwester Isabeau de Bavière," Sammelblatt des historischen Vereins Ingolstadt, 77 Jahrgang (1968), p. 8.

(10) In 1396 Isabeau said to the ambassador Bonaccorso Pitti, who was seeking an alliance between France and Florence, "Let me deal with the king, for I will do what you ask." (M. Nordberg, Les Ducs et la royaute: etudes sur la rivalité des ducs d'Orléans et de Bourgogne (1392-1407), Uppsala, 1964, p. 102 n.5) The treaty that was signed was directed against Giangaleazzo Visconti, who had murdered Isabeau's grandfather and was an enemy of the house of Bavaria, and Nordberg has shown that the French acceptance of the terms was due not to the duke of Burgundy but to the efforts of the queen.

(11) Thibault, p. 275.

(12) L. Douet d'Arcq, Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI, Paris, 1863, I, 140-42. In 1400 Fortune favored Duke Philip when Wenceslas was deposed on August 20 and replaced with Robert of Bavaria. Louis offered to help Wenceslas recapture the imperial crown, but the inertia of that alcoholic prince caused the abandonment of any such scheme. (A. Minder, La Rivalité Orléans-Bourgogne dans la principauté de Liège, Liège, 1973, pp. 30-31)

(13) More political opposition between Burgundy and Orléans is evident in the traditional interpretation of the relations between France and Genoa from 1392 to 1396. According to this interpretation, which was established by Jarry and Bouard, Louis wished to become sovereign of Genoa but was opposed by the duke of Burgundy, who, by convincing Charles VI to accept the sovereignty in

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Louis' place, caused the end of Louis' Italian dream. Nordberg challenged this interpretation and claimed that there is no proof of Louis' designs on Genoa, no evidence of friction between Louis and Charles VI on the matter, nor any rivalry at that time between Louis and Philip of Burgundy. (Nordberg, pp. 89, 95 ff., 103, 109-10 (with references to Bouard, Jarry, Valois, and others))

(14) Lehoux, II, 451-53.

(15) For the cession of Dreux, see AN, K 534, no. 2 (published in Ordonnances, VIII, 448-49). For the command of Toul, see Lehoux, II, 453.

(16) AN, JJ 156, fol. 178v.

(17) Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 212-13.

(18) Lehoux, II, 463.

(19) Lehoux, II, 463.

(20) According to the Chronographia Regum Francorum, the Dauphin Charles, "qui modicum post obiit," also took part in the negotiations. This was impossible, however, because Charles had been dead for almost a year. Lehoux, who quotes this chronicle, repeats the mistake. (Lehoux, II, 464 and n.1)

(21) See the letter sent by the duke of Bourbon to Henry III of Castille which is thought to date from 1401. (Pub. in full by G. Daumet, Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille aux XIVe et XVe siècles, Paris, 1898, pp. 207-09)

(22) Jarry, Vie, p. 263.

(23) Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 220-26.

(24) Ordonnances, VIII, 484.

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(25) See also Lehoux, II, 466-67. On May 22, 1404, the king augmented the apanage of Louis of Orléans by giving him the royal rights over Soissons and other places that Louis had purchased from Marie de Coucy. (Ordonnances, IX, 1-2) These rights had an estimated value of 500 livres parisis de rente. Louis' apanage was again increased by a royal ordinance of June 5, 1404, which ceded to him Châtillon-sur-Marne, Montargis, Courtenay, and Crécy-en-Brie. (Ibid., 700-02) Upon receipt of these lands, Louis appeared before the king, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and members of the royal council and swore with his hand upon the Gospels that he was now content with his apanage and would never ask for further increases. (Ibid.)

(26) Godefroy, p. 786. John of France had been given the duchy of Touraine on July 12, 1401. (Ordonnances, VIII, 450-52)

(27) Lehoux, II, 470. Benedict XIII had been living in the palace of Avignon, virtually a prisoner since the summer of 1398.

(28) AN, J 468, no. 11; published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 227-39.

(29) Ordonnances, VIII, 494-96.

(30) Lehoux, II, 473-76.

(31) Ordonnances, VIII, 518-19.

(32) During the third week of February in 1402, Charles VI added the duke of Berry as a third souverain gouverneur des aides en Languedoil, but by May 19, 1403 he had discharged all three. (Lehoux, II, 493-94)

(33) AN, J 402, no. 16 (original); published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 240-43, and F.M. Graves, Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme, Paris, 1913, no. 122.

(34) Lehoux, II, 481.

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(35) T. Straub, Herzog Ludwig der Bärtige von Bayern-Ingoldstadt und seine Beziehungen zu Frankreich in der Zeit von 1391 bis 1415, München, 1965, pp. 38-40.

(36) Lehoux, II, 495.

(37) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 47.

(38) A. Thomas, Le Comté de la Marche et le Parlement de Poitiers 1418-1436, Paris, 1910, pp. xxvi ff.

(39) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 41.

(40) AN, J 188 A, no. 67 (agreement between the duke of Berry and Louis of Bavaria, dated December 1404) and no. 68 (quittance of the entire sum, 1405).

(41) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 42.

(42) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 43.

(43) See the letter which Jacopo da Carrara addressed to his brother Francesco on January 26, 1403, published by Weizsacker, V, p. 395, no. 291.

(44) Lehoux, II, 498 n.2 (with reference to AN, P 2297, p. 405). Charles d'Albret did homage to the king for the office of constable on Feb. 7, 1403. (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII), fol. 127)

(45) "...de y pourveoir par le conseil et advis de noz diz oncle et frere et des autres de nostre sang et des gens de nostre conseil qu'elle voudra a ce appeller..." (Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 242)

(46) "telz et en tel nombre comme il sera expedient" (Ordonnances, VIII, 578).

(47) "la plus grant et saine partie des voix" (Ordonnances, VIII, 578). The majority rule suggested here is not merely rule by a numerical majority, for the inclusion

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of the word "saine" indicates that the quality of the councillors was also to be taken into account. The principle of rule or election by the 'maiore et saniore parte' was a tradition in medieval political theoretical works and originated in antiquity. (C.H. McIlwain, The Growth of Political Thought in the West from the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages, New York, 1932, pp. 303-04) See also O. Gierke, Political Theories of the Middle Age, Boston, 1960, pp. 64 & 166-67. For a discussion of the similar term 'valentior pars,' which was used by Marsiglio of Padua in the early fourteenth century, see J.B. Morrall, Political Thought in Medieval Times, London, 1960, pp. 112-14.

(48) The ordinance is signed "Par le Roy Messeigneurs les ducs de Berry et Bourgoingne presens: Derian" To my knowledge no historian who mentions the ordinances of 1402 and 1403 has understood that the second one put significant restraints on the authority which the first one had given to the queen. See, for example, Lehoux, II, 498; Thibault, p. 373; and H. Kimm, Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France, 1370-1435, München, 1969, pp. 80-82.

(49) "...facent solennel Serement de Nous estre bons, vrais et loyaulx Subges et obeissans envers tous et contre tous qui pourroient vivre et mourir..." (Ordonnances, VIII, 579)

(50) The members of the Parlement swore this oath in the presence of the constable and the chancellor on May 11, 1403. (Ordonnances, VIII, 580)

(51) Although Philip IV had set the fourteenth year as the age of majority for his son, Charles V was the first monarch to make this a general law for all future kings of France. See the discussion in F. Olivier-Martin, Les Régences et la majorité des rois sous les Capétiens directs et les premiers Valois (1060-1375), Paris, 1931, pp. 162-65. For the ordinance of Charles V dated Aug. 1374, see AN, J 406, no. 6 a-c (3 copies "par manière d'original"), AN, K 51, no. 1 (copy made to be kept in the abbey of Saint-Denis), Ordonnances, VI, 26-30, Dupuy, Traité de la majorité, p. 105 (a poor copy); and M. Félibien, Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France, Paris, 1706, preuves, no. CXCIV (a better copy). For the confirmation of Charles VI, dated November 1392, see AN, J 402, nos. 9 (in French) and 9 bis (in Latin), and Ordonnances, VII, 517-18 (in

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Latin) and 518-22 (in French). For the ordinance of April 1403, see AN, J 402, no. 12, and Ordonnances, VIII, 581-83.

(52) Lehoux (II, 497-98) considers the queen the instigator of the stipulations made by this ordinance.

(53) This ordinance stated that decisions were to be made by the majority and "sounder part" of those who would be present but "sanz avoir regard a la Grandeur, auctorite et estas des personnes, mais seulement a ce qui sera dit et advisie pour le bien, utilite et prouffit desdictes besongnes." (Ordonnances, VIII, 582) This qualifying clause completely changed the traditional concept of the 'sanior pars.' It was obviously deemed safer, if the king died, to shift the emphasis away from the quality of the councillors to the quality of their advice in order to prevent the princes from fighting over precedence when no adult monarch would be there to restrain them.

(54) Ordonnances, VII, 535. The regency and tutelage ordinances of Jan. 1393 copied the arrangements made by Charles V in 1374. (Nordberg, p. 64) Note that Charles VI also drew up his testament in January 1393. (AN, J 404 B, no. 40, published in G. Bessé, Recueil de diverses pièces servant à l'histoire de Charles VI, Paris, 1660, pp. 343-60)

(55) Lehoux, II, 497; Nordberg, p. 70. Thibault (p. 373) considers the ordinance which regulated the queen's authority a coup d'état in her favor organized by Burgundy, but since he claims this document gave her "l'autorité suprême," it is clear that he has completely misunderstood the terms of the ordinance.

(56) The duke of Burgundy's dislike of sharing power is evident in his actions after being chosen to administer the aides with the duke of Orleans. See Lehoux, II, 476-77.

(57) AN, KK 45, fol. 164. Note that using the same reference, Lehoux (II, 497 n.9) misread the date as April 23.

(58) Although they were adversaries in the realm of politics, the queen was on friendly enough terms with

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Louis of Orléans to lend him 20,000 francs; 11,000 of which he had returned to her on February 1, 1403. (BN, P.O. 2155, Orléans, no. 296)

(59) RSD, III, 76.

(60) Nordberg, pp. 74-75.

(61) "conforme presque dans les moindres détails" (Nordberg, pp. 73-74)

(62) Ordonnances, VIII, 577 note a & 583.

(63) The ordinances registered in the Parlement before 1416 were entered into a register which is now AN, X.1a 8602. Since the two ordinances in question do not appear in that manuscript, they were not registered in the Parlement. For a complete inventory of the contents of the register, see H. Stein, Inventaire analytique des ordonnances enregistrées au Parlement de Paris jusqu'à la mort de Louis XII, Paris, 1908. The original registers which contained the registrations made in the Chambre des Comptes were destroyed by fire in 1737, and thus it cannot be ascertained if they contained the two April ordinances unless a reference to them can be found in one of the many volumes of extracts made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before the fire. Note, however, that it would not have been an odd circumstance for ordinances of the type we are discussing here to have been registered in the Chambre des Comptes, for it is known that the ordinance of Charles V which was dated August 1374 and concerned regencies and majorities appeared in shortened form in a register of the Chambre called "Memorial D" on folio 156. (Ordonnances, VI, 26 note a & 31) The Chambre is also known to have kept a "registre des chartes" which concerned solely the dauphin Louis, duke of Guyenne. (C. Langlois, "Registres perdus des archives de la chambre des comptes de Paris," Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Autres Bibliothèques, XL, 78)

(64) Nordberg, p. 74.

(65) See the discussion of the role of the Parlement in the ratification and registration of royal acts below in

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Appendix II.

(66) U. Plancher, Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, Dijon, 1739-81, Preuves, III, no. CCXI.

(67) AN, J 372, no. 3.

(68) AN, J 409, no. 47 (original); AN, JJ 158, fols. 100-01; published in Godefroy, pp. 601-02, and Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXIV.

(69) The duke of Guyenne's marriage contract was ratified by the queen in a sealed document on May 6, 1403 (Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXIV) and by the duchess of Burgundy on June 28, 1403 (AN, J 409, no. 48). The three castellanies in Champagne had belonged to the duchess. The papal dispensation for the marriage was issued on January 3, 1404. (Lehoux, II, 512)

(70) For the promise concerning the marriage of Michelle of France, see AN, JJ 158, fols. 101v-102v, published in Godefroy, pp. 602-03, and Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXII. This promise was ratified by the queen in a separate sealed document on May 6, 1403. (Plancher, ibid.) For the promise concerning the marriage of the duke of Touraine, see Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXV. This promise was also ratified by the queen on May 6. (Ibid.)

(71) AN, J 468, no. 12 (royal letter of May 11 containing the text of the letter of May 7 but not the closing formula). The letter of May 7 is published (without the opening and closing formulas) in F.A. Isambert, Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789, Paris, 1821-33, VII, 59-61.

(72) Nordberg (p. 73) understood that the letter of May 7 cancelled the April ordinances, but he failed to expand on this idea and examine its ramifications.

(73) J. Le Laboureur, Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France, Paris, 1663, I, 94. See also BN, Coll. Bourgogne, XXVI, fol. 254.

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(74) Le Laboureur, I, 94.

(75) AN, J 468, no. 12 (original); published (without the opening and closing formulas) in Isambert, VII, 61-63. According to the original, the letter of May 11 was signed "Par le Roy, Monseigneur le duc de Bourgongne et autres presents. Neauville."

(76) Lehoux, II, 501.

(77) Valois, III, 331-32. The cardinals officially restored their obedience to Benedict XIII on July 19, 1403. (Ibid., p. 344)

(78) Valois, III, 334.

(79) Lehoux, II, 478.

(80) Lehoux, II, 494.

(81) Valois, III, 337.

(32) Lehoux, II, 502.

(93) Jarry, Vie, pp. 291-92.

(84) The expedition of the duke of Orléans to Lombardy was already being planned by April 7, 1403. (Lehoux, II, 508)

(85) Lehoux, II, 524 (with reference to AN, J 369 A, no. 3 A).

(86) Lehoux, II, 524.

(87) Lehoux, II, 524-25 (with reference to AN, J 369 A, no. 4). Lehoux's interpretation of this ordinance is highly questionable. She describes it (II, 525) as seeking to "pousser le duc dans la tombe, ou du moins lui signifier sans ambages qu'il était temps pour lui de s'effacer."

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(88) The duke of Orléans was in Valence on Jan. 27, 1404 (BN, P.O. 2155, Orléans, no. 330); in Lyon on Feb. 2 (ibid., no. 332); and back in Paris by Feb. 14 (Jarry, Vie, p. 303).

(89) Ordonnances, XII, 218. See Jarry, Vie, pp. 304-06.

(90) Lehoux, III, 18 and n.3.

(91) RSD, III, 122 & 142.

(92) AN, J 359, no. 25; published in Godefroy, pp. 609-10. Louis of Orléans had been making plans for this marriage well before the king agreed to it in June 1404: while in the south of France, he had obtained a dispensation for Charles and Isabelle from Benedict XIII (dated Jan. 15, 1404). (Mirot, Isabelle, p. 133 (with reference to AN, K 55, no. 31))

(93) Mirot, Isabelle, p. 115.

(94) AN, K 55, nos. 27, 28-30; and K 56 A, no. 15. All of these are in the form of a vidimus.

(95) Ordonnances, IX, 1-2.

(96) For the grant of the lordship of Pisa, see Lehoux, III, 24 n.1. For the monetary grants, see L. Mirot, L'Enlèvement du dauphin et le premier conflit entre Jean sans peur et Louis d'Orléans (juillet-octobre 1405), Paris, 1914, p. 5 (with reference to BN, P.O. 2155, Orleans, no. 354).

(97) AN, J 359, no. 24; published in Ordonnances, IX, 700-02.

(98) Louis of Orléans left Paris between July 17 and 22, 1404. (Jarry, Vie, p. 314) While procuring royal grants in the spring of 1404, Louis also made a new arrangement with Marie de Coucy concerning her sale to him of the barony of Coucy and other properties. The terms of this arrangement show how clever but unfair

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Louis' ways of doing business were. His original contract with Marie dated from Nov. 15, 1400, and the price agreed upon was 400,000 francs, of which Louis was supposed to pay 200,000 in cash. By 1404, he had only paid 104,000 francs of this sum, but on May 23 of that year, Marie dropped her claim to the 96,000 still due. Louis had been able to force her into this position because although the original contract had stated that she would make sure that Coucy, of which she was to hold the usufruct until her death, remained free from any obligation, she was now involved in a lawsuit with her stepmother, who had a valid claim to a share of the property. In return for the cancellation of his debt of 96,000 francs, Louis agreed to assume all responsibilities and payments involved in the lawsuit. (Jarry, Vie, pp. 311-12) Another example of Louis' unscrupulous tactics is his purchase of the county of Blois in 1391. This transaction was regarded at the time as a great scandal. (L. Mirot, "L'Assassinat de Louis d'Orléans et la théorie du tyrannicide au XVe siècle," Revue des Études Historiques, C (1933), 146-47.

(99) Louis of Orléans was in or near Saint-Gobain on Aug. 14, 1404 (AN, KK 46, fol. 50v), and he was back in Paris by Aug. 26 (BN, P.O. 1522, Heuse, no. 57).

(100) This was the second trip of John the Fearless to Paris since his father's death. During his first trip, he had paid homage to Charles VI for the duchy of Burgundy on May 23, 1404. (Petit, Itinéraires, p. 342)

(101) John the Fearless arrived in Paris on Aug. 24, 1404 and left on the following Sept. 25. (L. Mirot, "Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405, d'après les comptes de sa chambre aux deniers," Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1938, pp. 213-14)

(102) John the Fearless attended meetings of the royal council on the following dates (the asterisk denotes the absence of Philip the Bold at that particular meeting): Nov. 13, 1398 (BN, P.O. 2584, Roye, no. 17); July 25, 1400 (AN, JJ 156, fol. 2v); Dec. 1400 (AN, JJ 155, fol. 245); Jan. 3, 1401 * (BN, P.O. 1210, Foucaut, no. 16); Jan. 15, 1401 (AN, JJ 156, fol. 62v); March 10, 1401 (AN, P 1389.2, no. 285); May 9, 1401 (AN, J 188 B, no. 17); March 10, 1402 (AN, JJ 157, fol. 110); Jan. 18, 1403 * (AN, K 55, no. 18 bis); May 3, 1403 (AN, J 372, no. 3); May 15, 1403 (BN, P.O. 1189, Fontenay, no. 14); June 5, 1403 (AN,

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JJ 157, fol. 300v); and July 5, 1403 * (BN, P.O. 364, Blanchet, no. 17).

(103) Philip the Bold had remained in Paris while John visited Louis of Orléans in Coucy. (Mirot, "Jean sans Peur," p. 203)

(104) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 5-6. See AN, KK 267, fols. 28-29v & 31v.

(105) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 5-6. See AN, KK 267, fols. 29v & 30.

(106) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 5-6. See AN, K 55, no. 11.4.

(107) For the year from October 1, 1404 through September 30, 1405, the king granted Valentina Visconti 6,000 livres tournois for her argenterie and écurie (AN, KK 267, fol. 41) plus a pension of 12,000 francs (ibid., fols. 7-7v) and another sum of 4,000 francs (ibid., fol. 28). Charles of Orléans must have been granted a renewal of the annual 12,000 francs the king had accorded him on February 21, 1403 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 3655, pp. 253-54), since it is known that the pension was still allocated to him in 1405 (presumably for 1405-1406). (Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 6)

(108) For the announcement in the Parlement, see Baye, I, 131, and RSD, III, 230. The royal letter ordering the new tax was signed before February 13, 1405 because on that date the king set the quota due from the county of Alencon. (Lehoux, III, 35 n.1)

(109) Jarry, Vie, p. 317.

(110) RSD, III, 228-30.

(111) RSD, III, 232.

(112) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, pp. 54 & 196 n.30. The money also could have come from the jewels which the king and queen gave to Louis to pawn as part of the payment of the 120,000 francs promised him for his marriage with Anne of Bourbon. (See ibid., pp. 215 ff.)

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(113) Among the historians who have considered Isabeau's letter an alliance are: Jarry, Vie, p. 325, Kimm, pp. 123-24, Lehoux, III, 35 n.3, Plancher, III, 216, Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 56, R. Vaughan, John the Fearless, New York, 1966, p. 32, J. Verdon, Isabeau de Bavière, Paris, 1981, p. 140.

(114) AD Côte-d'Or, B 11892 (original, signed "Ysabel"); published in Plancher, Preuves, III, p. ccxxxvii.

(115) Vaughan, John, pp. 20-21. Vaughan dates the defeat of the count of Saint-Pol at Marck May 12, 1405. Lehoux (III, 38 n.5), however, gives the date as May 15. For a description of the battle, see Monstrelet, II, 100-06.

(116) Lehoux, III, 39-40.

(117) Jarry, Vie, p. 320-21. Charles VI had purchased the homage of the duke of Guelders for 60,000 ecus, but on May 1, 1405, Duke Reginault acquitted the king of the debt because it had been agreed that he would receive the money from Louis of Orléans, instead. (AN, K 56 A, no. 10) Louis also agreed to give Marie de Harcourt, whom Regnault married on the following May 5, a dowry of 30,000 ecus. (Jarry, Vie, p. 321)

(118) Monstrelet, I, 106. It is also true that the duke of Burgundy's return to Paris was solicited by the University of Paris, whose deputies had visited him in May and asked him to use his influence in certain dealings between the University and the rival popes. (Vaughan, John, p. 32)

(119) RSD, III, 228.

(120) RSD, III, 268.

(121) RSD, III, 270-74.

(122) AN, JJ 160 (microfilm without folio numbers).

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(123) The actual letter of nomination has not been found.

(124) Louis of Orléans was in or near Mantes on July 17, 25, and 26 in 1405. (AN, KK 46, fol. 92v)

(125) Lehoux, III, 42 and n.2.

(126) Lehoux, III, 43.

(127) For the date of the departure of the queen and the duke of Orléans, see the letter of F. de Robledo, dated Aug. 26, 1405, published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 76-78. For the date of their arrival in Melun, see AN, KK 46, fol. 93.

(128) Lehoux, III, 44. On Aug. 23, 1404, the marquis du Pont had promised, in return for an annual pension of 6,000 livres tournois, to serve Louis of Orléans against everyone except the king, the duke of Guyenne, and the duke of Bar. (AN, K 56 A, no. 9) Note that on Aug. 17, 1405, the day of the queen's secret departure from Paris, the marquis was given, in the name of the king, a gift of 12,000 écus "pour certaines causes." (BN, ms. fr. 26037, no. 4279) Later, it was said that this gift had been given to help him purchase a residence in Paris. (Ibid., no. 4355, quoted in Lehoux, III, 44 n.2)

(129) For the physical condition of the duke of Guyenne from Aug. 17 to Aug. 19, 1405, see the duke of Burgundy's letter of Sept. 8, published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 87.

(130) The lord of La Rivière is misidentified by Mirot (L'Enlèvement, p. 21 n.4) as Charles' younger brother, Jacques de la Riviere, but the duke of Burgundy states in his letter of Sept. 8, 1405 that it was the lord of La Rivière. (Ibid., p. 87) This same letter calls La Rivière's companion simply "Boussiqaut," which suggests that he was the marshal of France, John Boucicaut, but the letter of F. de Robledo, dated Aug. 26, 1405, mentions only "Busicaut el menor" as part of the plot (ibid., p. 77). John's younger brother Geoffrey was commonly called "Boucicaut le jeune." Geoffrey is mentioned among those who escorted the duke of Guyenne out of Paris in a letter of Jean Chousat, dated Aug. 21, 1405. (Lehoux, III, 46 n.1)

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The Monk of Saint-Denis (III, 296) mentions the "marescallus Boussicaudus" later in the story of the abduction, so it may be that both brothers were involved.

(131) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 22-23.

(132) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 77 (letter of F. de Robledo).

(133) RSD, III, 294. See also the duke of Burgundy's letter in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 85.

(134) Monstrelet, I, 111.

(135) Monstrelet (I, 111) states incorrectly that the queen was dining in Corbeil. The Monk of Saint-Denis' assertion (III, 294) that the place was Pouilly is confirmed by an entry in the queen's household accounts (AN KK 46, fol. 93).

(136) See the letter of the duke of Burgundy (Aug. 19,, 1405) published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 75-76.

(137) Monstrelet, I, 112-13.

(138) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 29.

(139) Baye, I, 139.

(140) The letter of the duke of Burgundy and his brothers, dated Sept. 8, 1405, is published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, no. VII.

(141) Monstrelet, I, 113-14.

(142) Lehoux, III, 51 n.1.

(143) Lehoux, III, 48 n.3.

(144) Baye, I, 139; and Mirot, L'Enlèvement, p. 36.

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(145) The "requests" of the duke of Burgundy and his brothers, dated Aug. 26, 1405, are published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, no. IV.

(146) Nordberg, p. 192.

(147) Nordberg (p. 199) considers the summons of the États to be evidence for the duke of Burgundy's "ligne constitutionelle...qui visait à donner aux États Generaux un ascendant sur le gouvernement du royaume." It is more likely, however, that Duke John was merely seeking wide public support for his actions and machinations against Louis of Orleans. After all, the history of John's life affords abundant proof that he was more interested in his own personal gain than in the kingdom or true reform.

(148) Nordberg, pp. 196-97.

(149) The duke of Orleans' letter of Sept. 2, 1405 is published from the original (AN, J 1044, no. 39) in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 273-83. An example of the introductory section which was added to the copies sent to the towns is published in Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 83-84.

(150) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, no. VII (letter of Sept. 8, 1405)

(151) An example of Philip the Bold's abuse of his power during the minority of Charles VI is the expedition against the duke of Guelders in 1388. Philip used the French army, led by Charles VI in person, to end the threats to Brabant's frontiers and make the duchess of Brabant so indebted to him financially (since he charged her for the service of the army) that she could only pay him by giving over certain territories he desired. The difficulties of Brabant had no significance for the kingdom of France but were important to Philip because his family stood to inherit the duchy upon the death of the elderly duchess. After the army returned to France, Philip was bold enough to solicit from Charles VI 200,000 francs for his expenses. (R. Vaughan, Philip the Bold, London, 1962, pp. 98-99) When he acquired the castle of Sluis in Flanders through an exchange with William of Namur in 1386, Duke Philip again turned to Charles

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VI for support. In 1388 the king gave him 200,000 francs to remodel the castle and by 1397 had granted him an annual 12,000 francs to guard the place. (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons du roi aux grands feudataires, les ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le hardi et Jean sans peur," Revue Historique, CLXXXIII (1938), pp. 299-300) Members of Philip's immediate family were drawing annual pensions from the king which amounted to 83,000 francs in 1402 but were increased in 1403 to 100,000 francs. (Ibid.) Philip's financial accounts show that during the last seven or eight years of his life, he actually received an average of about 175,500 francs per year from the king besides the annual 60,000 francs on the royal aides levied in his territories. (Vaughan, Philip, p. 231)

(152) Charles VI took the government of Languedoc away from the duke of Berry in 1389 because the duke abused his power and milked that entire territory. (Lehoux, II, 248 ff.) Louis of Anjou, judged "convoiteus" by his brother Charles V, stole 32,000 francs from the royal treasury in 1380 after Charles V died. For this and other details of his corruption, see H. Moranville, Inventaire de l'orfèvrerie et des joyaux de Louis I duc d'Anjou, Paris, 1906, pp. ix-xi.

(153) Lehoux, III, 54-55.

(154) Lehoux, III, 55.

(155) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 59-60.

(156) Vaughan, John, p. 35.

(157) On Oct. 8, 1405, the duke of Burgundy pawned some of his jewels for 25,600 écus. For this and other details on ways he obtained money to pay his troops, see Lehoux, III, 58 n.1.

(158) Monstrelet, I, 123.

(159) Lehoux, III, 58 n.2.

(160) Ordonnances, IX, 93-94. Nordberg (p. 203 n.6) mentions that Mirot (L'Enlèvement, p. 64) erred when

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he stated that the royal letter of October 12, 1405 was issued by the king himself. Lehoux (III, 60) made the same mistake that Mirot did. Actually, the letter is signed: "a la relation du grant conseil ouquel...." Lehoux also erred in identifying the letter in which the king originally gave Isabeau the authority to act as mediator as one of the ordinances of April 26, 1403. (Ibid., p. 60 n.4) The original grant was made, instead, on March 16, 1402 (Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 227-39) and was mentioned again in the letter of July 1, 1402 (ibid., 240-43). The royal letter of 1405 clearly refers to the letter of March 16 because it mentions that the original of the grant carried a green seal. The seal of the letter of March 16 was indeed green, whereas that of the letter of July 1 was yellow. Both Lehoux (III, 60) and Mirot (L'Enlèvement, p. 64) were again mistaken when they said that the king confirmed at this time the grant to Isabeau of the power to act as mediator. Their mistake appears to be due to the fact that the letter of October 12 is printed a second time in the Ordonnances (XII, 222-23) as if it were a different letter. The formula of the signature was omitted in this second copy, and the erroneous descriptive title apparently misled the two historians, who obviously failed to compare the text with that of the letter in IX, 93-94. The correction of these mistakes shows that Charles VI played no part in the negotiations of October 1405.

(161) RSD, III, 344.

(162) Lehoux, III, 61.

(163) RSD, III, 346. Nordberg (p. 205) has suggested that the intervention of the University had been requested by the duke of Burgundy.

(164) RSD, III, 346. Jean Gerson was retained as almoner to Philip the Bold with a yearly pension of 200 livres on April 14, 1393. At the duke's expense, he had two valets and three horses. (BN Coll. Bourgogne, XXVI, fol. 80v) Gerson was still receiving his pension in 1400. (Ibid., fol. 67v)

(165) Nordberg, p. 212.

(166) Nordberg, p. 211.

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(167) RSD, III, 346.

(166) RSD, III, 346.

(169) Baye, I, 143-44.

(170) AN, K 55, no. 36; published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 283-85.

(171) See the letter of Jean Chousat dated Dec. 9 or 10 and partially published in Lehoux, III, 63 nn.1-4.

(172) Lehoux, III, 63 n.6.

(173) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 352.

(174) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXLIII.

(175) See Lehoux, III, 64; Nordberg, p. 74; Jarry, Vie, pp. 332-33, and Vaughan, John, p. 37.

(176) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXLIII.

(177) "ceulx de nostre Sang et Lignage qui seront en nostre Court" and, further on, "ceulx de nostre Lignage et conseil qui lors y seront presens" (Ordonnances, VIII, 578).

(178) According to Nordberg's interpretation (p. 207), the first ordinance of Jan. 27, 1406 was a revitalization of the ordinance of 1403 which had arranged for rule by the majority in the council during the royal "absences" and which, to his way of thinking, had never been executed. For this reason, Nordberg credited John the Fearless with having successfully brought about with this letter an immediate and drastic reduction in the power of Louis of Orléans. If this were true, however, Duke John would certainly have given the ordinance as much publicity as possible, sending it, for example, to the Parlement for publication and registration as he had done with

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his "requests" for reform, especially since by finally executing the decisions of 1403, the ordinance would have represented a significant reform. Once the ordinance was registered, John would have been able to call on the Parlement to oppose its cancellation, and it is certain that the duke of Orléans would have sought to cancel an ordinance which greatly diminished his power. The support of the Parlement would have been necessary to John, for he could not count on the other dukes or the council. The fact that no altercation ensued must mean either that the duke of Orléans did not know about the ordinance because its existence was a secret or that he did not consider it important. As we have already shown, the ordinance of 1403 was registered, though not in the Parlement, and must therefore have been executed. Thus, the provision for rule by the majority was already in effect. It is clear that Louis of Orléans had already solved the problems that majority rule created for him, for on Sept. 27, 1405, the Burgundian Jean Chousat remarked, "The council does nothing except by the counsel and advice of the opposing party (viz. Louis of Orléans)." (quoted by Nordberg, p. 202)

(179) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCXLIV.

(180) Ordonnances, VII, 531.

(181) See Olivier-Martin, p. 167.

(182) Nordberg, pp. 178-79. The duke of Orléans was in Paris on Feb. 1, 1406 (BN, P.O. 2562, Roussay, no. 8), in Pierrefonds "ou environ" on Feb. 17 & 21 (AN, KK 46, fols. 115v & 116), in Pierrefonds on Feb. 18 (BN, P.O. 1785, Mace, no. 11), in Soissons "ou environ" on Feb. 26 & 28 (AN, KK 46, fol. 116), in Soissons on March 3 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20028, no. 64), in Coucy "ou environ" on March 4, 6, 8, & 9 (AN, KK 46, fol. 116), in Coucy on March 7 (BN, Coll. Bastard, no. 475), in Soissons "ou environ" on March 10 (ibid., fol. 116v), and in Paris on March 18 (Jarry, Vie, p. 335 n.4).

(183) Lehoux, III, 80 n.2.

(184) Lehoux, III, 84-85; and Jarry, Vie, p. 344.

(185) Nordberg, p. 143.

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(186) Nordberg, p. 144.

(187) For May 1, see Petit, Itinéraires, p. 354. For May 6, see ibid., p. 585.

(188) On June 12, 1406, the queen sent letters to Compiègne "ou environ" to both John the Fearless and Louis of Orléans. (AN, KK 46, fol. 116v)

(189) AN, KK 46, fols. 111v-112. Jarry (Vie, p. 336) gave the incorrect date of June 6, 1406 for the double wedding of Compiègne because he followed the erroneous information given by Douet d'Arcq in his edition of Monstrelet (I, 129 n.). Mirot (Isabelle, p. 135) also made this mistake. A manuscript reference for the correct date of June 29 appears in Lehoux (III, 25-26 n.7). The queen left Paris for Compiègne on June 23. (AN, KK 46, fol. 117) Since she spent five days of June in Compiegne (ibid., fol. 115), she must have arrived there either at night on June 25 or during the following morning. She left on July 4 and arrived back at the Hôtel Saint-Pol in Paris after supper on July 7. (Ibid., fol. 133v) The duke of Touraine, one of the bridegrooms, travelled separately to Compiègne. (Ibid., fol. 111v)

(190) For the marriage contract of the duke of Touraine and Jacqueline of Bavaria (June 13, 1406), see AN, J 519, no. 29. For the marriage contract of Isabelle of France and Charles of Orléans (June 4, 1404), see AN, J 359, no. 25; published in Godefroy (pp. 609-10).

(191) Vaughan, John, p. 38. At this time there was another marriage in the planning-stage. Charles VI agreed at some point before June 12, 1406 to marry his youngest son, Charles, count of Ponthieu, to Agnes of Burgundy, a daughter of John the Fearless. (Ibid., p. 114, correcting Petit, Itinéraires, p. 583) In the end, however, this marriage did not take place.

(192) Jarry, Vie, p. 339.

(193) B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Les Dons du roi aux ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur 1363-1419: les dons ordinaires," Mémoires de la

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Société de l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, Comtois et Romands, VI (1939), 134-35.

(194) Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ord.," p. 139. Nordberg (p. 32) states that Philip the Bold did not actually receive payments on his augmented pension until the fiscal year 1403-04.

(195) Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ord.," p. 140.

(196) Lehoux, III, 84 n.3.

(197) Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ord.," p. 141.

(198) Nordberg, p. 33, where the reason for the gift is not mentioned.

(199) B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Les Dons du roi aux ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur 1363-1419: les dons extraordinaires," Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, Comtois et Romands, VII (1940), 108, where it is mentioned that the full sum was received on June 28, 1406 (ref.: AD Côte-d'Or, B 1543, fol. 55v). According to Vaughan (John, p. 42) a royal letter of April 15, 1407 stated that the 15,000 francs had not been paid.

(200) Charles VI mentioned in a letter of April 15, 1407 that he had ordered the payment of Duke John's pension "after the death" of Philip the Bold. (Nordberg, p. 33 n.4) This suggests that the pension was reinstated when John came to pay homage to the king for the duchy of Burgundy in May 1404. If this is true, John must have received payments on the pension in 1404 and 1405, for in 1407 he claimed that the king owed him for the pension and other "subventions" only 70,300 francs. After the 20,000 francs mentioned as due for Sluis is subtracted, the maximum owed on the pension would be 50,300 francs, which is the equivalent of one and one-third years' worth. Since other "subventions" may have been outstanding as well, the actual debt on the pension was probably less. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé ("Dons Ord.," p. 142) obviously errs when he states that John the Fearless did not obtain the reinstatement of this pension until December 21, 1407.

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(201) Nordberg, p. 33.

(202) Mirot, L'Enlèvement, pp. 5-6, and Nordberg, p. 21.

(203) Ordonnances, IX, 707.

(204) Lehoux, III, 86 n.1.

(205) Lehoux, III, 89 n.2.

(206) RSD, III, 432-34.

(207) RSD, III, 434.

(208) Ordonnances, IX, 108.

(209) Baye, I, 150-53.

(210) AN, J 469, no. 13; published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 288-98. Nordberg (p. 215-21), although he claims (erroneously) that registration of ordinances was necessary to establish their validity, never mentions that the document dated July 28, 1406 was not registered, and he treats it as if it had been executed. Lehoux (III, 109 n.2) implies (also erroneously) that the choice of council-members made by this ordinance was not put into effect because the ordinance was not registered. Lehoux's remarks are based primarily on N. Valois, Le Conseil du roi au XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles, Paris, 1888, p. 113.

(211) Baye, I, 168.

(212) Valois, Conseil, p. 112-13.

(213) Nordberg, pp. 215 ff.

(214) Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 291. Valois (Conseil, p. 109), whose book was not consulted by Nordberg,

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suggested that the ordinance of July 28, 1406 might have added about twenty new names to the list of councillors, but since all the councillors were being "retained again," he was obviously mistaken. He was probably correct, however, in stating (p. 108) that few of the councillors were discharged. We can add to his comments by saying that among those who appear to have been discharged during this period (unless they had already been dismissed at an earlier date) were Robinet de Braquemont, councillor in 1402 (AN, P 266.1, no. 214); Jehan de Roussay, councillor in 1402 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, XCVIII, no. 72); Guy de Neelle, lord of Offémont, councillor in 1404 (BN, P.O. 2095, Néelle, no. 36); and Thibaut de Chantemerle, councillor in 1405 (BN, P.O. 671, Chantemerle, no. 11). It was usual for the maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi to be royal councillors, but the ordinance of July 28 included only four of them on its list (Guillaume Boisratier, Jehan de Boissay, Tristan du Bos, and Pierre de Lesclat), implying that the others were to be discharged as councillors, notably Eustache de Laistre, councillor on July 15, 1406 (AN, P 15, no. 5344).

(215) Nordberg's analysis of the political sympathies of the councillors named in the ordinance of July 28, 1406 must be used with caution. Two of his obvious mistakes (p. 218) concern incorrect identifications. The lord of Garencieres was not Jean but his brother Yon, and Maître Jean de Boissay was not the Jean who was Robert's son.

(216) The date of the duke of Burgundy's departure is given in the text of a royal letter dated September 23, 1406 and published in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLIV.

(217) Jarry, Vie, p. 345.

(218) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLIV.

(219) RSD, III, 448-50; Monstrelet, I, 135-37.

(220) Nordberg, p. 145.

(221) Nordberg, p. 145.

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(222) See the excerpts from the letter of Jean Chousat, dated November 7, 1406, quoted by Lehoux (III, 90 n.2) and translated into English by Vaughan (John, p. 39).

(223) See the letter of Jean Chousat which Vaughan (John, p. 40) dates "about 20 November 1406" and translates (in part) into English. An excerpt of the French appears in Lehoux, III, 91 n.3. Nordberg, unfamiliar with this letter, wrongfully claimed (p. 146) that the duke of Burgundy called off the expedition by himself in order to rapidly conclude his negotiations for the Anglo-Flemish treaty.

(224) This information is given by Jean Chousat in his letter mentioned in the last note.

(225) Lehoux, III, 91.

(226) Lehoux, III, 88 n.3.

(227) Monstrelet, I, 133-34.

(228) Baye, I, 182-83.

(229) Jarry, Vie, p. 347.

(230) Nordberg, p. 147. The clauses which the duke of Burgundy submitted for approval to Charles VI appear in Duke John's confirmation of the treaty (AD Nord, B 546, no. 15,082). Both sets of articles are included, however, in Henry IV's confirmation (ibid., no. 15,082 bis).

(231) AD Nord, B 546, no. 15,082 bis. Note that the clause concerning attacks on English possessions differs in the treaty of Nov. 30, 1406 and the instructions given by Duke John to his ambassadors on Nov. 1, 1406. These instructions had specified that if the Flemish made war on the English possessions in Picardy, they would give a warning one month in advance. (AD Nord, B 543, no. 23,589; quoted in part in J. Pot, Histoire de Regnier Pot, conseiller des ducs de Bourgogne, 1362?-1432, Paris, 1929, pp. 317-18) The fact that John the Fearless agreed to drop this proviso not only shows the weakness of his bargaining-power with the

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English at this time but also puts him in a bad light, for if Charles VI decided to attack the English in Picardy and summoned his Flemish subjects to arms, Duke John would have found himself in the position of having to break either his treaty with England or his oath as vassal to the king of France.

(232) BN, P.O. 1561, Ivry, no. 32.

(233) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 357.

(234) Nordberg, p. 33 (with reference to AD Côte-d'Or, B 307, pièce scellée 485).

(235) Ordonnances, XII, 225-27. This ordinance was registered in the Chambre des Comptes. (Ibid., p. 225 note a)

(236) Two of the 26 councillors listed in the ordinance of April 28, 1407 had not been on the list of July 28, 1406: Regnier Pot and Jean de Sains, bishop of Gap. Pot had already become a royal councillor before the ordinance of April 28 was issued, however, for he attended the council held on April 15, 1407. (Pot, p. 107) Although no record proving that the bishop of Gap attended the council before April 28 has yet been found, it is very likely that his nomination was not new, either.

(237) See BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCXLVII, pp. 83-84 for the annual pension of 1,000 francs that the bishop of Tournai received as royal councillor. For others who received the same amount, see BN, P.O. 2130, Noyers, no. 26 for Jean de Noyers, lord of Rimaucourt; and Appendix IV under: Ailly, Baudouin d'; Neelle, Guy de.

(238) Several members of the La Trémoille family held high positions in the household of the duke of Burgundy. See L. de la Trémoille, Les La Trémoille pendant cinq siecles, Nantes, 1890-96, 5 vols. For short biographies of Nielles, Pot, Rambures, and Vienne, see Appendix IV.

(239) Nordberg, p. 33. See also Vaughan, John, p. 42

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(240) P. Raymond, "Enquête du prévôt de Paris sur l'assassinat de Louis, duc d'Orléans, 1407," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XXVI, 243.

(241) Nordberg (p. 230) suggests that the man disguised as a student was Raoul d'Anquetonville, leader of the band of assassins. Nevertheless, it should be noted that since he led a military company on the expedition to Flanders in 1383 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, VIII, no. 69), Raoul must have been well over 40 years old in 1407.

(242) Ordonnances, IX, 209.

(243) Minder, pp. 38-39.

(244) Minder, p. 57.

(245) Minder, pp. 76-77.

(246) Minder, pp. 72 & 78.

(247) Vaughan, John, p. 51.

(248) Minder, pp. 44 & 82.

(249) Minder, p. 33.

(250) The alliance between the Liégeois and the duke of Guelders was signed on Oct. 1, 1407. (Minder, p. 73) Louis of Orleans and the duke of Guelders had been allies since May 1405. (Ibid., p. 33)

(251) Nordberg, p. 148 (with reference to AD Nord, B 546, no. 15093.87).

(252) RSD, III, 362.

(253) Nordberg, p. 149.

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(254) Minder, p. 53.

(255) The duke of Burgundy's confession is mentioned in a letter of July 14, 1411, which was sent to the king by the sons of Louis of Orléans. (RSD, IV, 422)

(256) RSD, III, 742.

(257) Monstrelet, I, 163-64.

(258) Baye, I, 208.

(259) RSD, III, 752; and Monstrelet, I, 167 (where the date is given).

(260) Lehoux, III, 115.

(261) Ordonnances, IX, 267-69.

(262) Ordonnances, IX, 269.

(263) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 190. Juvenal mistakenly dates the lit de justice Dec. 28 instead of Dec. 26.

(264) Lehoux, III, 114, nn.6 & 7.

(265) Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ord.," p. 142.

(266) Lehoux, III, 112 & n.4. Lehoux is certainly incorrect to attribute the queen's New Year's gift to the duke of Burgundy in 1408 to a "changeability" in her character.

(267) Ordonnances, IX, 279-89.

(268) Though knowledge of certain reforms instituted by the ordinance of Jan. 7, 1408 was essential to the Chambre des Comptes, the ordinance was not read there until Oct. 29, 1408. (Ordonnances, IX, 289) The document was not "read and published" (and registered) in the

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Parlement until Nov. 19, 1408. (AN, P 2297, p. 895; and Stein, p. 16; the date is given as Nov. 29 in Ordonnances, IX, 289)

(269) Monstrelet, I, 172. For the dates, see Lehoux, III, 116 nn.2 & 8.

(270) Monstrelet, I, 172-73.

(271) Lehoux, III, 117.

(272) Lehoux, III, 117-18. The duke of Brittany arrived in Paris by Feb. 15, 1408. (R. Blanchard, Lettres et mandements de Jean V de Bretagne, Archives de Bretagne, IV, p. cxx.

(273) Baye, I, 220.

(274) Lehoux, III, 118.

(275) RSD, III, 754.

(276) Monstrelet, I, 176.

(277) P. Cochon, Chronique normande, ed. Vallet de Viriville, in Chronique de la pucelle, Paris, 1859, p. 382.

(278) RSD, III, 754. Jean Petit is considered to have presented a "poor case...marked by flagrant misuse of the authorities" he used. (O. Jaszi and J.D. Lewis, Against the Tyrant: the Tradition and Theory of Tyrannicide, Glencoe, 1957, p. 29) See also A. Coville, Jean Petit: la question du tyrannicide au commencement du XVe siècle, Paris, 1932; and F. Schoenstedt, Der Tyrannenmord im Spätmittelalter, Berlin, 1938.

(279) Cochon, p. 396. Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLVI. On March 12, 1408, the lord of Dampierre reported that the king's "intervalle...de sante" had lasted from the evening of March 9 until dinner on March 10. (Baye, I, 223)

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(280) The letter of pardon is published in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLVI. The signed letter that was issued at the same time is known only through a reference made in the later cancellation of the letter of pardon. (Lehoux, III, 121 n.2)

(281) According to the Monk of Saint-Denis (III, 766), the queen left Paris three days after the presentation of the duke of Burgundy's justification. She was joined in Melun for a period by the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Brittany, the constable, and Jean de Montagu, the king's grand maître d'hôtel. (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 191)

(282) Charles VI, present the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, and Jacques of Bourbon, replaced Clignet de Brébant as admiral on April 23, 1408 with Jacques de Châtillon, lord of Dampierre. (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 22) The new nomination was confirmed on the following May 8 by the king, present the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the counts of Mortaing, Nevers, Vendôme, and Tancarville, the grand maître d'hôtel, and several other unnamed councillors. (Ibid.)

(283) Guillaume de Tignonville was replaced as provost of Paris on April 30, 1408. (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 22-23) He was not totally disgraced, however, for on the day of his dismissal, he was named maître lay en la chambre des comptes with a yearly pension of 1,000 livres parisis. (Ibid.) His conflict with the University of Paris was due to the fact that in October 1407 he had ordered two students hanged. In protest, the University had gone on strike and did not resume classes for about six months. (RSD, III, 722-28; and Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Mss., carton 4, 4e liasse, A 21.s: letter of Charles VI dated May 12, 1408) The greffier du Parlement Nicolas de Baye (I, 229) states that the king discharged Tignonville to please the University. The chronicler Juvenal des Ursins (p. 193) claims, however, that the real reason for the dismissal was that Tignonville had "often frequented" the house of the late duke of Orleans. The chronicler Cousinot also attributes the dismissal to John the Fearless. (G. Cousinot, Geste des nobles, ed. Vallet de Viriville, in Chronique de la pucelle, Paris, 1859, p. 120) Soon after his dismissal, Tignonville evidently wished to cultivate the goodwill of the duke of Burgundy, for he joined him to fight against the Liégeois in the battle of Othée in Sept.

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1408. It is not known if Pierre des Essarts, who replaced Tignonville as provost, was a partisan of John the Fearless in 1408. He was an officer of the king at the time. Already a royal chamberlain in 1401 (BN, P.O. 1072, Essarts, no. 50), Pierre had become a maître d'hôtel du roi by Oct. 1402 (BN, P.O. 380, Boessay, no. 3).

(284) Nordberg, p. 34; and Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ext.," p. 109. It should be noted that Mirot is obviously mistaken when he states that at this time the duke of Burgundy was "en somme maître de Paris." (L. Mirot, "Autour de la paix de Chartres, 9 mars 1409," Annales de Bourgogne, III (1931), 313)

(285) Charles VI went to visit the queen in Melun on May 9, 1408. (AN, KK 31, fol. 16v) He returned to Paris by May 11 (ibid., p. (sic) 46), went to the forest of Bondy north of Paris on May 16 (presumably to hunt) (ibid., p. 48), made another trip to Melun, where he dined on May 31 (ibid., fol. 16v), returned to Paris by June 7 (AN, P 272.1, no. 256), and then went to Poissy, where he and the queen attended the ceremony in which their daughter Marie took the veil. (RSD, IV, 8) From Poissy, although the king returned to Paris, Isabeau appears to have gone back to Melun, for it was to Melun that the duke of Burgundy sent her one of his chamberlains on June 27. (Lehoux, III, 121 n.4)

(286) The Liégeois began their second siege of Maestricht on May 31, 1408. (Minder, p. 83)

(287) Lehoux, III, 121 n.4.

(288) AN, KK 31, p. 47.

(289) RSD, IV, 54.

(290) AN, K 56 A, no. 17. This letter is published (from a copy that was in the Chambre des Comptes de Blois) in J. Bernier, Histoire de Blois, Paris, 1682, preuves, p. 33.

(291) Monstrelet, I, 259.

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(292) BN, P.O. 1191, Fontenel, no. 2.

(293) The editor of the journal of Nicolas de Baye (I, 237) mistakenly printed "three" o'clock as the time the queen and the duke of Guyenne entered Paris on Aug. 26, 1408, whereas the original text (AN, X.1a 1479, fol. 40v) says "four" o'clock.

(294) Baye, I, 238.

(295) Baye, I, 240-41.

(296) Baye, I, 241-42. Baye does not mention the queen's presence, but in part of his speech, the abbot of Cérisy addressed the queen and the duke of Guyenne directly. (RSD, IV, 126)

(297) RSD, IV, 130.

(298) RSD, IV, 134-36.

(299) Monstrelet, I, 351-52.

(300) The earliest royal letter I have found that was issued by the king in person after the speech of the abbot of Cérisy (Sept. 11) is dated September 23, 1408. (AN, JJ 163, fol. 15v)

(301) Monstrelet, I, 352-53.

(302) Lehoux, III, 133 n.8.

(303) RSD, IV, 136.

(304) RSD, IV, 136-38.

(305) "regina affabilius alloquuta solito" (RSD, IV, 180). Note that in the en face French translation, Bellaguet mistranslated this phrase. For the Monk's similar use of the Latin word solitus without an accompanying

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possessive noun, see RSD, V, 78. The chronicler Cochon adds more details on the relationship between the queen and the Parisians. He says (p. 397) that the Parisians were afraid when Isabeau brought Breton soldiers into Paris in 1408 because she "loved them not, nor does she still" ("veu que la royne ne les amoit point ne encore ne fait"). Cochon wrote this between 1430 (the date of his last entry) and 1435 (when Isabeau died). His opinion of her in the 1430's was certainly influenced by her part in the treaty of Troyes of 1420, which had made Henry V of England heir to the throne of France, for he disapproved of the English occupation. (Ibid., p. 350-51)

(306) RSD, IV, 138.

(307) Cousinot, p. 123.

(308) See note 267.

(309) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 367.

(310) Lehoux, III, 135-36.

(311) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 197.

(312) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 197. Charles VI was in Paris on October 31, 1408 (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5872 (Menant VIII), fol. 193) and in Melun on Nov. 7 (AN, KK 29, fol. 161) and Nov. 8 (ibid., fol. 121). He was reported by the chancellor to be in Gien on Nov. 12 (Baye, I, 245), but actually he was already in Orléans on Nov. 11 (Lehoux, III, 137).

(313) Lehoux, III, 137 n.7.

(314) Lehoux, III, 138.

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CHAPTER III

THE ROYAL CONFLICT WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IN 1408-1409

While the royal family resided in Tours during the winter of 1408-1409, an event occurred which caused a rift in the united front of princes against the duke of Burgundy. On December 4, 1408, Valentina Visconti died in Blois, and the task of seeking the administration of justice against John the Fearless was left to her son Charles, the fourteen-year-old duke of Orléans. The young duke's quest for revenge was made more difficult when the king emancipated him on December 10, for on that occasion, King Charles proclaimed that he was reserving for himself all rights to pursue the quarrel with Burgundy.[1]

With the disappearance of Valentina Visconti, the negotiations between Duke John in Paris and the royal party in Tours had a better chance of success. Nevertheless, not all the princes were in agreement. The duke of Berry appears to have favored the return of the king to Paris, but the duke of Bourbon was still hostile towards John the Fearless and held the Parisians in disfavor for supporting him.[2] It is probable that the leader of the opposition to Burgundy continued to be the queen, who had cleverly engineered the removal of the king to Tours.

In January 1409 it was agreed that the king would grant an interview during the following month to John the

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Fearless.[3] The king himself may have been responsible for this policy of rapprochement, for during December and January he was well enough to attend a series of meetings with the royal council and deal with the affairs of state.[4] On January 18 King Charles issued an ordinance in which he arranged for the government of the kingdom during his "absences."[5] He was probably advised to take this action in order to prevent confusion at the coming interview in case he was suddenly taken ill. Since the ordinance of December 26, 1407 which had delegated certain powers to the duke of Guyenne has not been found, it is not possible to ascertain which of the dispositions in the ordinance of January 13 were new. After mentioning the permission already given to the queen to summon the princes of the blood and "as many councillors as she saw fit" in order to direct the affairs of state, the ordinance of January 18 made arrangements for times when she either could not or did not wish to occupy herself with these matters.[6] In these instances, the duke of Guyenne was empowered by the ordinance to execute in the king's name any decisions made by the majority in a council composed of the princes of the blood who would then be at court, the princes of his own lineage, the constable, the chancellor, and as many councillors as "seemed expedient." Before decisions were executed, they had to be "reported" to the queen but evidently not approved by her. Once the decisions were executed, they were to have the same validity as if they had been made in the king's presence. Although

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the ordinance mentioned the previous grant of authority to the queen, it did not mention any previous grant to the duke of Guyenne. In fact, the long preamble which detailed the "singular confidence" King Charles had in his son and the great deliberation that had preceded the present decisions regarding the young duke make it seem as if there must have been some significant difference between the present dispositions and the ones made in his favor a year before.

The decision to put forward the duke of Guyenne was probably inspired by the queen. Her actual power was limited by the provision for majority rule, and since the attitude of the duke of Berry and others had begun to diverge from her own, it was possible that during the negotiations with the duke of Burgundy, all power might slip out of the hands of the immediate royal family. The presence of the duke of Guyenne as the king's representative and the provision that all decisions be reported to the queen were clearly intended to serve as a deterrent not only for individual dukes who might wish to put themselves forward as head of the council but also for the execution of decisions without the knowledge of the royal family. The stipulation that the duke of Guyenne's lineage, as well as the royal lineage, was to be present when the young prince presided ensured that the queen would have a mouthpiece in her absence, for the only person at court who was of the duke of Guyenne's lineage and not the king's was Isabeau's brother, Louis of Bavaria. Nevertheless, the dispositions

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of the ordinance of January 18, 1409 indicate how unlikely it was that Isabeau would be able to control the decisions soon to be made concerning the duke of Burgundy. The most she could do was attempt to influence the princes by planting her brother in their midst and seek to maintain the position of the monarchy by promoting the aggrandizement of the role of the duke of Guyenne as heir to the throne.

As it happened, in spite of the precautionary measures taken in anticipation of a royal relapse, when the king's mental state did worsen, the meeting with John the Fearless was postponed.[7] King Charles was taken to Chartres, however, and preparations for the interview continued. The duke of Burgundy was ordered to remove his army from Paris before coming to Chartres, and although this was not a simple matter, due to his lack of funds, he obeyed and personally led his troops north to Flanders.[8]

The interview in the cathedral of Chartres took place on March 9, 1409.[9] The duke of Burgundy appeared before the king, who was accompanied by the queen, the duke of Guyenne, and a large number of other persons. Duke John entered with Jean de Nielles, lord of Olhain, who spoke for him to the king. Nielles told King Charles that although the duke had ordered the assassination of Louis of Orleans for the good of the kingdom, he wished to beg pardon for the displeasure this act was said to have caused him. The duke of Berry then asked Duke John to step back from the throne and await the king's reply. Kneeling before the queen, Berry said a

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few words to her in a low voice. He may have been asking her permission for the duke of Guyenne to join him and the kings of Sicily and Navarre in the scene that followed, for immediately afterwards, Berry, the duke of Guyenne, and the two kings knelt before Charles VI and begged him to accede to the duke of Burgundy's request. King Charles replied that he would do so because of his love for them, and then, speaking directly to John the Fearless, he granted the pardon. Still accompanied by Jean de Nielles, the duke of Burgundy approached the young duke of Orléans and his brother Philip, both of whom were standing behind the king, weeping. When Nielles begged them in the duke's name to remove all hate and desire for vengeance from their hearts, they did not respond. At this point, the king himself commanded them to agree to their cousin's request, and they finally did so, saying that they did not wish to disobey the king in any way.

Later in the day, in a council attended by the duke of Guyenne and a multitude of others, Charles VI issued an official letter of pardon.[10] In this letter, after giving a brief description of the scene that had taken place in the cathedral, King Charles proclaimed that the peace which the rival parties had sworn to uphold was to last forever.[11] According to this document, not only the kings of Sicily and Navarre and the duke of Guyenne but also the queen had asked the king to grant the pardon. Thus, in the end, Isabeau seems to have capitulated and ostensibly approved the

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reconciliation. Later events indicate, however, that her capitulation was not complete.

After the peace was sworn at Chartres, the duke of Burgundy immediately left the king's presence and was again in Paris by March 11.[12] King Charles did not return until March 17, and the queen, accompanied by the duke of Guyenne, followed a day or so later.[13] On March 24 Isabeau signed a personal treaty with John the Fearless, William, duke of Bavaria and count of Hainaut, and her brother Louis, duke of Bavaria.[14] It is not known whether this act was solicited by the duke of Burgundy or the queen, but both had reason to make a formal arrangement with each other: the queen wanted to avert any threat to her right to govern in the king's absence, and Duke John wanted to be assured of having his voice heard in the council. It is clear from the terms of this treaty that the queen had the upper hand this time. The three dukes promised to "aid, defend, and maintain" all the present and future prerogatives that the king accorded her regarding the government both of the kingdom and of the royal children. They also swore to do their utmost to execute all decisions she made "in accordance with" their advice. For her part, Isabeau promised that she would call the dukes to all the councils at which she presided and that she would send the notifications early enough to allow them ample time to come unless matters were urgent and could not be delayed. She also swore to "guard and maintain" their "honors, status, and prerogatives...as a good and true lady

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is held to do for her good and true cousins and brother." This clause implied that if Duke John did something which proved he was not "good and true," she would not be held to her oath to support him. Isabeau also promised that if anyone spoke to her against any of the three dukes, she would not continue the conversation and would let the person know she was displeased, after which she would inform the injured party. The dukes made a similar promise to her. Finally, in order to "better keep and fulfill" these promises, they all swore to be true and loyal friends. The agreement depended, therefore, on a commitment of loyalty, and if John the Fearless was not loyal to her, Isabeau was not bound to her promises.

With this treaty, the queen gave little and obtained a great deal in return. The only substantial thing Duke John received from her here was a seat in her meetings with the council, and even that was not guaranteed, for she could easily refrain from sending him ample notice, claiming that the business at hand was urgent. The fact that John the Fearless signed a treaty like this one shows that historians have misrepresented his position during this period and that, actually, he had little bargaining-power.[15] His position had been greatly weakened by the clever escape of the royal family to Tours and by the long negotiations that had preceded the Peace of Chartres. Furthermore, the Burgundian army was now disbanded, and Duke John was in a poor financial condition.

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Except for a short trip to Compiègne and Soissons, the duke of Burgundy resided in Paris until April 20, 1409.[16] Although he did not attend all the royal councils, he did try to cement a personal bond with the king, whose health was fairly stable during March and April.[17] Duke John jousted at the royal Hôtel Saint-Pol in March and accompanied the king to the church of the Jacobins on April 3.[18] It is probable that at this time he was attempting to obtain royal permission for the consummation of his daughter's marriage to the duke of Guyenne. Although the marriage had been celebrated, it had not yet been consummated, and until it was, the royal family could easily procure an annulment and return Margaret to her father. Several years earlier, Duke John's fear that this was going to happen constituted one of the reasons for his "abduction" of the duke of Guyenne, and it is known that he still thought the annulment a possibility while negotiating with the king before the meeting in Chartres. According to a memorandum of December 1408 or January 1409, it was the opinion of several of his councillors that he should wait until he had obtained a pardon from the king before he brought up the question of consummating his daughter's marriage.[19] In March and April, 1409, all efforts John the Fearless may have made to bring about the consummation were unsuccessful, and when he left Paris on April 20, the marriage was still not consummated. Duke John's failure to achieve his objective in this instance is another indication

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of the weakness of his position in the months that followed the Peace of Chartres.

It was perhaps in order to remedy his financial situation that John the Fearless left for Burgundy on April 20.[20] Moreover, he had not visited his duchy in over four years.[21] The queen had remained in Paris presumably to keep an eye on his movements, but she appears to have been so anxious to return to Melun, where she preferred to live, that she left Paris on the same day he did.[22]

John the Fearless returned to Paris on either June 1 or 2, 1409.[23] On June 6 he sent the lord of Saint-Georges, Guillaume de Vienne, to speak with the queen in Melun, and when Guillaume returned, Duke John sent him to her a second time on the same day.[24] It is not known what this exchange was about, but it may have concerned the consummation of the marriage of the duke of Guyenne, which was finally approved and took place in Melun before the end of June.[25] The king may have granted Duke John's wish either because his mental state allowed him to be influenced by him at that moment or because the royal family now felt that John's good behavior since the Peace of Chartres made their opposition to the consummation seem unreasonable.

The achievement of his objective regarding the marriages of his children appears to have given John the Fearless the feeling of security he needed in order to adopt more aggressive tactics in his efforts to increase his power in the government. From July 10 until October 8, 1409, a

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member of his entourage, Pierre, lord of La Viesville, worked with deputies of the king and the duke of Berry on a new program of reform.[26] The work did not proceed in a manner that pleased Duke John, and by the beginning of September, he was preparing to pursue different tactics. On September 8 he signed a treaty with the king of Navarre in which they agreed "for the good, honor, and profit" of both the king and the kingdom to arrest "certain evildoers, false persons, and traitors."[27] The king of Navarre was probably lured into signing this document by the promise of monetary benefits, for at this time he was in a bad financial state.[28]

Jean de Montagu, the king's grand maître d'hôtel, made himself particularly vulnerable to an attack by the duke of Burgundy at this time by making an unseemly display of extravagance. He had already incurred the duke's wrath during the negotiations before the Peace of Chartres, for John had accused him then of having worked against him on several occasions in the past and of having advised the royal family to escape to Tours.[29] According to the Monk of Saint-Denis, the duke's strong words had caused the grand maître to make plans to move to Auvergne and live in the castle of Nonette, which he intended to acquire from the duke of Berry by giving him in exchange his castle of Marcoussis.[30] This proved unnecessary, however, for Duke John had said that he would forgive everything if the grand maître helped him obtain the king's pardon. Lulled into a

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false sense of security, Jean de Montagu continued to act as he always had. On September 22 he gave a feast in honor of his brother, who was received on that day in the church of Notre-Dame as bishop of Paris. The kings of France and Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and other "princes and prelates" attended, and Monstrelet remarks that the pompous display of wealth at this affair aroused suspicions that the grand maître, who had started his career as only a royal secretary, was embezzling royal funds.[31]

On October 7, 1409, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, Pierre des Essarts, provost of Paris, seized Jean de Montagu and Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres, former treasurer of the duke of Berry and presently conseiller général sur la finance des aides.[32] Other persons, including another conseiller général sur le fait des aides, Pierre de Lesclat, who was also a maître des requêtes of the king and councillor of the queen, were imprisoned at the same time.[33] The duke of Bourbon was infuriated by Duke John's tactics.[34] The queen, still in Melun, and the duke of Berry tried to secure the release of the grand maître; but, under torture, Jean de Montagu signed a confession, which caused him to be sentenced to death.[35]

Charles VI was well enough during this period to grant one letter of pardon to a butcher on October 12 and anotner to a shoemaker on October 14,[36] but he did not intervene to save his grand maître d'hôtel. It is quite possible that

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King Charles' tendency towards persecutory delusions made him believe that the treasonous crimes to which Jean had confessed under torture were real. Jean de Montagu was executed on October 17, 1409.[37]

The shock-value of the duke of Burgundy's actions brought immediate results: on October 20 Charles VI, in person, issued an ordinance in which he cancelled all previous royal acts concerning reform and named a committee of twenty persons to undertake with full power a complete reformation of the government.[38] Not all members of this committee, however, were creatures of John the Fearless.[39] In fact, when nominating the five new généraux conseillers sur le fait des aides in November, the reform committee did not select any of Duke John's partisans.[40] It appears that they were influenced by the duke of Berry, who had been angered by John's role in the arrest of Martin Gouge and other persons he favored.[41]

The duke of Berry's wrath and the negative reaction of the duke of Bourbon, who left Paris with his son, the count of Clermont, soon after Montagu's execution, seem to have made John the Fearless feel insecure during the weeks that followed. According to Monstrelet, he went to Melun with the king of Navarre, the duke of Berry, and the counts of Hainaut, La Marche, and Vendôme to explain to the queen why Montagu had been executed.[42] Duke John appears to have realized that he was not entirely successful in appeasing Isabeau in spite of the fact that her words to him were

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cordial.[43] Monstrelet reports that later the count of Hainaut returned to Melun to "treat" with her and that afterwards she was "content" with the duke of Burgundy.[44] This remark evidently refers to certain negotiations that preceded the renewal of Duke John's alliance with her, which was signed on November 11.[45]

The duke of Burgundy's efforts to renew an alliance which supposedly had perpetual validity indicate that he believed the queen considered the act they had signed on March 24, 1409 no longer valid because he had ignored her intercession in behalf of Jean de Montagu. It is not known what form her intercession had taken, but if, as head of the council in the king's absence, she had ordered that Jean's case be turned over to her, Duke John's refusal constituted a breach of his promise to "guard, defend, and maintain" the prerogatives of her authority.

Historians have viewed Isabeau's acceptance of the alliance of November 11, 1409 as proof of her complete subjection to the duke of Burgundy.[46] An examination of the circumstances and the document itself, however, shows that this interpretation is incorrect. When Montagu was arrested, Isabeau clearly did not know what to expect from John the Fearless, and she requested men-at-arms from the duke of Orléans for her protection.[47] The chronicler Monstrelet commented that at this time she "feared" Duke John "more than all the others,"[48] but even if she did, she did not abandon to him any of her prerogatives, for the

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alliance signed on November 11 contained exactly the same clauses as the alliance of March 24.[49] Thus, John the Fearless agreed once again to guard all the privileges of her authority, while she promised in return to call him to the councils at which she presided. On her part, this amounted to little more than the issuance of a pardon for what he had just done, whereas John's signature bound him to an oath of submission to her authority. For this reason, the alliance of November 11, which also encompassed the king of Navarre, the duke of Brabant, the bishop-elect of Liège, the count of Hainaut, and Louis of Bavaria, must have greatly reassured the queen during a moment of uncertainty about the duke of Burgundy's motives.[50]

As a result of the alliance of November 11, the lawyer who had been the duke of Burgundy's spokesman when the Peace of Chartres was sworn, Jean de Nielles, became chancellor of both the queen and the duke of Guyenne.[51] This nomination represents a curious concession on the queen's part, for Jean de Nielles was one of the most trusted councillors of John the Fearless.[52] In the past, Isabeau had not employed a chancellor of her own.[53] Instead, when she dealt with affairs of state, it had been her custom to use the king's chancellor.[54] It is understandable, however, that in November 1409 she felt the need of a chancellor of her own. Part of the job of a chancellor was to act as his employer's spokesman.[55] In the case of the monarchy, it was customary for the chancellor to do most of the talking for the king in

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public or in large sessions of the council. Thus, when the queen acted with royal authority in the king's absence, it was necessary for her to have an official spokesman. Moreover, Charles VI had specified, when granting her the power to act in his absence, that she was to summon the chancellor to her councils.[56] In 1409 this posed a problem, for Isabeau was now residing much of the time in Melun, and Arnaut de Corbie, chancellor of France, was over eighty years old and complained about travelling.[57]

The circumstances of Jean de Nielles' nomination as chancellor to the queen are not known. It has been suggested that the nomination was imposed on the queen by the duke of Burgundy,[58] but in the light of the terms of the alliance of November 11, this interpretation is probably incorrect. The queen may have felt that, due to its nature, the position of her chancellor would not be a threat to her authority and that her acceptance of Jean de Nielles was an easy way to cultivate the duke of Burgundy's goodwill towards her so that he would not violate his sworn support of her power. Jean de Nielles himself was bound to the queen because, as her chancellor, he must have sworn an oath similar to the one required of the king's chancellor. Thus, he would have promised not to accord or seal any letters which were against Isabeau's orders or wishes or which were prejudicial to her authority, rights, and privileges.[59]

While the queen resided in Melun during the month of November 1409, Charles VI, who was in an oscilating state of

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mental health, remained in Paris. Royal letters were issued in his presence, with chamberlains in attendance, on various dates, but he does not seem to have held any meetings of the council.[60] On December 1 he "recovered" from a short relapse and was visited by the king of Navarre and the dukes and counts who were then at court.[61] The Monk of Saint-Denis claims that the king was much amazed when they told him of the execution of Jean de Montagu. If the Monk is correct in placing the visit in December, as he seems to be because of the persons whose presence he mentions, the incident indicates that King Charles was suffering from an impairment of his memory at this time, for he had known about the execution of the grand maître as early as October 26, when, during a meeting of the council attended by the counts of Mortaing and Nevers and other notables, he had given all the confiscated possessions of the deceased Montagu to the duke of Guyenne.[62]

It is likely that the duke of Bavaria, who witnessed the king's memory-loss during the visit in December, notified his sister, the queen, of the questionable nature of King Charles' "recovery." The behavior of the king on December 2 shows that he was in a troubled state at this time, for on that day when he went to the church of Notre-Dame to thank God for his recovery, he wore a hauberk under his clothes and took with him a page, who carried an elaborate cross-bow.[63] It is odd that Charles VI felt such a need of physical protection while going to church that he donned a

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hauberk, but it is even more strange that, while feeling this need, he chose to protect himself with only a young boy. The scene suggests that King Charles was under the influence of persecutory delusions and that he was resolving his imaginary problems with schizophrenic logic. The king's actions served to confirm what the years had by now proven time and time again: he could not be relied upon to direct the affairs of the kingdom.

Since the duke of Guyenne was going to have his thirteenth birthday on January 22, 1410 and thus reach the age of majority set for all kings of France, the queen saw that the most expedient plan was to establish the young prince in an autonomous household in Paris in order to make more frequent use of his power to preside at sessions of the royal council in her absence. On December 3 it was decided in a meeting of the council which the king attended that all the dukes, counts, and great lords of the kingdom should be summoned to Paris at Christrastime in order to support the government in its efforts to institute reforms.[64] Isabeau evidently realized that a large Christmas Court would be the ideal setting in which to carry out her plans for the duke of Guyenne with maximum security and publicity.

Five different documents from the end of December 1409 provide the source material to reconstruct the circumstances in which the duke of Guyenne was removed from the guardianship of the queen. Four of the letters are dated December 27, but since each one contains specific references

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to certain decisions already made, it is possible to arrange them in the proper sequence.

On December 27, 1409, at the royal castle of Vincennes, Isabeau brought the duke of Guyenne into the king's presence. She explained that Louis was now at an age when it was fitting for him to know the affairs of the kingdom and meet people of all social levels.[65] Since she could not always be present "in the necessary places," she wished the king to place him under the guardianship (subject to their control) of a trusted and worthy person. It appears that after making this speech, Isabeau withdrew and left the young prince "in the hands" of the king. Evidently this entire scene was unexpected, for the three ordinances drawn up on that day and addressed "to all those who will see this present letter" could have been combined into one ordinance if all the arrangements had been made in advance. The king did not arrive in Vincennes until that very day, and it seems that at least seventeen of the people known to have been there on December 27 came with him. Thus, it is probable that Isabeau had kept silent about her plans until the king and the princes came from Paris to pay her an official Christmas visit.[66]

After the queen made her request, King Charles offered a joint guardianship of the duke of Guyenne to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the two persons of high rank most suited to the task. The duke of Berry declined, saying he was too old to be continually involved with such an arduous job, and

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he suggested that the guardianship be granted to the duke of Burgundy alone. Since the guardian's decisions would be subject to the approval of the king and queen, Berry may have felt that there was no need to take the job merely to counterbalance the influence of John the Fearless.

At this point in the proceedings, the duke of Burgundy was evidently required to withdraw in accordance with the official but often abused custom which dictated that the recipient of a grant should not be present when the grant was issued.[67] While Burgundy was absent, the king issued the ordinance which named him sole guardian of the heir to the throne.[68] As guardian, Duke John was to have the authority to nominate and dismiss the young prince's officers as he saw fit. The letters of nomination would be issued by the duke of Guyenne himself, however, and the nominations themselves were subject to royal approval, as would be all John's actions as guardian.

The second ordinance of December 27 was issued after the duke of Burgundy returned to the council chamber.[69] It appears that the queen had been consulted before the finalization of the decision to name him sole guardian, for in the second ordinance the king declared that he had assigned the guardianship "safely and according to the request made" to him by the queen.[70] It is probable that when she agreed to John's nomination, Isabeau asked the king to take the steps mentioned in the second ordinance. Here, King Charles announced that since he did not wish the

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queen's powers or finances to be threatened in any way, he had obliged the king of Navarre and all the dukes and counts who were present to swear not to disturb or hinder her use of the "prerogatives, honors, authority, financial status, pre-eminence, rights, profits," and revenues he had given her. He had also ordered the duke of Guyenne to swear to always love the queen and obey her. As another precautionary measure, King Charles added that if he ever issued letters contrary to those he had granted to the queen, his chancellor was not to seal them, and if such letters somehow happened to be sealed, they were to be considered invalid.

Isabeau was not content with these precautions and sought to make certain that her influence would be exerted on the duke of Guyenne in her absence. The means she used to ensure this are disclosed by the other two documents dated December 27, 1409. In the first of these, the king announced that Louis, duke of Bavaria, the queen's brother, was to attend whenever he wished the royal council and the duke of Guyenne's own council, and he was to continue to receive 12,000 francs per year from the duke of Guyenne for the expenses incurred while in his company.[71] While the duke of Guyenne was still under the queen's guardianship, Louis of Bavaria had been ordered by a royal letter of May 8, 1408 to reside with him and direct his household under the supervision of the king and queen, but he had not been authorized to change the prince's place of residence without

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royal permission or nominate and discharge officers in the prince's household.[72] Although he was no longer going to direct the duke of Guyenne's household, the duke of Bavaria, according to the fourth document dated December 27, 1409, was to be in his nephew's company whenever he wished, and he was still to be lodged in the chamber closest to the one used by the prince.[73] In this way, Isabeau made certain she would have not only a powerful informant in her son's household but also a deputy who would be always present and always ready to guide the young duke according to her wishes.

The terms of the ordinances of December 27, 1409 make it clear that the duke of Burgundy neither forced the royal family to place the duke of Guyenne in his care nor wrested away from the queen any of her prerogatives. It is also evident that, despite what historians have said in the past,[74] John the Fearless did not hold unlimited power over the kingdom or the duke of Guyenne at this time.

Charles VI publicized the decisions made on December 27 during a lit de justice held in Paris in the Grand Palais on December 31.[75] At this assembly, the king issued an additional ordinance, which increased the power already enjoyed by the duke of Guyenne as head of the council in the queen's absence.[76] Now, in the absence of the king and queen, the duke of Guyenne was to summon to the council the kings of Sicily and Navarre, and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Brabant, Bourbon, and Bavaria (if they were then

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at court). In addition, he was to call the chancellor and as many councillors as he saw fit. Decisions would be made by the majority and "sounder part" and could be executed immediately and without question if they concerned routine matters. Decisions made on those issues which normally required the king's presence would have to be submitted to the king for execution unless such a delay would imperil or harm the monarchy or the kingdom. In that case, the duke of Guyenne could order the execution, himself. Charles VI further stipulated that his son could not grant or alienate any part of the royal domain. In effect, the power granted to the duke of Guyenne for use in the queen's absence was equal to the power enjoyed by the queen herself.

The duke of Guyenne was present in the Grand Palais when he was officially granted these privileges. He had been brought from Vincennes by the queen on December 29, and he remained in Paris to begin his new life when she departed on December 31 after dinner.[77]

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NOTES

(1) Lehoux, III, 140.

(2) Mirot, "Chartres," p. 329.

(3) Lehoux, III, 140-41.

(4) Charles VI attended sessions of the royal council in Tours on Dec. 10, 1408 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 54v), Dec. 13 (Ordonnances, IX, 400), Dec. 17 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 55), Dec. 29 (BN, P.O. 1858, Marle, no. 26), Jan. 4, 1409 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 120v), Jan. 17 (BN, P.O. 2969 Verjus, no. 3), Jan. 18 (Ordonnances, XII, 229), Jan. 19 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 167v), Jan. 21 (L. Devillers, Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut, Bruxelles, 1881-96, III, 359-60), and Jan. 22 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 105).

(5) Ordonnances, XII, 227-29.

(6) The original of the phrase quoted is: "tels et en tel nombre que bon lui semblera" (Ordonnances, XII, 227). The ordinance of April 26, 1403 which had first given this power to the queen had used the following phrase instead: "telz et en tel nombre comme il sera expedient" (Ordonnances, VIII, 578). This earlier wording was more ambiguous, and it is interesting to note that in 1409 Charles VI gave it an interpretation that was more concrete and also more favorable to the queen.

(7) Lehoux, III, 141.

(8) Lehoux, III, 141 n.6.

(9) The description of the interview at Chartres that follows is from Monstrelet, I, 397-400.

(10) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLVIII.

(11) Although the letter of March 9, 1409 pardoned the duke of Burgundy for causing the murder of Louis of Orléans, it stated that the people who actually performed the assassination were not to be pardoned. This letter

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also specified the terms of a marriage agreement between Philip, count of Vertus, brother of Charles of Orléans, and an unnamed daughter of John the Fearless.

(12) Monstrelet, I, 400; and Petit, Itineraires, p. 369.

(13) Baye, I, 260; Juvenal des Ursins, p. 199.

(14) Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Pfalz-Neuburg, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden, no. 981.

(15) Rey (Finances, p. 286) was obviously incorrect to say that the duke of Guyenne was the duke of Burgundy's "prisoner" from the moment the royal family returned to Paris after the Peace of Chartres. Mirot ("Chartres," p. 312) erred when he termed Duke John "maître du gouvernement" at this time, and Vaughan (John, p. 78) was mistaken to say that John had "achieved his aim of restoring the king and court to Paris under his supervision and control."

(16) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 369-70.

(17) The duke of Burgundy did not attend the councils held on March 19, 1409 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 172v) and March 27 (BN, P.O. 2414, des Quennes, no. 10). Proof of the king's improved condition during this period lies in the number of royal letters issued in his presence (dates with an asterisk refer to letters issued by the king "en son conseil"): March 18 (AN, P 15, no. 5355), March 19* (AN, JJ 163, fol. 172v), March 20* (ibid., fol. 132), March 21 (AN, P 15, no. 5354), March 22* (BN, P.O. 351, Billy, no. 19), March 25 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 139v), March 26 (ibid., fol. 138v), March 27* (BN, P.O. 2414, des Quennes, no. 10), March 28* (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 74), March 29 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 144), March 31 (AN, P 269.2, no. 351), April 1 (AN, P 15, no. 5357), April 5 (AN, JJ 163, fol. 191v), April 17 (ibid., fol. 130), and April 19 (ibid., fol. 150).

(18) Lehoux, III, 152 n.7.

(19) The memorandum is not dated but appears to be from Dec. 1408 or early Jan. 1409. In any case, it has to have been written before the letter of Jan. 12, 1409, which

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Pons de Perrelos sent to the king of Aragon (translated by Vaughan, John, pp. 75-76). The memorandum has been partially published from a copy in BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LVII, fols. 66-66v in O. Cartellieri, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Burgund," Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, 11 Abh., pp. 17-19.

(20) The duke of Burgundy's departure from Paris on April 20, 1409 cannot be connected with the conflict between the duke of Bourbon and Amé de Viry, although Duke John later offered himself as mediator in this quarrel, for the duke of Bourbon did not learn that Amé had invaded his territory until Robert de Irasetes sent him the information in a letter dated May 12. For mention of this letter, see A. Leguai, Les Ducs de Bourbon pendant la crise monarchique du XVe siècle, Paris, 1962, p. 47 n.6. For Duke John's offer to mediate in the quarrel, see RSD, IV, 246.

(21) John the Fearless left Burgundy in Jan. 1405 (Petit, Itinéraires, p. 345) and was kept away for four years by the problems in his county of Flanders, the war in Liege, and the situation in Paris. Petit states that Duke John was in Burgundy from at least Aug. 10 to Sept. 24 in 1406, but he took this information not from original documents but from extracts of ducal letters in BN, Coll. Bourgogne. Oftentimes the extracts in this collection do not specify whether a letter was signed in the duke's presence or "à la relation," and Petit's sources must therefore be carefully re-examined in this instance. For the moment we can say that John the Fearless was definitely still in Paris on Aug. 15, 1406 (AN, JJ 161, fol. 13) and that, according to a letter of Charles VI dated Sept. 23, 1406, he left for Flanders on Sept. 1 (Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLIV).

(22) On April 19, 1409, both the queen and the duke of Burgundy attended the wedding of her German damoiselle, Ourse Spazequerin, and Coppin de la Viesville, Duke John's former échanson. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1558, fol. 119 (ref. supplied by I. Straub)) For the presence of the queen in Melun on April 20, see BN, P.O. 2027, Montjoie, no. 6; P.O. 477, Le Bouteiller, no. 70; P.O. 1037, Le Dur, no. 13; and P.O. 1164, Fontaines, no. 23. (Refs. supplied by Y. Grandeau)

(23) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 370.

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(24) Grandeau, "Itinéraire," p. 630 n.3.

(25) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 200. The marriage of Michelle of France and Philip of Burgundy was also consummated in June 1409. (Ibid.)

(26) Lehoux, III, 152 n.6.

(27) Lehoux, III, 155 (citing a copy in BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LIV, fol. 251); and Vaughan, John, p. 79 (citing the original in AD Côte-d'Or, B 11935).

(28) The king of Navarre had not yet repaid in full the money loaned to him in 1404 by the Italian merchant Giacomo Rapondi. (AN, X.1c 99 B, no. 221) At the time the king of Navarre signed the treaty with John the Fearless on Sept. 8, Giacomo must have been pressing him for repayment, for he took him to court soon afterwards. The alliance with Duke John did, in fact, open the royal coffers to the king of Navarre. Charles VI gave him 6,000 francs on Oct. 25, 1409 and 10,000 écus on Dec. 7, 1409. (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ext.," p. 109) These gifts were given at the same time Charles VI gave money to John the Fearless.

(29) RSD, IV, 184.

(30) RSD, IV, 186.

(31) Monstrelet, II, 31-32.

(32) Monstrelet's account of the arrest of Jean de Montagu (II, 42-44) is more detailed than the narrative of the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 272-76). For the titles of Martin Gouge, see M. Rey, Le Domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI (1388-1413), Paris, 1965, p. 294.

(33) RSD, IV, 272. Note that Monstrelet does not mention Pierre de Lesclat. For Pierre's titles, see Baye, I, 224; and Rey, Domaine, p. 294.

(34) Monstrelet (II, 44-45) is incorrect to say that the

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duke of Bourbon left Paris shortly before Jean de Montagu's execution (Oct. 17, 1409), for Duke Louis attended the grand conseil on Oct. 23. (BN, P.O. 1778, Luxembourg, no. 18)

(35) RSD, IV, 274.

(36) AN, JJ 163, fol. 268v (letter of Oct. 12, 1409); and ibid., fol. 270v (letter of Oct. 14, 1409).

(37) Baye, I, 292.

(38) Ordonnances, IX, 468-78. This ordinance named as "generaux conseillers juges et reformateurs par tout le royaume et Dauphine": the counts of La Marche, Vendôme, and Saint-Pol; Jean de Sacquainville, lord of Blaru; Guy de Néelle, lord of Offémont; Pierre des Essarts, provost of Paris; Jean du Colombier, lord of Montauquier; Pierre de Fontenay; Maître Pierre de Peyrusse; Eustache de Laistre and Philippe de Corbie, both maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi, one of the presidents and seven councillors of the Parlement, and Guillaume Barrau, the king's premier secrétaire.

(39) Louis of Bourbon, count of Vendôme, who had become the king's Grand Chamberlain by 1408 (AN, KK 29, fol. 77v), had supported Valentina Visconti after the murder of Louis of Orleans. His brother, Jacques of Bourbon, count of La Marche, had married a daughter of the king of Navarre and had probably been drawn into the Burgundian circle by his father-in-law. John the Fearless could count with greater certainty on the count of Saint-Pol, whose daughter had just married Anthony of Burgundy, and on Pierre des Essarts and Pierre de Fontenay. Guy de Néelle had been a chamberlain of Louis of Orléans and by 1408 had become a councillor and chamberlain of the king and the duke of Guyenne. (See Appendix IV under Neelle) Jean de Sacquainville had also been a chamberlain of Louis of Orléans. (See Appendix IV under Sacquainville) Jean du Colombier was a member of the duke of Berry's household. (Lehoux, II, 390) Pierre de Peyrusse (or "Perouls"), whose name was incorrectly transcribed for the editors of the Ordonnances as "de Venise" or "de Verusso," had been a général conseiller et reformateur of Languedoc and Guyenne for the duke of Berry in 1403. (Lehoux, II, 515 n.6)

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(40) Rey, Domaine, p. 300.

(41) Rey, Domaine, p. 300.

(42) Monstrelet, II, 48-49.

(43) "elle lui monstrast assez bon semblant par paroles" (Monstrelet, II, 49).

(44) Monstrelet, II, 50.

(45) Since the count of La Marche was not included in the alliance of November 11 while his father-in-law, the king of Navarre was, it is unlikely that the alliance was discussed during the trip made to Melun by the larger group of dukes and counts mentioned earlier.

(46) Lehoux, III, 159, Vaughan, John, p. 81, J. D'Avout, La Querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons, Paris, 1943, p. 121, J. Calmette, Les Grands ducs de Bourgogne, Paris, 1949, p. 133. Verdon, p. 160. Straub (Herzog Ludwig, p. 96) viewed the duke of Burgundy as the "eigentliche Gewinner" in this treaty.

(47) Lehoux, III, 157 n.4.

(48) "[la royne] le doubtoit plus que tous les autres" (Monstrelet, II, 49).

(49) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXIII (alliance of Nov. 11, 1409).

(50) The adherence of the king of Navarre to the alliance of Nov. 11, 1409 shows that John the Fearless had succeeded in appeasing his anger concerning the execution of Jean de Montagu. (For Navarre's anger, see Juvenal des Ursins, p. 201) Duke John evidently used the same promise of financial reward he seems to have used with Navarre before, for on Dec. 7, 1409, that king received, apparently through John's intercession, a grant of 10,000 écus from Charles VI. (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ext.," p. 109)

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(51) L. Pannier, Les Joyaux du duc de Guyenne, recherches sur les goûts artistiques et la vie privée du dauphin Louis, fils de Charles VI, Paris, 1874, pp. 57-58 (letter of Charles VI dated Feb. 6, 1410 published in full from BN, ms. fr. 25708, no. 630). The letter of Feb. 6 states that Jean de Nielles' wages of 2,000 livres tournois as chancellor of the duke of Guyenne should be paid from Nov. 19, 1409, the date on which they had been set by another royal letter. Rey (Finances, pp. 287-88) used this letter to support his statement that Jean de Nielles became chancellor to both the queen and the duke of Guyenne on Nov. 19, but the letter does not mention the queen. Nielles received a full year's wages of 1,000 livres tournois as the queen's chancellor for the fiscal year Oct. 1, 1409-Sept. 30, 1410, but it is extremely unlikely that he was her chancellor before Nov. 11, 1409. Isabeau probably retained him between Nov. 11 and Nov. 19. The king's letter of Nov. 19 was obviously Nielles' nomination as chancellor of the duke of Guyenne. Since the queen was in Melun and the king was in Paris, it is improbable that Nielles was retained as chancellor to both the queen and her son on the same day. The king's letter was probably issued in compliance with a request which the queen made after she had named Nielles her chancellor.

(52) P. Feuchère, Les Vieilles familles chevaleresques du nord de la France, 1ère série, no. 2 (Olhain), Fontenay-le-Comte, 1946, p. 27. See also Appendix IV, below, under Nielles.

(53) Rey, Finances, p. 198.

(54) For an example of the queen's use of the king's chancellor, see RSD, IV, 182.

(55) G. Tessier, Diplomatique royale française, Paris, 1962, p. 145.

(56) Ordonnances, VIII, 578.

(57) The greffier du Parlement, Nicolas de Baye, mentioned in his journal on Aug. 8, 1413 (II, 128) that Arnaut de Corbie was 88 years old "ou environ, et si imbecille et foible que a grant peinne povoit-il aler ne venir." When the royal family was en route to Tours in 1408, Arnaut complained when he was summoned to join them in

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Gien. (Baye, I, 245)

(58) Rey, Finances, p. 287.

(59) Tessier, p. 139. It is interesting to note, however, that while a chancellor of the king was not allowed to be employed by anyone else (ibid.), Jean de Nielles retained his offices of councillor and chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy. (See Appendix IV, below, under Nielles) For the duties of a chancellor, see Tessier, pp. 145-49. Other than acting as a spokesman, the chancellor's main job was to seal the charters drawn up in his employer's name after first inspecting them to make sure both that they had been properly drafted and that they contained nothing illegal or prejudicial to his employer's rights.

(60) Letters issued in the king's presence in Nov. 1409: Nov. 3 (AN, P 272.1, no. 259), Nov. 11 (AN, JJ 164, fol. 18), Nov. 14 (AN, X.1c 103 A, no. 11), Nov. 18 (BN, P.O. 2657, Savoisy, no. 30), and Nov. 19 (BN, P.O. 1072, Essarts, no. 62).

(61) RSD, IV, 282. The Monk mentions the presence of the duke of Brabant, but this is not possible, if indeed the visit took place on Dec. 1, for Duke Anthony did not arrive in Paris until sometime after Dec. 9. (F. Quicke, "Rectifications et compléments a l'itinéraire d'Antoine de Bourgogne duc de Brabant et de Limbourg (1407-1415)," Mélanges offerts à Henri Pirenne, II, Bruxelles, 1926, p. 400) The Monk seems to have erred also in mentioning the presence of the duke of Bourbon. Louis of Bourbon had left Paris after the execution of Jean de Montagu and apparently did not return until sometime between Dec. 3 and Dec. 6, for he was not present in the council on Dec. 3 (AN, J 369 A, no. 7 A) but did attend on Dec. 6 (BN, ms. fr. 20684, pp. 24-25). It is possible that the Monk, who was writing at a later date, thought the two dukes were present because he remembered that they had been in Paris in early December. His date of Dec. 1 for the king's recovery coincides with information given by the chronicler Monstrelet (II, 49-50).

(62) AN, J 369 A, no. 6; a copy of which appears in AN, JJ 164, fols. 5-5v.

(63) Monstrelet, II, 49-50.

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(64) Monstrelet, II, 50.

(65) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXI.

(66) In Dec. 1409 Charles VI was not in residence at Vincennes. (AN, KK 32, fol. 26v) He was in Paris at the Hôtel Saint-Pol on Dec. 26 (ibid., fol. 25), and on Dec. 27 he dined in Vincennes and returned to the Hôtel Saint-Pol for supper (ibid., fol. 17). Besides the royal secretary, Guillaume Barrau, who signed the four ordinances of Dec. 27, the following were with the king in Vincennes: the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, the counts of Hainaut, Mortain, Nevers, Alencon, Clermont, La Marche, Vendôme, Saint-Pol, Namur, and Vaudémont, the marquis du Pont, and Jean de Nielles. (Ordonnances, IX, 489) The duke of Bavaria, also present, may have come to Vincennes at an earlier date, for he was often in his sister's company.

(67) For this custom, see Ordonnances, VIII, 415.

(68) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXI.

(69) Ordonnances, IX, 488-89 (published from AN, JJ 164, fols. 49v-50, which was the chancery's copy of AN, J 369 A, no. 9).

(70) "seurement et selon la requeste a Nous faicte par nostredicte Compaigne" (Ordonnances, IX, 489).

(71) Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden Frankreich, Fasz. 4 (transcript supplied by T. Straub).

(72) Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden Frankreich, Fasz. 3 (transcript supplied by T. Straub).

(73) Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden Frankreich, Fasz. 4 (letter of Charles VI to the duke of Guyenne's maîtres d'hôtel and his maître and contrerolleur de la chambre aux deniers,

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dated Dec. 27, 1409, transcript supplied by I. Straub).

(74) Lehoux (III, 162) said incorrectly that as a result of the ordinances of Dec. 27, 1409, the duke of Burgundy "tenait le royaume en main." Vaughan (John, p. 81) likewise considered that "at last, France was in the hands of John the Fearless." This has been the traditional interpretation. Straub (Herzog Ludwig, pp. 101-02) discussed the ordinances only in relationship to the role of Louis of Bavaria but felt that they caused Isabeau and her brother to pay a "price."

(75) RSD, IV, 282; and Baye, I, 305-07.

(76) Ordonnances, XII, 229-31. For two originals, sealed and marked "dupplicata," see AN, J 369 A, no. 10 and J 469, no. 17.

(77) For the date of Dec. 29, see RSD, IV, 282. For the queen's departure, see Monstrelet, II, 57.

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CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST STAGES OF THE CIVIL WAR (1410-1412)

The duke of Burgundy began his duties as guardian of the duke of Guyenne when the queen left her son in Paris and returned to Vincennes on December 31, 1409. John the Fearless made few changes in the young prince's household. A complete list of the duke of Guyenne's officers for any individual year is unavailable, but extensive research has now brought to light information about a total of 793 people who served him at some point during his nineteen years of life.[1] A statistical analysis of the biographical information about these people shows that 186 of the 793 definitely served the duke of Guyenne in 1410 or earlier, and of these, only 16 are known to have had connections at any time with John the Fearless. This extremely limited Burgundian infiltration of the prince's household increased very little during the years after 1410, for only 35 of the total number of 793 officers had direct ties with Duke John. Additional research may, of course, change these statistics, but since the biographies of the more important personnages are known in detail, the general import of the figures is sure to remain the same.

By the end of 1409, the duke of Guyenne already had a complete household of his own, although he had usually resided with the queen. Following the customary pattern,

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his household was divided into different departments: the chambre and the fourrière, to which belonged the chamberlains and officers who cared for the duke's bedchamber, arranged for the lodging of the household, and distributed firewood; the paneterie (pantry), whose officers served food at the duke's table and had charge of bread, salt, and table linen; the échansonnerie (wine cellar); the cuisine (kitchen); the fruiterie, a store room for fruit, spices, and candlewax; the écurie (stables); and the chapelle (chapel).[2] The entire household was under the general direction of a small group of officers called the maîtres d'hôtel.

The financial accounts of the duke of Guyenne and his household were kept by seven different offices, each one handling different categories of expenses. The trésorerie functioned as a central office; the chambre aux deniers paid the daily expenses of the household; the argenterie paid for clothing, room furnishings, and luxury items; the écurie paid the expenses of the stables,[3] the coffres paid for the duke's personal jewels and provided his spending-money; the garnison des vins paid for the wine consumed by the household; and the aumônerie paid out the alms offered by the duke. The first three of these departments handled the largest sums of money.[4] Although, in theory, each department had its own domain, in practice, expenses were sometimes entered where they did not officially belong, and this made for a rather confusing state of affairs.

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The most important members of the duke of Guyenne's staff were his chancellor, councillors, chamberlains, maîtres d'hôtel, and treasurer. The councillors, established as early as 1408,[5] were chosen mainly from among his chamberlains, maîtres d'hôtel, maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel, and financial officers. According to the chronicler Monstrelet, the nominations that John the Fearless made in the household in January 1410 were approved by the queen.[6] The most important change involved the replacement of the premier chambellan, Charles de la Rivière, count of Dammartin, with Guillaume de Vienne, lord of Saint-Georges.[7] Guillaume had long been a trusted member of the entourage of the duke of Burgundy. In 1410 he was the highest paid chamberlain of John the Fearless and received an annual pension of 3,000 francs, whereas almost all of Duke John's other chamberlains were paid only 500 francs.[8] The duke of Guyenne's next most important chamberlain, Regnault d'Angennes, who in 1409 was called councillor of the queen and "chambellan ayant la garde du corps" of the duke, remained in service.[9] The other chamberlains seem to have retained their posts as well, for in 1410 we often find, besides Regnault d'Angennes, the lords of Blaru, Lignières, Moy, and Offémont both in the young prince's council and in his presence when he issued letters.[10] These chamberlains had never been members of the Burgundian entourage. Regnault d'Angennes and the lords of Lignières and Moy had been royal chamberlains for many

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years, and the lords of Blaru and Offémont had been chamberlains of Louis of Orléans.[11]

It seems that the office of grand maître d'hôtel was discontinued in the household of the duke of Guyenne in 1410, for Robert, lord of Boissay, who held the title in 1406, evidently did not use it in 1410 or later.[12] Robert did remain in the duke's employ as councillor, however, and his sons Colart and Jean, if they were not already part of the household, soon became Louis' valet tranchant and chamberlain, respectively.[13] It appears that the only other personages the duke of Burgundy nominated in early 1410 to important positions in the prince's household were David, lord of Rambures, as councillor and chamberlain; Jean Pioche as maître d'hôtel, and perhaps Jacques de Châtillon, son of the admiral of France, as chamberlain.[14]

Among those who served the duke of Guyenne outside the confines of his household, the most influential officer was the governor of the Dauphiné. Guillaume de Laire had held this post since April 1407, but because he had been grand maître d'hôtel of Louis of Orléans, he was not acceptable to the duke of Burgundy, and John the Fearless caused the king to replace him on January 8, 1410 with Regnier Pot.[15] The nomination of Pot, one of the duke of Burgundy's chamberlains, was made by the king and not by the duke of Guyenne, who was dauphin du Viennois, because Louis had not yet been given the power to administer the Dauphiné.[16]

John the Fearless did not replace the financial officers

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of the duke of Guyenne. Guillaume Budé, who had been the prince's maître des garnisons des vins since 1401, stayed in office until 1412.[17] Gillet de Vitry, who had clear Orléanist connections as a cousin of the lord of Noviant and brother-in-law of Jean Jouvenel, kept his office as garde des coffres.[18] Jehannet d'Estouteville, the younger, for many years a member of the king's household, remained premier écuyer du corps et maître de l'écurie, and Guillaume Levesque stayed on as almoner.[19] Jean Piet continued to be maître de la chambre aux deniers until December 1, 1413, Jean le Blanc retained his post as argentier of both the queen and the duke of Guyenne, and the most important financial officer, a Florentine named François de Nerly, who had been named trésorier et receveur de toutes finances on March 26, 1409, remained in office until the young duke died in 1415.[20] François was also gouverneur des finances of Louis of Bavaria and thus was out of the range of influence of John the Fearless.

Duke John had already succeeded in placing one of his own maîtres d'hôtel above all the financial officers of the duke of Guyenne, however, for Pierre de Fontenay, who had been named a réformateur of the kingdom on October 20, 1409, had become gouverneur de toutes les finances of the king, the queen, and all the royal children on December 7, 1409.[21] This post allowed Pierre to supervise the disbursement of all monies to the financial officers of the royal family. The fact that Duke John was more successful in obtaining

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money from the royal coffers in 1410 can probably be attributed to his connection with Pierre de Fontenay.[22]

On January 22, 1410, the duke of Guyenne entered his fourteenth year. He would no longer have been considered a minor if he were king of France, but since he was not king, the duke of Burgundy remained his guardian and governor.[23] On January 28, however, in a session of the council attended by the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Brabant, the marquis du Pont, and the lords of Aumont and Savoisy, King Charles gave Louis the power to administer and govern in his own name the Dauphiné and the duchy of Guyenne with the reservation that the duke of Berry would continue to enjoy his privileges as royal lieutenant in Guyenne.[24]

Within a few days after this event, the king seems to have fallen into a relapse.[25] Although there were occasions during February and March when royal letters were issued in his presence, King Charles does not appear to have attended the council until March 21.[26] According to Monstrelet, the council often went to Vincennes during this period to confer with the queen without the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, who began to resent the fact that they were no longer summoned as often as usual and left Paris in anger.[27] Towards the end of March, however, the elderly dukes were required to go with the kings of Sicily and Navarre to Gien for the negotiation of a peace treaty between the duke of Brittany and the count of Penthièvre.[28] Nevertheless, the inclusion of Berry and Bourbon in these negotiations was not the

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result of a decision made by the government in Paris, for they had been selected by the rival parties themselves.[29]

John the Fearless made a serious tactical error when he alienated the duke of Berry, for in so doing, he pushed the old duke into an alliance with the partisans of Charles of Orléans. On April 15 the dukes of Berry, Brittany, and Orleans, and the counts of Alençon, Armagnac, and Clermont signed an alliance in Gien, forming what has been called by historians the League of Gien.[30] The document, which bore the signatures of the six confederates, specified how many men-at-arms each one would bring to fight against those who were damaging the welfare and honor of the king and the kingdom. At the same time, several marriages were arranged, the most important of which united Charles of Orléans, whose first wife, Isabelle of France, had died in childbirth in 1409, with Bonne, daughter of the count of Armagnac.[31]

News of the formation of the League quickly reached John the Fearless. In May he summoned his vassals, sent messages to various Norman lords in an attempt to win their support, and notified the counts of Hainaut, Namur, and Cleves, and the bishop-elect of Liège.[32] While troops were being levied by the rival parties, the king's subjects thought at first that an army was being organized to repel an English invasion.[33] The Monk of Saint-Denis reports that he was told at the time by several persons who had entry to the king's privy council that John the Fearless, supported by the council, was in control of the kingdom and that the members

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of the League intended to enter Paris and make their complaints to the king in person.[34]

By the end of April, the confederates had returned to their own territories, and in June the duke of Berry set up his headquarters in Poitiers.[35] John the Fearless had been negotiating with him through ambassadors during the month of May and continued to do so.[36] Charles VI appears to have been in a state of poor mental health at this time, for although he issued royal letters between April 18 and July 14, 1410, there is no indication that he attended any sessions of the council.[37] During his "absence," since the queen was in Melun, the duke of Guyenne "held" the council.[38]

The Monk of Saint-Denis was remarkably accurate when he reported that the king recovered in mid-July and ordered the duke of Berry to disband his army, for the first appearance of the king in the council after his long absence dates from July 14, and it is known that on July 15 Charles VI prohibited all his subjects from taking up arms or answering the summons of any prince of the blood.[39] The duke of Berry refused to obey the king's order, and towards the end of the month Charles VI made a short trip to Melun with the king of Navarre, the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, and others apparently to consult with the queen about what should be done.[40]

On August 7 the king sent chevaucheurs to various lords who resided in the duchies of Berry and Orléans, and other

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regions, with letters in which he commanded them not to respond to any summons from the members of the League.[41] Then, on August 14, during a meeting of the council, he issued a revocation of the document which the confederates had signed at Gien because, he proclaimed, it was illegal to make any alliances concerning him unless he was present or granted permission.[42] To promote good relations while negotiations continued, King Charles also declared that no blame would be attached to the confederates, and he renounced any right he might have to proceed against them legally for what they had done.

This concession did not, however, bring the negotiations to a hasty conclusion. A royal embassy met on August 18 in Poitiers with the duke of Berry, the counts of Alençon, Armagnac, Clermont, and Eu, and others.[43] Guillaume de Tignonville spoke for the king's ambassadors, and the archbishop of Bourges, who was the duke of Berry's chancellor, spoke for the duke. Berry's answer was totally noncommittal; he intended to give the king a most satisfactory reply, said the archbishop, as soon as he met with the other princes of the "royal lineage" in Tours.

On the next day, the king's maternal uncle, Louis, duke of Bourbon, died in Montluçon, leaving the duchy to his son John, count of Clermont, a member of the League of Gien.[44] Also on August 19, evidently having been informed of Berry's reply by a courier who rode "hastivement toute nuit," the king ordered the seneschal of Toulouse and others to publish

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royal letters prohibiting anyone from answering the League's summons.[45] On the same day, Charles VI granted to John the Fearless 120,000 francs for the payment of an advance to his troops and 10,000 francs for "grans, notables et agreables services et plaisirs" which the duke had performed.[46] The government's interpretation of the duke of Berry's ambiguous reply became even more clear when, on August 28, the king summoned the ban and arrière-ban for the following September 15.[47] The government was preparing for a war with the League.

The members of the League responded to the king's prohibition against anyone coming to their support by declaring that the royal ordinance in question had been issued without the king's knowledge or approval, and as a result, Charles VI was obliged to issue a new ordinance, which confirmed his prohibition, on August 30 in a large council attended by the king of Navarre, the dukes of Guyenne and Burgundy, and other persons of note.[48] On September 2 the dukes of Berry, Orléans, and Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and Armagnac addressed a letter from Tours to the king, copies of which were sent to Amiens and other cities throughout the kingdom.[49] The confederates announced their intention to go "humbly" before the king in order to explain the damage that was being done both to him and to the duke of Guyenne. They also declared that they would not dissolve their League until King Charles had received them, and they asked the towns to support their

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endeavor. Then, moving closer to Paris from Tours, the confederates entered Chartres on September 4.[50]

During the second half of September, the queen took up residence in the castle of Marcoussis and attempted to negotiate with the League.[51] According to the chroniclers, when the conference of Melun ended unsuccessfully, Charles VI was so angry that he sent to the abbey of Saint-Denis for the Oriflamme, the standard which the kings of France traditionally took with them into battle, and, in a manner reminiscent of his expedition of 1392, prepared stubbornly to march to war. His more specific plans are unknown, for the Monk states that he intended to force both rival parties to submit,[52] whereas Monstrelet claims that he proposed to march only against the League.[53] King Charles' plan was aborted, however, by the timely intervention of the University of Paris.

The rector, accompanied by many masters from the University, approached the king as he left mass to take his place at the head of his troops.[54] They informed him that because the army of the League had cut off the city's food supply, the University was going to leave Paris unless he could provide some prompt solution. The chancellor, Arnaut de Corbie, evidently seized upon this as a way to delay the king's departure, for he immediately told the rector and the masters that the king would call his council after dinner and that, afterwards, he, Arnaut, would give them the king's reply. The council, held in the chambre verte of the Grand

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Palais, was attended by the dukes of Guyenne, Burgundy, and Brabant, and many others, including a number of deputies from the University.[55] The king of Navarre made a speech in which he suggested that all the princes of the blood leave Paris and reside in their own domains, that they no longer receive monetary gifts from the king, that the taxes be reduced, that the money which the king had borrowed from the burgesses of Paris be repaid, and that the government be directed by wise men of all "estates" ("preudommes de tous estas").

The content of this speech indicates that in spite of the treaty of November 11, 1409, the king of Navarre still held the execution of Jean de Montagu against John the Fearless and was no longer his staunch ally, for it was not in the duke's best interest to be forced to leave Paris.[56] At the assembly, Duke John disguised his true feelings about these suggestions, however, and agreed to everything.[57] He must have realized that his adherence in public to the king of Navarre's proposals enhanced his image at a moment when there was a danger of incurring the wrath of the people by prolonging a controversy which had already brought so much hardship to the inhabitants of the region.[58] Duke John also had to take into account the enormous expense of keeping his army standing while the endless negotiations continued. It was not safe to count on the quick receipt of funds from the royal coffers to pay his troops, especially since he had already obtained a substantial advance. John the Fearless

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must have known that he could not defeat the League in this cold war.

The king of Navarre's speech was reported to the duke of Berry, but the old duke was not yet ready to give up, and he demanded a place in the governing council.[59] Negotiations continued throughout the month of October, and on November 1 Berry renewed his agreement with the League in a document signed by all the confederates except the duke of Brittany.[60] Again the duke of Berry promised to support the others against the duke of Burgundy whenever the necessity arose, and they made the same promise to him. Furthermore, each one swore not to negotiate any "accord, traictie ne alliance" with John the Fearless without the consent of the others. Despite this confirmation of their purpose, the king was able to announce on the very next day that an agreement had been reached and that the letters and oaths of the members of the League would be received by the cardinal of Bar, the grand master of Rhodes, the count of Saint-Pol, Jean de Nielles, and Guichart Dauphin.[61] This abrupt and happy conclusion, called by historians the Peace of Bicêtre, appears to have been caused by the king's sudden declaration to the confederates that he intended to confiscate all their property.[62]

The Peace stated that all princes of the blood except Pierre of Navarre, count of Mortain, would return to their own domains. The armies would be disbanded, and the princes would come to Paris only when they were summoned by letters

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patent issued by the king in his council and sealed with the great seal. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy would always be called to appear before the king on the same day, and a truce prohibiting even the utterance of "injurious words" would be in effect until Easter 1412. The king's council was to be reformed and made up of persons who had no connection with either party, but the rival dukes would be allowed to suggest suitable councillors. Together, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy would have the guardianship of the duke of Guyenne, and they would each select a substitute to act in their absence. In compliance with the duke of Berry's wish, Pierre des Essarts was to be discharged from the various offices he held from the king. Finally, the king commanded that no action was to be taken against those who had supported either of the factions.

All of these articles were quickly executed, and the duke of Berry was rather indulgent in his approval of certain points that were definitely in favor of the duke of Burgundy. Instead of choosing two substitutes to exercise the guardianship of the duke of Guyenne, the two dukes agreed to have Guillaume de Vienne, lord of Saint-Georges, represent both of them.[63] There was also a conspicuous number of Burgundians among the new councillors.[64] The duke of Berry was evidently prepared to accept a mixed group.[65] In fact, before he left Bicêtre, the old duke made a complete about-face. On November 7, 1410, he personally signed a letter in which he stated that he had sworn to the

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cardinal of Bar and the duke of Brabant that he would meet the duke of Burgundy and conclude an alliance with him against everyone except the king and the duke of Guyenne.[66] This alliance would cancel all agreements he had made which were "prejudicial or damaging" to John the Fearless. In return, the duke of Burgundy was to swear to support his uncle against everyone except the king and the duke of Guyenne. In this letter, the duke of Berry also declared that he would let Duke John have sole guardianship of the duke of Guyenne and that he would consent "insofar as it concerned" him to whatever royal grants of office were made in favor of Pierre des Essarts. For his part, Pierre was to promise to "love, serve, and honor" the duke of Berry.

This document shows that the duke of Berry was not interested in the pursuit of justice, which, as defined by the duke of Orléans, involved punishing the duke of Burgundy for the assassination of Louis of Orléans. The old duke had already made it clear what his priorities were when he had let John escape from Paris so easily after Louis was murdered and when he had been so ready to negotiate with him afterwards in Amiens. The duke of Berry's main concern was to ensure for himself an important seat in the government, which he could occupy whenever he wished. The egotistical nature of his interest in the affairs of the kingdom is evident in the fact that he turned down the guardianship of the heir to the throne not once, but twice. Directing the household and education of the duke of Guyenne was a task he

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considered burdensome, and yet he felt that everyone should defer to him when he wished to be consulted. Clearly, the duke of Berry had used the League of Gien to force John the Fearless to restore to him powers that he had lost. When this objective was accomplished, the old duke was perfectly willing to abandon the League and break the oath he had sworn to each member.

It is not known if the duke of Orléans or the other members of the League were aware of the document signed by the duke of Berry on November 7, but the old duke's change of heart must have been fairly obvious to Duke Charles when he visited Berry at the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre on January 18 and 19, 1411.[67] From Blois, a few days later, Charles of Orléans sent a messenger "hastivement" to the old duke in Bourges with a letter that required an immediate answer.[68] Berry's reply must have disheartened his grandnephew, for Duke Charles decided at that moment to take matters into his own hands. On January 30, at his order, John, lord of Croy, a councillor and chamberlain of John the Fearless, was arrested as he travelled with two other ambassadors to Bourges to confer with the duke of Berry.[69] The old duke directed an angry letter to the duke of Orléans and demanded that he turn the lord of Croy over to him. He declared that if the young duke did not obey him in this, he would consider him an enemy.[70] The king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne also wrote to Duke Charles, but the lord of Croy, instead of being released, was examined under torture to

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ascertain whether or not he had consented to the murder of Louis of Orléans.

The duke of Burgundy called a meeting in Tournai with the duke of Brabant, the bishop-elect of Liège, and the counts of Hainaut and Namur.[71] On February 28 Charles VI prohibited the princes from assembling troops, but Charles of Orléans was not to be deterred,[72] and in March he wrote to the University of Paris to demand a formal condemnation of Jean Petit's justification of the duke of Burgundy's crime against Louis of Orléans.[73] Then, on March 31, he ordered his younger brother Philip, count of Vertus, to go to the duchy of Valois in order to receive the homages of the ducal vassals there so that he, Charles, would be legally entitled to summon them to join his army.[74] The count of Vertus was accompanied by 600 men and was joined in Valois by 1,800 more. This alarmed the duke of Burgundy and caused him to send a summons on April 9 to his vassals, ordering them to meet him at Cateau-Cambrésis on April 29.[75]

Although the king issued Duke John a license on April 11 to defend himself against the "English and his other enemies or evil-wishers, whoever they may be,"[76] he tried to bring matters to a halt by sending ambassadors not only to John but also to the dukes of Berry and Orléans. King Charles asked John the Fearless to annul or postpone the call to his vassals and to send four councillors to the duke of Berry for a meeting with eight others, four from Paris and four from the duke of Orléans.[77] John the Fearless accepted this

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proposal but stressed the fact that the duke of Orléans had broken both the Peace of Chartres and the oath he had made at Bicêtre.[78] The duke of Orléans, on the other hand, made no immediate reply to the king's request and continued his military preparations.[79]

Finally, towards the end of May, Duke Charles sent the king an answer.[80] He said that he could not reply to any of the requests that had been made because certain persons who sat in the royal council were not only his enemies but also the king's, and they were preventing justice from being done. These evil councillors were the bishop of Tournai, the vidame of Amiens, Jean de Nielles, the lord of Heilly, Charles de Savoisy, Antoine de Craon, Antoine des Essarts, Jean de Courcelles, Pierre de Fontenay, and Maurice de Ruilly. Duke Charles even accused Jean de Nielles, chancellor of the queen and the duke of Guyenne, and the lord of Heilly of being accomplices in the murder of Louis of Orléans. As soon as all these people were brought to justice, declared the young duke, he would make a reply which the king would find pleasing. Similar letters were sent by Duke Charles to the Parlement, the chancellor, and several members of the grand conseil,[81] and he asked the chancellor and the councillors to enlist the aid of the queen and the duke of Guyenne in obtaining the dismissal of the ten Burgundians he had named.[82]

The duke of Burgundy took action by sending the king on June 8 a letter in which he proclaimed his loyalty to the

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crown.[83] He had heard, he said, that the king had asked the ten councillors named by the duke of Orléans not to sit in the council when matters regarding the death of Louis of Orléans were discussed, and he threatened to send a list of certain councillors who were his enemies if the king did not reverse this decision. The eleven persons Duke John would have put on this list are known to us from a first draft of his letter, and among them were the archbishop of Reims (Simon Cramaut), the bishop of Noyon (Pierre Fresnel), the lords of Torcy and Blaru, Colart de Calleville, Guillaume de Tignonville, Simon de Nanterre (one of the presidents of the Parlement), Jean Picquet, and Gontier Col (a royal secretary).[84] During the last week of June, the king reacted by issuing a letter in which he prohibited the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans from coming to Paris and announced that the only valid oaths of fealty were those which had been made to the crown.[85] This action allowed the dukes' vassals to legally ignore any summons to provide them with military support. The king's efforts were futile, however, and by mid-July the troops of the duke of Orléans were already in Picardy, where they set up a garrison in the castle of Ham and skirmished in the environs with the enemy.[86]

On July 14, 1411, Charles of Orléans and his brothers, Philip and John, sent a letter to the king from Jargeau, a town near Orléans.[87] In this document, the brothers first retold the story of their father's assassination and the subsequent events and then declared that the oaths they had

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sworn at Chartres were invalid because it was against "divine law" for a king to pardon an assassin who does not even say he repents. Moreover, they claimed that King Charles could not rightfully endorse the Peace of Chartres when nothing had been done to satisfy the injured parties because to do so would be "against the principles of law, justice, and even reason." The brothers also stated that John the Fearless had violated the oath he had sworn at Chartres by arresting and executing Jean de Montagu, by protecting the men who had actually committed the murder of Louis of Orléans, by having Louis' servants dismissed from their royal offices, and by surrounding the king with bad councillors. Duke John had broken the Peace of Bicêtre, as well, they said, by enforcing the nomination of his servants to the royal council, by trying to have Pierre des Essarts reinstated to the provostship of Paris, and by causing the dismissal of Jean de Garencières from his post as captain of Caen. Duke Charles and his brothers ended their letter by asking for immediate satisfaction and assistance from the king against the evil intentions of John the Fearless.

Charles VI replied to them in a letter which was issued while he attended the council on July 20.[88] He stated that he had never refused to do justice regarding their requests and that at that very moment the queen and the dukes of Berry and Brittany were working on the terms of a possible agreement. King Charles declared himself ready to offer "good justice" if the conference failed, but, in the

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meantime, he said, Duke Charles and his brothers had to disband their troops. It seems that the king did not have complete faith in a happy outcome of the queen's conference, however, for he had already begun to seek financial aid in various quarters in order to be prepared for war. The archbishop of Reims, speaking for the prelates, had agreed to help, and the burgesses of Paris had offered to support 500 men-at-arms for three months, but the University of Paris, speaking for the clergy, had flatly refused to provide aid and had taken this opportunity to make a virulent attack on the monarchy.[89] The University's refusal had prompted the king to seek on July 13 the advice of the Parlement, and an entry in the journal of the greffier of that institution shows that at this time King Charles envisioned a military resistance on the part of the government against both the duke of Orléans and the duke of Burgundy.[90] The government's decision not to favor either duke was jeopardized by Charles of Orléans, however, for on July 15, before receiving the king's answer to his Manifesto of Jargeau, he ordered his vassals to congregate in Orléans, equipped for war, on July 23.[91] Then, after receiving the king's reply, he commanded on July 31 his herald "Orléans" to take to John the Fearless the letter of defiance he had composed on July 18.[92] In this défi, Charles of Orléans announced that from now on he would harm Duke John with all his strength and in every way he could.

On July 31 the queen wrote from Melun to the two rival

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dukes and asked them not to make war on each other before the negotiations for peace, in which she was involved, had ended, but it was too late for her intercession to have any effect. The duke of Bourbon informed the king that Charles of Orléans had sent his letter of defiance to John the Fearless, and in a meeting of the council on August 12, Charles VI issued an ordinance in which he signalled the end of the government's neutrality by revoking his earlier command that none of his subjects take up arms to serve John the Fearless.[93] Now Duke John had the king's authorization to retaliate against Charles of Orléans, but he may not yet have known this when on the next day, August 13, he answered Duke Charles' letter of defiance.[94] The défi had brought him "great joy in his heart," he said, and he would punish young Charles and his brothers for the false accusations they had made against him and for their treason to the king. Duke John wrote to the queen on the same day to explain to her that although she had asked him to delay hostilities, it was now necessary for him to "guard" his honor.[95]

The queen's conference in Melun with the dukes of Berry and Brittany failed. At the end of July, the duke of Berry had made another about-face by again supporting Charles of Orléans and by stating that the king should not persist any longer in refusing to grant young Charles an interview. This position had brought the conference to a standstill. During the last days of July, members of the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, and the grand conseil had been summoned

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to Melun to offer their advice,[96] and after their return to Paris, the duke of Berry's attitude was common knowledge. The old duke had probably not supported Charles of Orléans because of any altruistic motives, for his behavior at Bicêtre eight months earlier had revealed that in a crisis he was interested only in his own welfare.[97] He had agreed at that time to let Burgundians sit in the council despite the king's wish that the councillors be neutral, and he had also accepted Duke John's plan to reinstate Pierre des Essarts as provost of Paris. His attitude during the conference in Melun indicates that he was making an attempt to lessen the influence of John the Fearless in Paris and thereby increase his own. The fact that he dared now to make such a move proves he believed that the Burgundians were not able to control the royal council and that he had a good chance of winning. He must have been relying heavily on the king's declared intention of taking steps against both Burgundy and Orléans. The impetuosity of Charles of Orléans, however, and the shift in the king's position on August 12 brought disaster to the old duke.

While the duke of Berry schemed and the duke of Orléans prepared for war, John the Fearless was not idle. At the end of July, he had formed a bond with the Parisian butchers, who, according to the chronicler Monstrelet, were the most privileged and powerful of all the city's craftsmen.[98] In August, evidently at Duke John's instigation, the butchers created a reign of terror in

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Paris.[99] The duke of Berry was accused by rumor of working to secure the entry into the city of the partisans of the duke of Orléans, and Paris was soon in an uproar. In order to provide the inhabitants with stronger security, the count of Saint-Pol was named captain of the city, and he obtained royal permission for the three sons of Thomas le Goix, the elderly leader of the butchers, to command a troop of 500 of their companions ("consodales"), called the king's reserves ("subsidiarios"), whose duty was to take note of all the Parisians who favored the duke of Orléans.[100] The Le Goix brothers were also given the right to present the petitions of the Parisians at the meetings of the royal council, and, according to the monk of Saint-Denis, they heartily abused this privilege with their insolence.[101]

During this period, the prévôt des marchands and 300 burgesses left Paris, and the citizens began to call the partisans of the duke of Burgundy "Bourguignons" and the followers of the duke of Orléans "Armagnacs."[102] The duke of Berry sent a letter to the Parlement to protest against the slanderous rumors that were circulating about him, but the support the Parlement gave him was of little use.[103] When the queen tried to bring him back to Paris with her, she was told that he would not be allowed to enter the city.[104]

The troops of the duke of Orléans took the royal town of Roye in Picardy and also set up garrisons in nearby castles.[105] As a result, on September 1, the royal council, under the presidency of the duke of Guyenne, sent a letter

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in the king's name to the duke of Burgundy, ordering him to come as soon as possible to serve the crown and guard the king's honor by expelling the guilty "gens d'armes et de trait" from the royal domain.[106] No mention of the duke of Orléans, however, was made in this letter. The position taken by the crown was a defensive one: Duke John was to defend the royal domain from nameless marauders not attack the lands of the duke of Orléans.

On September 10 the Le Goix brothers came with requests from the Parisians to a session of the grand conseil at which the duke of Guyenne again presided.[107] The young prince issued two letters in the king's name on that day in answer to their requests. In one, he gave them permission to hold assemblies because they wished to discuss certain matters that were of importance to both the city and the kingdom.[108] In the other, he named three captains, who, under the government of the count of Saint-Pol, would be in charge of the security of the city: Antoine de Craon, David, lord of Ramburas, and Enguerrand de Bournonville.[109]

On the following day a public announcement was made to the effect that all goods belonging to the partisans of the duke of Orléans were to be confiscated.[110] This resulted in the disgrace of a number of persons of high rank. The brothers of the late Jean de Montagu, Jean, archbishop of Sens, and Gérard, bishop of Paris, were persecuted and lost the temporalities and spiritual powers of their benefices to the crown.[111] The lord of Hangest was discharged from his

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post as maître des arbalétriers, and the lords of Rambures and Longroy were chosen to share the office temporarily in his place.[112] On September 12 the duke of Burgundy's partisan Pierre des Essarts was received once again into the office of provost of Paris by the Parlement.[113] Many new bailiffs were named and the constable d'Albret was replaced by the count of Saint-Pol, but, for the moment, these nominations were considered provisory.[114] The only high-ranking member of the duke of Guyenne's household who appears to have suffered during this time is Enguerrand de Marcoignet, one of his maîtres d'hôtel, who lost his post as bailiff of Melun. It is not known if Enguerrand was forced to leave Paris, but if so, he was back serving the duke before the Burgundians were disgraced in 1413.[115]

The duke of Guyenne's involvement in politics greatly increased in September and October 1411, for the king, who had enjoyed relatively good health in July and August, now suffered a long relapse. Although several royal letters of minor importance were issued in his presence in September and October, there is no evidence that he ever attended a meeting of the council during those months.[116] This was a time of crisis, when many important decisions were made in the council, and the extant documents show that the duke of Guyenne always presided at these meetings.[117] The young prince took advantage of the power given him by the king in 1409 to summon, besides the princes of the blood, whichever royal councillors he wished, and the letters he issued in

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the king's name in September, October, and November show that he did not summon just those persons who supported John the Fearless. Among the councillors he called who were not considered Burgundians were a number of his own chamberlains: the lords of Blaru, Lignières, Moy, Offémont, and Rambouillet.[118] Although the lord of Blaru was on the list of Duke John's eleven worst enemies at court, the duke of Guyenne continued to call him to the council even after John arrived in Paris at the end of October.[119]

At this time, then, the duke of Guyenne was more than a figurehead and displayed that certain independence of spirit which is commonly seen in young teenagers. Another example of his independence from the Burgundian party is his response when the Le Goix brothers presented him in September 1411 with a petition from the inhabitants of Paris, which requested that the officers of the dukes of Berry and Orleans be required to leave Paris. Instead of automatically doing the bidding of these Burgundian partisans, Louis took "many" days to think the matter over before giving them an answer.[120]

The duke of Guyenne's independence of thought was undoubtedly fostered by the fact that his official autonomy caused people to defer to his personal opinions and cultivate his favor. An instance of an attempt to seek his goodwill can be found in the registers of the city of Tournai. Towards the end of 1410, deputies from that city paid the duke of Guyenne's trumpeter Anthonne a sizeable sum

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to "recommend" them to the young prince.[121] Louis' goodwill was also sought by the University of Paris. In a meeting on December 18, 1411, the members of the University resolved to thank the duke for his "good affection."[122] An example of deference to Louis' personal wishes is the occasion when the count of Armagnac, speaking for the duke of Orléans in October 1411, demanded that the monks of Saint-Denis surrender the queen's treasure, which they had in safe-keeping. The monks asked to be allowed to discover not only the queen's wishes about this but also those of the duke of Guyenne.[123]

While the persecution of the Armagnacs was under way in Paris, the duke of Burgundy mobilized his troops and captured Ham, Nesle, and Roye. Then, on September 26, he went north to Peronne and Arras to meet with ambassadors from England.[124] Duke John intended to negotiate the marriage of one of his daughters to the son of Henry IV and to conclude a political alliance. According to a note written on the back of their instructions, the English ambassadors were to discover if John would help King Henry recover the former English possessions in Guyenne.[125] On October 3 the count of Arundel arrived in Arras with English troops conscripted to aid John the Fearless.[126] On the same day, the duke of Guyenne, presiding over the grand conseil in Paris, issued a letter in the king's name which declared that the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon and Armagnac, and the constable d'Albret, together with all

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their allies and accomplices, were rebels and had thus forfeited their selves and their belongings.[127] This ordinance gave license to those who were loyal to the king to make war on the rebels and all persons who served them except the ones who had already left their company and had royal letters of pardon.

On midnight of this day, October 3, 1411, the Armagnacs began their siege of Saint-Denis.[128] The duke of Burgundy set out from Arras to march towards Paris on October 9, but by the time he reached Pontoise on October 16, the Armagnacs were in possession of Saint-Denis and the bridge of Saint-Cloud.[129] On October 14 the duke of Guyenne, presiding over the grand conseil, issued a letter in the name of the king ordering the provost of Paris to publish the convocation of the arrière-ban.[130] In this letter, the duke of Berry was added to the list of rebels with the explanation that he had long been a suspect and now proof of his complicity with the Armagnacs had been provided by the interception of certain letters. On the same day, a protest from the old duke himself was received by the Parlement.[131] The contents of Berry's missive indicate that he had not yet heard of his official disgrace, for he was writing to complain about the injuries done to his servants and possessions.

The outlawed Armagnacs persisted in claiming that they were not rebels. On October 9 the lord of Hangest and twenty-three other nobles addressed to the University of

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Paris a copy of a letter which they were sending to the king.[132] They declared that the duke of Orléans, far from opposing royal sovereignty, was actually trying to release the monarchy from servitude and restore its power. Since the royal councillors who favored the duke of Burgundy were preventing the administration of justice, the twenty-four nobles intended, they said, to support Charles of Orléans.

More protestations were circulated as soon as the duke of Berry learned of the government's decision regarding his loyalty to the crown. On October 22 the old duke refused to accept the revocation of his lieutenancy in Guyenne, and on November 7 he addressed a manifesto to the public, proclaiming his loyalty and announcing that the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne were being held prisoner in the Louvre.[133] This image of the royal family incarcerated continued to be used both figuratively and literally throughout the term of the civil war by whichever party was not in favor at the moment.

The military success of the Armagnacs in the environs of Paris in October 1411 was curtailed by the arrival of John the Fearless in Paris on October 23.[134] On November 9 Duke John, accompanied by the English counts of Arundel and Kent and many French nobles, recaptured the bridge of Saint-Cloud in a bloody surprise-attack.[135] This defeat frightened the Armagnacs, and the duke of Orléans immediately abandoned Saint-Denis and returned to his own territories. On November 10 the lord of Roncq and others went from Paris to

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take possession of the unguarded town of Saint-Denis, and while they were there, they stole what was left of the queen's treasure in the abbey. At the same time, by order of the lord of Heilly, they arrested the abbot, whom they accused of consorting with the enemy.[136]

According to a letter written in Paris on November 17 by Lourdin de Saligny, a councillor and chamberlain of John the Fearless, the king recovered on November 14 from his relapse.[137] Although King Charles was functioning with "good understanding," Lourdin wrote that people feared he would become ill again before his recovery was complete. On November 14 the king attended mass at Notre-Dame and dined in the Louvre with the duke of Burgundy and the count of Arundel.[138] He also held a meeting of the grand conseil, in which he issued a letter expressing his approval of everything the Parisians had done against the dukes of Orléans, Berry, and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon and Armagnac, the lord of Albret, and their accomplices.[139] On the same day, King Charles rewarded the absent duke of Brabant, brother of John the Fearless, with a gift of 60,000 écus to pay for the troops he had brought to serve the crown at an earlier time.[140] In spite of this royal largesse, Anthony of Brabant did not fare nearly as well as his brother, for he was still waiting to receive his gift in 1420. Duke John, on the other hand, received in cash, on November 24, the 40,000 francs which he had been granted by a royal letter of November 7.[141]

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In another royal letter issued on November 14, Charles VI declared his intention to go in person to punish the rebels or, if that was not possible, to send the duke of Guyenne.[142] It had already been decided that the count of Saint-Pol would lead troops into the duchy of Valois and the counties of Clermont and Beaumont in order to force the towns there which belonged to the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon to submit to royal authority.[143] While the royal army was being prepared, another expedition, led by Boucicaut, marshal of France, set out to capture Bonneval and the duke of Berry's town of Étampes.[144]

On November 16, 1411, the duke of Guyenne was retained as commander of a company of 3,000 hommes d'armes and 2,000 hommes de trait.[145] Shortly after November 17, the king's health evidently worsened, for Louis took his place at the head of the royal army.[146] John the Fearless joined the young prince on November 20 in Corbeil, and from there they marched towards Étampes.[147] Boucicaut had already taken Bonneval without effort, but the duke of Berry's garrison at Étampes, spurred on by Louis de Bosredon, captain of nearby Dourdan, had arrogantly refused to surrender.[148] The objective of the duke of Guyenne's army was to reduce Étampes and Louis de Bosredon to submission. En route, the royal troops stopped to lay siege to the castle of La Bretonnière, but the garrison there, after glimpsing their artillery, fled in the night.[149] As the army approached Étampes, the townspeople, who lived below the fortress, went

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out to meet the duke of Guyenne and make him a present of the key to their gates.[150] The sight of the prince's army caused the determination of the garrison in the castle to waver, but Bosredon, who had come to take charge, refused to let them capitulate.[151]

The duke of Guyenne ordered his troops to lay siege to the fortress, and soon the garrison was threatened with cannons called "bombardes" and other heavy artillery. A great number of men set about digging a tunnel underneath the walls, but this effort proved unnecessary, for the cannons succeeded in making a breach in the wall, and through this the royal troops passed into the outer courtyard. Bosredon continued to hold out successfully in the tower, however, and some members of the duke's council were ready to abandon the siege and return to Paris. A burgess of Paris named André Roussel declared that such a course would bring disgrace to the young prince's honor and suggested a means of hacking part-way through the ten-foot-thick walls of the tower and then stuffing the opening with burning wood in order to make the edifice collapse.[152] This plan was put into action, and after several more days, Bosredon was sufficiently alarmed to desire to surrender, and to negotiate the terms, he sent Louis the lord of Roncq, whom he had captured during an earlier sortie, to the king's camp.[153] Later, dressed with a richness which surpassed even royal vestments, Bosredon threw himself at the feet of the duke of Guyenne and begged

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humbly for his life.[154] The duke granted his request but sent him with several others to be imprisoned in Paris.[155]

The royal army marched on to Dourdan, and the defenders of that place said they would surrender if help did not reach them in eight days.[156] The duke of Guyenne returned to Étampes, and then, after dinner on December 14, he went back to Dourdan.[157] Help had not come to the fortress of Dourdan, and, according to the agreement, the garrison had yielded.

During the eight-day truce before the submission of Dourdan, the count of La Marche and the lord of Rambures had led a small troop of soldiers from the duke's army further south.[158] This foray turned into a disaster. The count was taken by surprise at Le Puiset by soldiers from Orléans and the garrison of Janville, and a bloody battle ensued. The count himself was among the many prisoners taken by the Armagnacs, and Guiot, eldest son of the butcher Le Goix, was mortally wounded.[159] Despite this setback, the duke of Guyenne wanted to continue his campaign, but the weather had suddenly turned cold, and it was decided that the army should return to Paris.[160] On December 16 Louis named Pierre de Villereau captain of Dourdan and then left for Paris, where he arrived on December 18.[161]

At this time, the king's health appears to have been rather poor, for although royal letters were issued in his presence in a private setting, the duke of Guyenne presided at the meetings of the council after his return from Étampes for almost a month.[162] Documentary evidence confirms the

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Monk's statement that Charles VI "recovered" on January 16, for the first record of his presence in the council dates from January 18.[163] A series of meetings with the council resulted in the king's decision to send the duke of Guyenne on a second expedition in the spring, but in the meantime smaller forces were sent to fight the Armagnacs on various fronts.[164]

In January 1412, the duke of Berry held a conference in Bourges with the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon and the count of Alençon. They realized that, on account of their military losses, their only hope now lay in obtaining help from the English, and on January 24 they sealed an offer to restore the duchy of Guyenne to Henry IV if he sent them troops.[165] King Henry was negotiating with the duke of Burgundy at the same time, however, regarding the proposed marriage between his heir, Henry, prince of Wales, and Anne of Burgundy, so he postponed finalizing an agreement with the Armagnac princes.[166] Nevertheless, Charles VI learned quickly of the Armagnac offer, and on February 13 he announced the levy of a war tax of 600,000 francs, half of which was to be delivered by April 1.[167]

While preparations for the spring campaign against the Armagnacs proceeded, the king's health seems to have been quite stable, and during February, March, and April, he appeared regularly at sessions of the council.[168] There may have been a relationship between King Charles' good health and the expedition that was being planned, since the idea of

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a major war could have provided a focus for his persecutory delusions. By April 5, the day on which he retained the duke of Burgundy as commander of 2,000 hommes d'armes and 1,000 hommes de trait, Charles had even decided to lead the expedition himself.[169]

After the interception of certain letters adressed by the duke of Berry to the king of England, the government was able to ascertain just how far the old duke was willing to go in order to get English support. Jean de Nielles, chancellor of the duke of Guyenne, described the contents of these letters before the king and the duke of Guyenne during a meeting of the royal council which was also attended by members of the University and several burgesses of Paris.[170] As a result, the royal expedition was directed against the duke of Berry's city of Bourges.

Towards the end of April, when the leaders of the campaign were nearly ready to set out from Paris, an unfortunate incident upset the household of the duke of Guyenne. News had leaked out that the queen's brother, Louis, duke of Bavaria, had spoken favorably about the dukes of Berry and Orléans in private conversations with the king and the duke of Guyenne, and this had greatly angered the Parisians, who accused the duke of being in sympathy with the Armagnacs and told him to leave Paris.[171] Louis withdrew to Valenciennes, located in the territory of his father's first cousin, William of Bavaria, count of Hainaut, and he remained there for about six months.[172] Thus, during the

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expedition to Bourges, the duke of Guyenne was deprived of the counsel of one of his most influential advisors, and the queen was without her chief agent in her son's household. The timely reaction of the Parisians may have been instigated by John the Fearless, who desired to be the young prince's principal counsellor himself. Nevertheless, it is clear that the duke of Guyenne still surrounded himself with nobles who were not partisans of the duke of Burgundy, for among the twenty chamberlains who served him on the expedition were Regnault and Jean d'Angennes; the lords of Moy and Lignières; Jean de Sacquainville, son of Duke John's enemy, the lord of Blaru; and Jean, son of the lord of Boissay.[173] In fact, only four of the other chamberlains are known to have been connected with John the Fearless: Jean Cocoz, David de Brimeu, and the lords of Antoing and Gamaches.[174]

Charles VI left Paris on May 5 and went on the following day to the abbey of Saint-Denis with the duke of Guyenne to get the Oriflamme, the abbey's banner, which traditionally accompanied the kings of France in battle.[175] The king entrusted the banner to his premier chambellan, the lord of Aumont, who had been garde de l'Oriflamme since 1397, and, then, the march south began.[176] John the Fearless joined the king and the duke of Guyenne on May 8 in Corbeil.[177] From there, they proceeded to Melun, Montereau, and Sens.

At this time, the duke of Berry still did not know for certain if any help was coming from England, but when Henry

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IV learned that the duke of Burgundy had plans to follow the present expedition with a campaign in Guyenne, he made up his mind.[178] On May 18 an Anglo-Armagnac treaty was signed simultaneously in London by King Henry and in Bourges by the dukes of Berry, Orléans, and Bourbon, and the count of Alençon.[179] Henry agreed to send the Armagnacs 1,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 bowmen, and they, in return, promised to pay homage to him for some of their territories: the duke of Berry for the county of Poitou, the duke of Orleans for the counties of Angouleme and Périgord, and the count of Armagnac for four castellanies. After the duke of Berry's death, Poitou would be transferred to Henry IV, and when the duke of Orléans died, he would receive Angoulême, as well. Such arrangements were, of course, strictly illegal, since these counties were held from the king of France and could not be alienated without his permission. This blatant disregard for his feudal ties to the monarch himself shows that the duke of Berry believed that his alleged purpose of releasing the king from servitude justified any means he chose to employ. It is ironic that although the royal army was at that very moment en route to Bourges, the English troops were not scheduled to embark at Southampton until July 6.[180]

Charles VI was so enthusiastic about the expedition into the duchy of Berry that even when his leg was injured by a kick from a horse, he refused to stop and pushed on as far as Auxerre.[181] The chronicler monk of Saint-Denis, who

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accompanied the army on this campaign, wrote that although King Charles was advised to stay in Auxerre until his wound was healed, no one could convince him to allow his troops to march without him.[182] The king's careless singlemindedness of purpose is reminiscent of his behavior during the expedition to Brittany in 1392, but this time, after passing through Druyes-les-Belles-Fontaines and Donzy, he finally did agree to rest. After seven days in La Charité-sur-Loire, the army crossed the border into the duchy of Berry on May 29.[183]

The first fortified place the king approached was the castle of Fontenay, whose captain, Robert de Fontenay, declared that although he was a loyal subject, he would submit to the king and the duke of Guyenne only when the duke of Burgundy was no longer their principal counsellor.[184] On the following day, the king ordered his men to lay siege to the place, and the lord of Boissay, who had been named marshal of the army in the absence of Boucicaut, led the avant-garde towards the castle as soon as all the artillery was in place.[185] The inhabitants immediately lost their nerve and sent the captain to surrender the keys on bended knee before the king. When Robert de Fontenay begged for mercy, the spectators covered him with abuse, and his life was saved only through the intercession of the duke of Guyenne.[186]

On this same day, reinforcements arrived in the royal camp. Among them were the arbalisters of Tournai, who came

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to assert their ancient right of pitching their tent next to the king's in order to serve as a special guard for his royal person.[187] A more dramatic siege took place a few days later at Dun-le-Roi. There, a huge cannon, manned by twenty of the king's soldiers, caused several buildings within the walls of the fortress to collapse and almost completely destroyed one of the towers. The beleaguered garrison was soon willing to yield but asked for a two-day truce in order to inform the duke of Berry.[188] In response, the old duke sent a cordial message to the king in which he declared that he and his possessions were entirely at his disposal. Berry abandoned Dun-le-Roi to the king's "good pleasure" but requested that the garrison there be allowed to leave unharmed.

This show of goodwill was deceptive, for when the king arrived before the walls of Bourges on June 11, he met with firm resistance.[189] The siege of Bourges lasted a month, and during this time, traitors were discovered in the royal camp. They were all connected in some way with Robert, lord of Boissay, and for this reason, Robert himself became a suspect and was taken into custody.[190] The four criminals, Gilles de Soisy, Enguerrand de Seurre, Enguerrand's valet, and Geoffroy Baillon, had been passing information into the city, evidently to relatives of Enguerrand's valet.[191] Geoffroy Baillon was a secretary of the duke of Guyenne and had become involved in the treason because he was serving also as the lord of Boissay's clerk. Since Boissay was

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marshal of the army, Baillon was obliged to write up all the musters and thus knew the exact number of men-at-arms in the various divisions, information which was valuable to the enemy.[192] According to the Monk, the treachery was revealed when the valet was finally overcome with remorse and confessed to the duke of Burgundy, thereby saving himself.[193] The treason involved informing the enemy of the best locations in which to start fires in order to divert the attention of the soldiers and then rush in to capture the king and the duke of Guyenne.[194] Geoffroy Baillon and the two squires were executed in front of the king's tent.[195]

As the siege continued, the royal army encountered various difficulties. The shipments of food were intercepted by soldiers from the castle of Sancerre,[196] and an epidemic started to rage through the camp.[197] The troops began to complain that they were not receiving their wages. Their grumblings were stilled, however, when Pierre des Essarts brought money from Paris to pay them, and then it seemed as if the siege would drag on interminably. Finally, Philibert de Naillac, grand master of Rhodes, together with an ambassador of the count of Savoy, succeeded in bringing both sides to agree to come to terms.[198] According to the Monk, the negotiations would have been completely unsuccessful if the duke of Guyenne had not taken a firm position, for the Burgundians wished the proposed treaty to be totally in the king's favor, whereas the Armagnacs

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desired the return of their confiscated properties and royal offices.[199]

The king was now ill again, and the duke of Guyenne presided during the negotiations.[200] Monstrelet reports that John the Fearless tried to influence the young prince: Louis should at least follow the advice given by the royal council before the expedition had begun and not accept any treaty unless the Armagnacs humbly submitted to the terms that he, Louis, demanded, Duke John said.[201] The prince replied that although he wished to see the Armagnacs submit to the king in the manner proposed by the council, the war had lasted long enough, to the detriment of the king and the kingdom. Certain "other words" he spoke were strong enough to cause John the Fearless to "humble himself before him."[202]

The duke of Burgundy felt that the duke of Guyenne was receiving counsel that was definitely not favorable to Burgundian policy, and he began to suspect that the duke of Bar was especially guilty in this regard.[203] Although he showed the duke of Bar his displeasure, John the Fearless told the duke of Guyenne that he would be pleased to have the negotiations continue in whichever manner Louis wished. As a result, a preliminary treaty was drawn up under Louis' guidance on July 12 and was ceremonially accepted by the duke of Berry when he came on July 15 to the royal camp to deliver the keys of Bourges to the king, who had recovered from his relapse.[204]

The duke of Guyenne had arranged a compromise, and John

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the Fearless was obliged to acquiesce. According to the treaty, the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes of the blood all agreed to beg the king to restore the confiscated territories to the Armagnac princes.[205] The remaining clauses favored the king's honor. All cities and fortresses owned by the duke of Berry and his adherents were to acknowledge royal authority, and the Armagnacs were to renounce both the alliance they had made with England and the one they had formed among themselves against the duke of Burgundy. In return, the duke of Burgundy was to cancel any alliance he had contracted against them. The Armagnacs also promised to serve Charles VI against the English or any of his other enemies and to observe the Peace of Chartres with any changes or additions to it which the king might wish to make.

As far as the duke of Berry was concerned, the preliminary treaty promised a bright future. Although the old duke was responsible for the Anglo-Armagnac alliance and had agreed to the treasonous clauses it had contained, he lost nothing now, whereas the duke of Orléans was not to receive any satisfaction regarding the requests he had been making to the king during the last few years. Again, the duke of Berry's concern was only for his own situation. He had supported the duke of Orléans during the queen's conference in Melun in July 1411 in a ploy to diminish the duke of Burgundy's influence in Paris, but his plan had backfired, and he himself had been labelled an Armagnac.

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This had forced him into actually becoming an Armagnac, whether he wished to or not. Now, he must have felt greatly relieved at being offered a chance to re-enter the fold without paying a forfeit. According to the Monk, he even promised the king in a private interview to secure the adherence of the duke of Orléans and the other absent Armagnac princes to the treaty.[206] John of Berry had turned his back on Charles of Orléans in November 1410, and now, in July 1412, he did so again.

Since the only Armagnac princes who were with the duke of Berry in Bourges were the duke of Bourbon, the count of Eu, the lord of Albret, and John of Bar, it was decided that, during the king's return trip to Paris, a meeting would be held in Auxerre, where all the Armagnacs would swear to a finalized version of the treaty.[207] A large assembly gathered in Auxerre in the church of Saint-Germain to witness the event. There were representatives from the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, and the University and bourgeoisie of Paris.[208] The king was ill once again, so his place was taken at the ceremony on August 22 by the duke of Guyenne.[209] Charles of Orléans and his brother Philip, count of Vertus, entered the church dressed in mourning. A short introductory speech was given by the aged chancellor of France, and then a secretary read aloud in French the terms of the new peace.

The Treaty of Auxerre was similar to the agreement that had been made in Bourges between the king and the duke of

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Berry. Although the clauses concerned only the duke of Burgundy and the princes of Orléans, everyone present was obliged to swear to uphold them.[210] Both parties promised to adhere to the Peace of Chartres and to conclude the marriage that had been arranged at that time between the count of Vertus and a daughter of John the Fearless. They also swore to renounce all alliances made against each other and all alliances made with England.[211] In addition, both parties had to promise to help Charles VI against the king of England or any persons from that kingdom. If anyone broke this treaty, everyone else who had sworn to it would be obliged to side with the crown and do what was ordered by the king or the duke of Guyenne and the council. Neither the rival parties nor any of their relatives or servants were ever to ask for anything in connection with the death of Louis of Orléans. To all this, they solemnly swore while touching the Holy Gospels, a piece of the Cross, and the hand of the duke of Guyenne.

On the same day, August 22, the duke of Guyenne issued in the royal council a letter in the king's name which returned all confiscated properties to the princes of Orléans and their vassals and servants.[212] Later in the day, the duke of Orléans was brought before Charles VI, who, though not well enough to attend the ceremony in the church of Saint-Germain, was able to receive him. During this interview, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, La Marche, and

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Vendôme, and the lord of Aumont, Duke Charles paid homage to the king for the duchy of Orléans, which had just been officially restored to him.[213]

The ceremonies in Auxerre reunited several families whose members had fought on opposite sides during the war. John of Bar, who had been in Bourges with the duke of Berry, was reconciled with his brother Edward, duke of Bar, and the octogenarian chancellor of France, Arnaut de Corbie, was able to welcome back his illegitimate son Philip, who had also followed the duke of Berry.[214] The duke of Guyenne honored Arnaut during the session of the grand conseil held on August 22 by issuing a royal letter which reinstated Philip as a maître des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi.[215] The sojourn in Auxerre was not just a time for happy celebration, however, for the king's first cousin Pierre of Navarre, count of Mortain, a victim of the epidemic at the siege of Bourges, died there along with the duke of Guyenne's close friend Gilles of Brittany.[216]

The king, the duke of Guyenne, and the duke of Burgundy left Auxerre on August 23 and travelled by boat to Melun, where they arrived on August 26.[217] The queen was then in residence there, and in a few more days the royal party was joined by the other princes of the blood, including Charles of Orléans, who had made a short detour into the Orléannais.[218] The main concern of the government now was to rid the country of Thomas, duke of Clarence, and the English troops he had brought to France in order to help the

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Armagnacs. By the time the king reached Melun, the duke of Clarence had passed through Coutances and had restored a number of fortresses that had been captured previously by royal troops to the count of Alençon, who had neither come to Auxerre nor sworn to uphold the treaty that had been finalized there.[219]

In September, Duke Thomas arrived in the suburbs of the duke of Orléans' city of Blois, and from there he sent to the dukes of Berry, Orléans, and Bourbon a threatening letter in which he demanded that they keep their promises to England.[220] Faced with another war, Charles VI commanded the French nobility to come in arms on October 8 to Chartres to drive out the English,[221] and on September 15 John the Fearless dutifully summoned his vassals from Flanders and Artois.[222] It soon became known, however, that the English were marching south towards Bordeaux with the intention of embarking there to return home, so Duke John countermanded his summons on October 4.[223]

The Armagnac princes hastened to negotiate with the duke of Clarence so that he would make a quick departure and not devastate their territories, through which he was passing, but Duke Thomas was not easily bought. Finally, on November 14, the parties signed the Agreement of Buzancais, in which Thomas engaged to evacuate France by January 1 without ruining the countryside and the dukes of Berry, Orléans, and Bourbon promised to pay him 210,000 écus.[224] As a guarantee of their payment, the princes were obliged to give seven

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hostages, among whom was the youngest brother of the duke of Orléans, John, count of Angoulême, who was then twelve or thirteen years old.[225]

On November 16 Charles VI ordered the governor of La Rochelle, Regnault, lord of Pons, to provide the duke of Clarence and his army with a letter of safe-conduct so that they would not be hindered as they marched to Bordeaux.[226] The duke of Clarence did not leave France immediately, however, and only set sail for England in April 1413 after learning that his father, King Henry IV, had died on March 20.[227] Duke Thomas took his seven hostages with him, and the young count of Angoulême did not see his homeland again until 1445.[228]

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NOTES

(1) For biographical information about the 793 persons who served the duke of Guyenne, see Appendix IV.

(2) For a detailed account of the duties of the various officers in a medieval princely household, see the description of the household of the duke of Burgundy written in Nov. 1476 by Olivier de la Marche in his Mémoires, ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, Paris, 1888, IV, 1-94. See also M. Ornato, Dictionnaire des charges, emplois et métiers relevant des institutions monarchiques en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles, Paris, 1975.

(3) Although the duke of Guyenne's maître de l'écurie rendered the accounts for the stables (BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 3), some of the expenses for that department appeared in the accounts of his maître de la chambre aux deniers (AN, KK 228, fol. 3).

(4) For the different dates on which the duke of Guyenne's various financial departments were established, see Rey, Finances, pp. 278 ff.

(5) See Appendix IV under Lignières, Néelle, and Soyecourt.

(6) Monstrelet, II, 59.

(7) See Appendix IV under Rivière and Vienne.

(8) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1560, fols. 54v-55v.

(9) AN, KK 48, fol. 22v.

(10) See AD Isère, B 3177 and 3223, passim, and Appendix IV, below, under the names mentioned.

(11) For the biographies of these personages, see Appendix IV. Note that Rey (Finances, p. 285) is incorrect in assigning Burgundian sympathies to the lords of Offémont, Moy, and Lignières.

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(12) For the lord of Boissay's title in 1406, see Rey, Finances, p. 283. Rey (ibid., p. 310) says that the duke of Guyenne had no grand maître d'hôtel after Dec. 27, 1409.

(13) See Appendix IV under Boissay.

(14) See Appendix IV under Châtillon, Pioche, and Rambures.

(15) For Guillaume de Laire as grand maître d'hôtel of Louis of Orleans in 1403, see BN, ms. fr. 6211, no. 350. For the date of Guillaume's nomination as governor of the Dauphiné on April 21, 1407, see BN, ms. fr. 23271, p. 412. For the nomination of Regnier Pot, see Appendix IV under Pot.

(16) BN, ms. fr. 4604, fols. 13-13v. Charles VI calls himself "rex delphinus" in this letter.

(17) Rey, Finances, pp. 109 & 111.

(18) See Appendix IV under Vitry.

(19) See Appendix IV under Estouteville and Levesque.

(20) See Appendix IV under Blanc, Nerly, and Piet.

(21) See Appendix IV under Fontenay.

(22) Between Dec. 1, 1409 and the end of Jan. 1410, the duke of Burgundy received 24,776 francs of the 120,000 francs promised by the king for the marriage of Michelle of France and Philip of Burgundy and 7,285 francs (Dec. 24) on a gift of 11,250 francs granted by the king on Dec. 7, 1409. (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ext.," p. 109) Starting in April 1410, Duke John received money for the payment of men-at-arms. (Ibid., p. 110)

(23) The fact that the guardianship of the duke of Guyenne was still in effect in Nov. 1410 is proven by a letter of the duke of Berry. (Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXVIII)

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(24) For the letter of Jan. 26, 1410 regarding the Dauphiné, see AN, J 369 B, no. 12; published from a copy in Grenoble in Ordonnances, IX, 490-91. For the letter of the same date concerning the duchy of Guyenne, see AN, J 369 A, no. 11; published (from Dupuy's text) in Ordonnances, IX, 491-92.

(25) Monstrelet, II, 60.

(26) Letters were issued in the king's presence on Feb. 12, 1410 (AN, X.1c 105 A, no. 102), Feb. 26 (Ordonnances, IX, 493), March 11 (BN, P.O. 579, Campbernart, no. 12), March 14 (BN, P.O. 2812, Tesson, no. 61), March 15 (AN, P 15, no. 5362), and March 18 (AN, X.1c 101 A, no. 88). Royal letters were issued "à la relation du conseil" on Feb. 3 (BN, P.O. 2398, Puiseux, no. 8), Feb. 7 (grand conseil) (BN, ms. fr. 20405, no. 54), and Feb. 19 (BN, P.O. 922, Craon, no. 76).

(27) Monstrelet, II, 60. The last date the duke of Bourbon is known to have been in Paris is Feb. 19, 1410. (BN, P.O. 922, Craon, no. 76) The duke of Berry was still in Paris on March 9. (BN, P.O. 985, Davy de Saint-Péravy, no. 23)

(28) RSD, IV, 316.

(29) RSD, IV, 316. Monstrelet (II, 64) implies that the dukes of Berry and Bourbon returned to Paris to make their report on the negotiations, but there is no documentary evidence to support his statement.

(30) Lehoux, III, 168, with reference to the original with the signatures of all the allies in BL, Add. Charters, no. 7926; published by P. Durrieu, "Acte original de la ligue de Gien (1410)," Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, LIV (1893), 167-204. The text of the alliance also appears in a royal letter dated Aug. 14, 1410 and published in P.H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, Paris, 1742-46, II, cols. 831-33.

(31) Lehoux, III, 169, with reference to the marriage contract of April 18, 1410: AN, K 534, no. 20 (copy).

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(32) Lehoux, III, 171 n.5 & 172 n.1.

(33) RSD, IV, 318.

(34) RSD, IV, 326-28.

(35) Lehoux, III, 174.

(36) Lehoux, III, 175 nn.1 & 3.

(37) Letters were issued in the king's presence on Apr. 27, 1410 (BN, P.O. 1306, Gelu, no. 2), May 7 (Ordonnances, IX, 508), May 12 (AN, JJ 164, fol. 137v), May 23 (AN, X.1c 101 B, no. 200), May 24 (AN, JJ 164, fol. 180), June 16 (BN, P.O. 1948, Mesnil, no. 115), June 19 (AN, P 271.1, no. 260), and July 10 (AN, X.1c 101 A, no. 14). For the king's presence in the council on July 14, 1410, see BN, P.O. 1644, Langres, no. 5.

(38) The queen had returned to Melun by May 2, 1410. (Grandeau, "Itinéraire," p. 632) For evidence of her continued residence there in May and June, see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1560, fols. 210 & 259. For her presence in Melun in July and Aug., see BN, P.O. 2606, Saillant, no. 23 (reference supplied by Y. Grandeau). Sessions of the conseil or grand conseil were "tenu" in her absence by the duke of Guyenne in Paris on May 2 (BN, P.O. 1858, Marle, no. 27), May 14 (F. Bonnard, Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor de Paris, I, Paris, 1904, p. 398), May 24 (BN, ms. fr. 20386, fol. 45), June 28 (BN, P.O. 24, Albret, no. 115), and July 7 (BN, P.O. 493, Braque, no. 81).

(39) RSD, IV, 328. For the council of July 14, 1410, see, besides the document already mentioned, AN, P 2297, p. 1006. For the letter of July 15, 1410, see Ordonnances, IX, 515-17.

(40) Charles VI was in Paris on July 21, 1410 (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 26), in Melun on July 23 (AN, P 2297, p. 1033-35), and in Le Champ-Dieu-lez-Corbeil, on his way back to Paris, on July 24 (AN, JJ 165, fol. 57v).

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(41) Lehoux, III, 178.

(42) Morice, II, cols. 831-33.

(43) RSD, IV, 342-50.

(44) J. d'Oronville, La Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon, ed. A.M. Chazaud, Paris, 1876, p. 316.

(45) The letter of Aug. 19 is mentioned in the king's letter of Aug. 30, 1410 in Ordonnances, IX, 532.

(46) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1560, fols. 33v & 35.

(47) Lehoux, III, 181.

(48) Ordonnances, IX, 531-34.

(49) Monstrelet, II, 82-86, where the letter is incorrectly dated (see Lehoux, III, 188). The Parlement received its copy of this letter on Sept. 9, 1410. (Baye, I, 332)

(50) Lehoux, III, 192.

(51) Grandeau, "Itinéraire," p. 632.

(52) RSD, IV, 360.

(53) Monstrelet, II, 92.

(54) Monstrelet, II, 92.

(55) Monstrelet, II, 93; RSD, IV, 372.

(56) The pose assumed by the king of Navarre in his speech of Sept. 24, 1410 was somewhat hypocritical, for while he suggested that Charles VI repay the burgesses of

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Paris, he had no intention of paying his own creditors and left Paris, never to return, in Nov. 1410 without paying his debts. As a result, the revenues of his duchy of Nemours were seized by the crown to make payments on the 4,154 francs he owed Sevestre Trente. (AN, X.1c 99 B, no. 242: agreement of March 26, 1411 between Trente and Pierre of Navarre, count of Mortain)

(57) RSD, IV, 374.

(58) The anonymous Bourgeois de Paris complained that by the end of Aug. 1410 so many soldiers were in the environs of Paris that "a xx lieues environ estoit tout degaste." (Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI, ed. A. Tuetey, Paris, 1881, p. 7.) Although the men of the Burgundian army took only food from the people, "trop largement en prenoient," he said, and the price of flour rose in an alarming manner. (Ibid.)

(59) RSD, IV, 376.

(60) The original of the renewal of the League, dated Nov. 1, 1410 and signed by Berry, Orléans, Bourbon, Alençon, and Armagnac was in AN, P 1359.1, no. 657, but it has been lost. (Lehoux, III, 200 n.1) It was published, however, by Morice, II, cols. 845-46.

(61) Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 329-35. The articles to which the confederates agreed on Nov. 2, 1410 (the Peace of Bicêtre) exist only in the king's letter of announcement published by Douet d'Arcq.

(62) Monstrelet, II, 95-96.

(63) Monstrelet, II, 101.

(64) Among the new councillors listed by Monstrelet (II, 101) the following were partisans of the duke of Burgundy: the bishop of Tournai (see ibid., p. 118), the vidame of Amiens (see Appendix IV under Ailly), the lords of Rambures (see Appendix IV) and Longroy (see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1560, fols. 39 & 55v) and probably also the lord of Rimaucourt, who was Burgundian in origin but apparently not a member of the household of John the Fearless at this time. The chronicler Cousinot (p.

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132) states that the following Burgundian partisans also remained in Paris to sit in the council: the lords of Croy and Heilly, Antoine de Craon, Charles de Savoisy, and Regnier Pot.

(65) Among the new councillors who would probably have favored the dukes of Berry and Orléans were: the archbishop of Reims, the bishop of Noyon, the lords of Torcy, Offémont, and Blaru, Jean de Torsay, and the duke of Berry's grand maître d'hôtel. (Monstrelet, II, 101; and Lehoux, III, 225 n.2) To this list we might add the archbishop of Bourges and Colart de Calleville, both of whom attended the council on Feb. 4, 1411. (Ordonnances, IX, 573)

(66) AD Côte-d'Or, B 11892 (original, signed by Berry); published in Plancher, Preuves, III, pp. cclxx-xxi, no. CCLXVIII. Lehoux (III, 204 n.6) doubted the authenticity of this letter because she knew only the published version and did not believe that the duke of Berry would have broken the oaths he swore with the duke of Orléans and his confederates only a few days before (Nov. 1). Nevertheless, she described Berry later in her text (III, 216) as "aussi dépourvu de jugement que de caractère."

(67) For the dates of the duke of Orléans' visit to the duke of Berry, see Lehoux, III, 208 n.7 and 209 n.1.

(68) The duke of Orléans sent the messenger on Jan. 25, 1411. (Lehoux, III, 209 n.2)

(69) Monstrelet (II, 109) gives a more accurate and precise account of the arrest of the lord of Croy than does the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 388).

(70) Monstrelet, II, 110.

(71) All of these persons were in Tournai on Feb. 8, 1411. (Lehoux, III, 211 n.2)

(72) Ordonnances, IX, 573-75.

(73) A. Coville, Jean Petit: la question du tyrannicide au commencement du XVe siècle, Paris, 1932, p. 405. See

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also H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, Chartularium universitatis parisiensis, Paris, 1889-97, IV, 203, no. 1916.

(74) Lehoux, III, 214 n.2

(75) Lehoux, III, 214-15.

(76) "soy deffendre contre les anglois et autres ses ennemis ou malveillans qui qui soient" (BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LIV, fol. 289)

(77) Lehoux, III, 215-16.

(78) See quote in Lehoux, III, 217 n.3.

(79) Lehoux, III, 219.

(80) The letter of Charles of Orléans to the king is quoted in full (except for the closing formula, which contains the date) by Monstrelet, II, 116-21.

(81) Monstrelet, II, 121. The Parlement received its copy of the letter from the duke of Orléans on May 29, 1411. (Baye, II, 13-14)

(82) Monstrelet, II, 121.

(83) Lehoux, III, 224-25.

(84) Lehoux, III, 225 n.2. Brief biographies of Blaru and Picquet can be found below in Appendix IV under Sacquainville and Haye.

(85) RSD, IV, 412.

(86) Monstrelet, II, 123-24.

(87) AN, K 56 A, no. 14 (letter of the duke of Orléans to Châteaudun containing in full his letter to the king of

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July 14, 1411). The Manifesto of Jargeau is quoted in RSD, IV, 419-35, and published with an incorrect date in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXVII.

(88) AN, K 57 B, no. 11 (original); published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 341-43.

(89) RSD, IV, 416-18. The University's refusal was delivered by Jean Gerson, chancellor of Notre-Dame. Gerson declared that the University was barely able to survive and that everyone knew 200,000 écus entered the royal treasury each month. If the king had not wasted his money by giving it away, said Gerson, he would not be in financial trouble. Furthermore, he added, kings who oppressed their subjects with unjust taxes were not worthy of their office, and the annals of history showed that such rulers were fit to be deposed. These last statements caused the chancellor of France and other lords to accuse Gerson of saying that King Charles could be deposed by his subjects. Doctors of canon and divine law were called in to examine the text of Gerson's speech, but they exonerated him, saying that he was merely citing historical examples. (Ibid.)

(90) Baye, II, 17.

(91) Lehoux, III, 229.

(92) Lehoux, III, 231. The duke of Orléans' letter of defiance, quoted by Monstrelet (II, 152) and the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 434-36), is published in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXI.

(93) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXII.

(94) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXIII.

(95) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXIV.

(96) RSD, IV, 440-42.

(97) We cannot agree with the interpretation of Lehoux (III, 230-31), who believed that Berry's support of Charles of Orléans at this time was due to a desire to "sauver

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l'existence même de la dynastie, qu'il croit menacée par les ambitions de la branche de Bourgogne." (Ibid., p. 231)

(98) Monstrelet, II, 162.

(99) In Bruges, on July 27, 1411, the duke of Burgundy had given the Parisian flayer Denisot de Chaumont, an associate of the butchers, 300 francs to give to "certaines personnes secretes." (Lehoux, III, 235 n.4)

(100) RSD, IV, 444.

(101) RSD, IV, 444.

(102) RSD, IV, 446.

(103) Baye, II, 19-20.

(104) Monstrelet, II, 168-69. See also RSD, IV, 448.

(105) Monstrelet, II, 164; RSD, IV, 452.

(106) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXV.

(107) The Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 462) refers to the Le Goix brothers and the contents of the letters of Sept. 10, 1411 (see below) without giving a date.

(108) AN, KK 1008, fol. 1 (transcript supplied by E.A.R. Brown).

(109) Paris, Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Livre vert vieil premier du Chastelet (18th cent. copy), fols. 11-15.

(110) RSD, IV, 462-64.

(111) RSD, IV, 464.

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(112) BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20528, p. 209. The lord of Rambures was later named sole maître des arbalétriers (Feb. 20, 1412). (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 35)

(113) Baye, II, 22.

(114) For the nominations of bailiffs made "par maniere de provision" between Sept. 12 and Nov. 4, 1411, see Baye, II, 21-27. The nomination of the count of Saint-Pol must also have been made in this manner, for he did not pay homage to the king for the office of constable until March 5, 1412. (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 36)

(115) See Appendix IV under Marcoignet.

(116) Royal letters were issued in the king's presence (but not in the council) on Sept. 3, 1411 (Ordonnances, IX, 635), Sept. 4 (BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII), fol. 144v), Sept. 10 (BN, P.O. 1355, Gonnor, no. 2), Sept. 18 (AN, P 15, no. 5384), Sept. 20 (BM Rouen, ibid., fol. 145), Sept. 21 (L. Mirot, "Les Préliminaires de la prise d'armes de 1411 et les lettres missives écrites aux Gantois," Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Bémont, Paris, 1913, p. 391), Sept. 23 (ibid., p. 392), Sept. 24 (AN, X.1c 102, no. 171), Sept. 27 (BN, P.O. 708, Châtenier, no. 2), Oct. 19 (BM Rouen, ibid., 5876, fol. 57), and Oct. 25 (BN, P.O. 12, Agnicourt, no. 2).

(117) The duke of Guyenne presided at meetings of the grand conseil (or conseil, if so noted) on Sept. 1, 1411 (Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXV), Sept. 10 (AN, KK 1008, fol. 1), Sept. 11 (Morice, II, 858-60), Sept. 17 (AN, JJ 165, fol. 101), Sept. 19 (conseil) (AN, KK 1008, fols. 1v-2v), Sept. 26 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 658), Sept. 30 (BN, Coll. Doat, LXXXVII, fol. 342v), Oct. 3 (Ordonnances, IX, 637), Oct. 5 (BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LIV, fols. 342-42v), Oct. 9 (Paris, Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Livre vert vieil premier, fols. 17-18v), Oct. 10 (Ordonnances, IX, 640), Oct. 14 (AM Toulouse, AA 37, no. 28) and conseil (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 660), Oct. 17 (Ordonnances, IX, 645), Oct. 20 (ibid., pp. 645-47), Oct. 28 (AN, KK 1008, fol. 7), Nov. 1 (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 30), Nov. 2 (Ordonnances, IX, 650), and Nov. 5 (ibid., p. 653).

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(118) See the documents cited in the previous note and the biographies in Appendix IV under Sacquainville (Blaru), Lignières, Soyecourt (Moy), Néelle (Offémont), and Angennes (Rambouillet).

(119) The lord of Blaru attended the council when the duke of Burgundy was present on Nov. 2 (Ordonnances, IX, 650) and Nov. 5, 1411 (BN, Coll. Doat, IX, fol. 108v).

(120) RSD, IV, 450.

(121) H. Vandenbroeck, Extraits analytiques des anciens registres des consaux de la ville de Tournai, Tournai, 1861, I, 83.

(122) Denifle and Châtelain, II, cols. 112-13.

(123) RSD, IV, 530-32.

(124) Lehoux, III, 241.

(125) Lehoux, III, 242 n.7.

(126) Lehoux, III, 243 n.5.

(127) AN, K 57 B, no. 13 bis, and J 877, no. 3; published from the copy in X.1a 8602, fol. 287v, in Ordonnances, IX, 635-37.

(128) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 11.

(129) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 383.

(130) Ordonnances, IX, 640-42.

(131) Baye, II, 25-26.

(132) AN, J 359, no. 26; published in Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, 344-46.

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(133) Lehoux, III, 249 n.6 and 250-51.

(134) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 384.

(135) Monstrelet, II, 203-04. See also Geste des ducs Philippe et Jehan de Bourgogne, La. Ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1873, pp. 551 ff.

(136) RSD, IV, 564-66.

(137) BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LXXXIII, no. 465.

(138) Monstrelet, II, 211.

(139) AN, KK 1008, fols. 52v-53; published from a different copy in Ordonnances, IX, 654-55.

(140) AD Nord, B 1420, nos. 15194, 15204, 15204 bis, 15204 ter, and 15242. Since the duke of Brabant was not in Paris in October or November 1411 (Quicke, Rectifications, p. 404), it appears that this gift was intended to defray the military expenses he had incurred in Paris in 1410 and in Artois in August 1411.

(141) Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "Dons Ext.," pp. 111-12.

(142) Lehoux, III, 253 n.5.

(143) According to a later letter, the expedition of the count of Saint-Pol was ordered on Nov. 13, 1411. (AN, JJ 166, fol. 17) Count Waleran was in Crépy-en-Valois with his army on Dec. 2, 1411. (V. Beauvillé, Recueil de documents inédits concernant la Picardie, Paris, 1860-82, I, 87-88)

(144) Monstrelet, II, 211.

(145) BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20528, p. 202.

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(146) The Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 572) states that the duke of Guyenne was knighted before he left on the expedition of 1411, but this is incorrect, for an original document proves that in Sept. 1414 the prince wished to be knighted by the king of the Romans. (Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden Frankreich, Fasz. 6 (transcript supplied by T. Straub))

(147) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 384.

(148) Monstrelet, II, 211.

(149) RSD, IV, 572.

(150) RSD, IV, 572.

(151) Monstrelet, II, 223.

(152) RSD, IV, 576.

(153) Monstrelet, II, 223.

(154) RSD, IV, 576.

(155) Monstrelet, II, 223. Bosredon was later sent to prison in Lille. (Ibid., p. 224)

(156) RSD, IV, 578.

(157) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 385 (from AD Cote-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 16v).

(158) RSD, IV, 578-80.

(159) Monstrelet's narrative of these events (II, 228-30) is more detailed and somewhat different from the account given by the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 580-82). Unlike the Monk, Monstrelet does not place the expedition of the count of La Marche during the eight-day truce.

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The remarks of the chronicler Cousinot (p. 139) support the Monk, however, and it is evident that he did not use the Monk as his source, for he is the only contemporary who mentions that the lord of Montbason was among the Armagnacs who attacked the count. According to the Norman chronicler Cochon (p. 415), the surrender of Étampes took place on Dec. 7, 1411 and the battle of Le Puiset was fought on Dec. 9.

(160) RSD, IV, 582.

(161) For the nomination of Villereau, see BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20528, p. 206. This entry does not say who nominated him, but it must have been the duke of Guyenne, since he was the official commander of the army and was in Dourdan on that day. Louis probably left Dourdan with the duke of Burgundy on Dec. 16, but Duke John's accounts confirm only John's presence in Montlhery on Dec. 16 and 17. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 16v) On Dec. 18 both dukes dined in Bourg-la-Reine and slept in Paris. (Ibid.) Note that the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 582) gave correctly the exact day of Louis' return to Paris but erred (IV, 576) in assigning the date of Dec. 15 to the capitulation of Bosredon at Étampes. Perhaps he confused the date of the submission of Étampes with that of Dourdan because Bosredon was connected with both places. It is likely that, as captain of Dourdan, Bosredon was involved with the ceremonial surrender of that fortress, and that ceremony could well have taken place on Dec. 15.

(162) Letters were issued in the king's presence (but not in the council) on Dec. 17, 1411 (AN, P 15, no. 5386), Dec. 18 (Ordonnances, IX, 664-67), Dec. 21 (AN, P 15, no. 5387), Dec. 22 (AN, X.1c 103 B, no. 180), Dec. 23 (BN, P.O. 348, Bigot, no. 17), and Dec. 31 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 662). The first extant royal letter issued in the king's presence in Jan. 1412 was issued in the council on Jan. 18. (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 663) The duke of Guyenne presided over the conseil on Dec. 21 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20028, no. 90), over the grand conseil on Jan. 2 (AM Toulouse, AA 37, no. 30), and in the Parlement on Jan. 7 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 9941, fols. 368-68v).

(163) RSD, IV, 594. For the council of Jan. 18, see BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 663.

(164) RSD, IV, 600.

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(165) Lehoux, III, 261. The offer to Henry IV made by Berry, Orléans, Bourbon, and Alençon was confirmed in the following weeks by the count of Armagnac and the lord of Albret. (Ibid.)

(166) Lehoux, III, 262.

(167) Lehoux, III, 263 n.3 (with reference to BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 669).

(168) Charles VI attended the council on Feb. 13, 1412 (Ordonnances, X, 14), Feb. 15 (BN, Coll. Doat, CCXII, fols. 59v-63v), Feb. 16 (L. Merlet, "Lettres des rois de France, des reines, princes et hauts personnages du royaume aux évêque, chapitre, gouverneur, bailli, maire, échevins, habitants et commune de Chartres (1296-1715)," Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléannais, III, 7), Feb. 17 (Ordonnances, IX, 682), Feb. 18 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 9941, fols. 376-77), Feb. 24 (grand conseil) (AN, JJ 166, fol. 75), March 5 (grand conseil) (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 36), March 8 (grand conseil) (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 673), March 10 (AN, JJ 166, fol. 76v), March 11 (ibid., fol. 80), March 12 (ibid., fol. 233v), March 17 (ibid., fol. 107v), March 18 (AM Reims, G 289, fol. 170), March 22 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, IX, no. 142), April 1 (requêtes) (AN, JJ 166, fol. 102), April 5 (grand conseil) (AN, KK 1008, fols. 34-35), April 8 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 7624, fols. 122-22v), April 13 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 677), April 19 (AD Marne, H 1381, p. 52), April 22 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 678), April 26 (Ordonnances, X, 4), April 27 (BN, P.O. 967, Dampmartin, no. 33), April 29 (BN, P.O. 2853, Tonneville, no. 12), and April 30 (V. Hunger, Quelques actes normands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, Paris, 1909-11, II, 118).

(169) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXXV.

(170) Monstrelet, II, 237.

(171) Monstrelet, II, 244.

(172) The first documentary evidence of the duke of Bavaria's sojourn in Valenciennes dates from May 17, 1412. (Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 127) He was still

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there on Oct. 26 (ibid., p. 130) but was back in Paris by Nov. 26 (ibid., p. 131).

(173) AN, KK 228, fol. 44v (list of nineteen chamberlains who served the duke of Guyenne during the expedition to Bourges). To this list we can add Tanneguy du Chastel. (See Appendix IV under Chastel) Another of the prince's chamberlains, the lord of Offémont, former chamberlain of Louis of Orleans, was evidently also scheduled to go on the expedition, for he was with the prince in Melun on May 13. (AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 271) Before the army reached Bourges, however, Offémont was sent to Picardy to help the count of Saint-Pol try to prevent the disembarkation of the English. (Monstrelet, II, 266-67)

(174) See Appendix IV under Cocoz, Brimeu, Antoing, and Gamaches.

(175) On May 5, 1412, Charles VI was in Paris (AM Compiègne, BB 1, fols. 149-50) and also "sur les champs entre la Chapelle et Saint Denis" (BN, P.O. 2613, Saligny, no. 15) For the visit of Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne to Saint-Denis on May 6, see RSD, IV, 630.

(176) RSD, IV, 632. For the nomination of the lord of Aumont as garde de l'Oriflamme in 1397, see ibid., II, 546. For the history of the Oriflamme, see P. Contamine, "L'Oriflamme de Saint-Denis aux XIVe et XVe siècles," Annales de l'Est, 1973. Because of his advanced age, the lord of Aumont chose two persons to help him guard the banner: his nephew, the lord of Saint-Cler, and his son-in-law, Jacques, called le Brun de Montchevrel. (RSD, IV, 632, where the family relationships are not given and Montchevrel is called Montchemel) For proof of the relationships, see, for Montchevrel, Anselme, IV, 872-73 and BN, Coll. Moreau, MCLXI, fol. 743v; and, for Saint-Cler, C. Barre, "Les Anciens Seigneurs de Saint-Clair-sur-Epte," Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Arrondissement de Pontoise et du Vexin, XLV, 165 & 174-75.

(177) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 388 (from AD Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 28).

(178) Lehoux, III, 265.

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(179) Lehoux, III, 266. See also Vaughan, John, pp. 94-95.

(180) Lehoux, III, 267.

(181) RSD, IV, 636.

(182) Although the Monk of Saint-Denis went on the expedition of 1412, he erred in saying (IV, 636) that Charles VI left Auxerre on May 21 after a sojourn of five days there. Actually, the king arrived in Auxerre on May 13 and left on May 20. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 29) The Monk was correct to say (IV, 638), however, that the king spent seven days in La Charité-sur-Loire, for Charles VI arrived there for supper on May 22 and left after dinner on May 29 (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fols. 29-29v).

(183) Petit, Itineraires, p. 389 (from AD Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 29v).

(184) RSD, IV, 642.

(185) Monstrelet (II, 272) claims that the lords of Croy and Heilly replaced the absent marshals, Boucicaut and the lord of Loigny. The lord of Heilly was, however, the duke of Guyenne's marshal. (See Appendix IV under Heilly) The anonymous chronicler of 1412-1413 states that the lord of Boissay was "ung des mareschaux de l'ost." (Journal parisien des années 1412 et 1413, ed. A. Tuetey, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France, XLIV, 170) The Monk (IV, 638-40) also refers to Boissay as marshal.

(186) RSD, IV, 644.

(187) RSD, IV, 648.

(188) RSD, IV, 652-54.

(189) The correct date of June 11, 1412 for the king's arrival before the walls of Bourges is given by both the Monk (IV, 664) and Monstrelet (II, 270). For confirmation, see Petit, Itinéraires, p. 389 (from AD

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Côte-d'Or, B 1568, fol. 30v). Note, however, that the details of the siege of Bourges differ in the accounts of the two chroniclers.

(190) Monstrelet, II, 276.

(191) RSD, IV, 670; and Journal parisien, p. 170.

(192) Journal parisien, p. 170.

(193) RSD, IV, 670. Monstrelet (II, 276) claims, on the other hand, that the treason was revealed by a captured servant of the lord of Albret.

(194) RSD, IV, 670; and Journal parisien, p. 170.

(195) RSD, IV, 670. According to Monstrelet (II, 276) and the Journal parisien (p. 170), all four traitors were executed.

(196) Monstrelet, II, 277.

(197) RSD, IV, 688.

(198) Monstrelet, II, 279; and RSD, IV, 682-86.

(199) RSD, IV, 692.

(200) Monstrelet, II, 280. Since Charles VI had enjoyed relatively good mental health both during the preparations for the expedition and throughout its course, his sudden slip into a psychotic state in July 1412 may well have been related to the fact that the expedition was now virtually over, for this caused him to lose abruptly the focal point on which he had concentrated his thoughts and energy.

(201) Monstrelet, II, 282-83.

(202) "Apres lesquelles paroles et plusieurs autres ledit duc de Bourgogne se commenca fort a humilier envers

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ledit duc d'Acquitaine." (Monstrelet, II, 283) Note that Monstrelet always called the duke of Guyenne the duke of "Acquitaine."

(203) Monstrelet, II, 283.

(204) RSD, IV, 692; and Journal parisien, p. 174. Monstrelet (II, 287) claims that the king was still not well on July 15 and that the keys to Bourges were given to the duke of Guyenne.

(205) RSD, IV, 696; and Journal parisien, p. 175. Monstrelet (II, 288) is the only one who claims that, according to the preliminary treaty, the Armagnacs were to be given back their benefices and royal offices.

(206) RSD, IV, 700.

(207) For the names of the princes in Bourges, see RSD, IV, 666; and Monstrelet, II, 287.

(208) For the names of the twelve representatives of the University of Paris, see Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Mss., carton 1, liasse 1, no. A.1.g. There were three maîtres en theologie (e.g. the bishop of Senlis and Ursin de Talvende), three docteurs en décret, two maîtres en médecine, and four maîtres en arts. The Parlement was represented by Henry de Marle, premier president, and six others. (Baye, II, 83)

(209) RSD, IV, 708.

(210) Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXXVII.

(211) The Treaty of Auxerre specified that although the duke of Burgundy claimed to have no alliance with England, he was to issue a letter sealed with his great seal in which he renounced any alliance that he "could" have with the sons or allies of Henry IV or with King Henry himself. When Duke John issued this letter, the duke of Clarence expressed great surprise, for, he said, there was no alliance between Henry IV and Burgundy. (See the duke of Clarence's letter to the duke of Berry in Champollion-Figeac, Lettres des rois, reines

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et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny, II, Paris, 1847, pp. 331-32)

(212) Ordonnances, X, 18-21.

(213) AN, P 16, no. 5766.

(214) The duke of Bar was in Auxerre on Aug. 22, 1412 (Ordonnances, X, 21) and his brother was probably there, too, since he had been in Bourges during the siege (Monstrelet, II, 287) and was in Melun with the royal entourage on Sept. 7 (Ordonnances, X, 24).

(215) BN, P.O. 851, Corbie, no. 42. For Philip's relationship to Arnaut, see A. Tuetey, "Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous le règne de Charles VI," Mélanges historiques. Choix de documents. collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire, III, Paris, 1880, p. 294.

(216) RSD, IV, 690; and Monstrelet, II, 291.

(217) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 392 (from AD Côte-d'Or, B 1578, fols. 11-11v). It appears that they did not all travel in the same boat on the first day.

(218) On Sept. 1, 1412 the duke of Orleans was in Sully (BN, ms. fr. 6210, no. 363), and on Sept. 4 he was in Melun (AN, JJ 166, fol. 176v).

(219) Lehoux, III, 227 & 281.

(220) Champollion-Figeac, II, no. CLXXIX.

(221) Monstrelet, II, 299.

(222) Lehoux, III, 282 n.6.

(223) Lehoux, III, 283 n.1.

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(224) For details on the amount of money pledged to the duke of Clarence, see Lehoux, III, 286-87; and, especially, E. McLeod, Charles of Orléans, prince and poet, New York, 1969, p.85.

(225) For a discussion of the date of birth of the count of Angoulême with the correction of erroneous dates, see Collas, p. 242.

(226) AN, J 865, no. 21.

(227) J.H. Wylie, The Reign of Henry V, I, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 118-19.

(228) McLeod, p. 275.

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CHAPTER V

THE CABOCHIEN UPRISING OF 1413

At the close of the year 1412, the restoration of peace seemed complete, for the counts of Armagnac and Alençon, who had not come to Auxerre, finally submitted to royal authority.[1] In Paris, the duke of Burgundy entertained his former enemies on a grand scale. On November 7 the duke and duchess of Guyenne, the duke of Bourbon, and Philip of Orléans, count of Vertus, attended a banquet and dance in Duke John's Hôtel d'Artois.[2] The party continued for two more days and was joined by the bastard of Bourbon and Charles de la Rivière, count of Dammartin, whom the duke of Burgundy had dismissed in 1410 from the post of premier chambellan to the dauphin. The count of Vertus returned for more dinners and suppers, and Duke John also welcomed Louis of Bavaria, the duke of Berry, and the count of Eu.[3] The duke of Orléans was not present at any of these festivities, for he had returned to his own territories in October.

John the Fearless offered New-Year's-Day gifts in abundance: diamond rings to the counts of Vertus and Eu, a large ruby, worth 100 écus to the duke of Berry, and a diamond valued at 40 écus to the duke of Bavaria.[4] The duke of Guyenne received a cloth, embroidered with gold thread, which depicted the story of how God sent the fleur-de-lis to Clovis.[5] Duke John gave a golden bowl ("hanap") to the count

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of Dammartin and a golden goblet to the duke of Guyenne's faithful chamberlain Regnault d'Angennes.[6] Jacques de la Rivière, the count of Dammartin's brother, who had been recently retained as chamberlain to the duke of Guyenne, received several items, as did other members of the young prince's household, including his confessor and the lord of Moy.[7]

In spite of the festive atmosphere, everyone was aware that this was a time of financial crisis for the royal family, and in order to deal with this situation, a session of the États Généraux was scheduled for January 25, 1413.[8] This date was changed, however, and Charles VI did not open the meeting until Monday, January 30.[9] The assembly was attended by the dukes of Guyenne and Burgundy, but the duke of Berry, who was very ill at the time, was absent. The duke of Guyenne's chancellor, Jean de Nielles, had been invited to speak for Charles VI, and he explained to the members of the Three Estates that the English army in Guyenne was ravaging the area and that the king required their counsel, financial aid, and military support. The Estates were told to deliberate on the matter and give their replies on Friday, February 3. Since the government was conscious of the danger involved in allowing large gatherings to take place, the representatives were not permitted to separate into the three orders or "estates" as had been the custom in the past.[10] Instead, they were divided according to the geographical location of their

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places of origin and thus met by province, except for the deputies from the University of Paris, who were considered a separate body.

On February 3 the groups presented their replies to the king.[11] The provinces of Sens and Bourges were unable to make a presentation because an insufficient number of people had arrived from those areas, and the delegates from the University of Paris declared that they needed more time to prepare their answer. Speeches were delivered for the province of Reims by Jean de Thoisy, bishop of Tournai, for the province of Rouen by the bishop of Evreux, and for the province of Lyon by the abbot of Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Each of these prelates complained about the corrupt administration of the government and the excessive number of royal officials. Jean de Thoisy, who was a councillor of the duke of Burgundy, suggested that the reform ordinances which had been issued in the past should be revised and executed. He also said that the great lords who had been given part of the revenues from the royal taxes should be allowed to collect only half for the period of one month. The abbot of Moutiers-Saint-Jean asserted that the Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes were in need of reformation, as well. If the king needed money, declared the abbot, he could find it quickly by demanding loans from two or three hundred of his financial officers.

This meeting set the tone for the events that followed. On February 9 Benoît Gentien, a monk from the abbey of

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Saint-Denis, delivered a speech before the king in the name of the University of Paris.[12] Although his words were approved by all but one of the professors of theology, his tone was too humble to please the other representatives of the University, and so they demanded a second royal audience. This took place on Monday, February 13, when in the presence of the king, the dukes of Guyenne, Burgundy, Bavaria, and Lorraine, and the counts of Nevers, Vertus, and Charollais, Eustache de Pavilly delivered an introductory speech, and a young master of arts read a long roll, which the University had prepared in conjunction with the échevins and burgesses of Paris.[13]

The seventy-five articles contained in the roll dealt with the different administrative offices that were considered ineffective or corrupt, and more than twenty-five officers were actually mentioned by name, including the aged chancellor of France and Pierre des Essarts, provost of Paris. Emphasis was placed on the financial departments, for those officers were in the best position to defraud the king. The Parlement was attacked for fostering nepotism, as exemplified by the case of the premier président, Henri de Marle, who was related to eight other members. This was considered dangerous because, according to the law, only ten persons were needed to issue a parliamentary decree. Neither the Chambre des Comptes nor the Chancery escaped censure, and the University asked the king to set up a commission to examine and correct all the abuses, which were

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too numerous to name. Moreover, the University requested the immediate dismissal of all the governors of Finance and the cancellation of all monetary gifts and pensions extraordinaires. The king was also asked to keep all the tax money for the crown's use. If such measures did not suffice, the king would be provided with a list of 1,500 wealthy persons, from each of whom he could easily extract a loan ("prest") of 100 francs. In closing, the University humbly begged the duke of Guyenne and the duke of Burgundy to direct the reformation.

On February 17 representatives from the University went with the prévôt des marchands and the échevins of Paris to the Parlement to ask that several members of that body be elected to join them in promoting the program of reform.[14] The members of the Parlement, perhaps angered by the fact that they, too, had been accused of incompetence, refused, however, saying that since their sovereign court represented the king, they could not "take sides." Nevertheless, they were quite willing, they said, to act as advisors.

Shortly after this, Charles VI's mental health deteriorated to the point that he was unable to attend meetings of the council until May 20.[15] During his absence, on February 24, in a meeting of the council attended by the dukes of Burgundy, Bar, and Bavaria, and other notables, the duke of Guyenne issued in the king's name an ordinance which discharged the provost of Paris, the prévôt des marchands, and all royal financial officers except one.[16] The officer

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who was spared was Guillaume du Mesnil, who, besides being a councillor-general of the aides, was the duke of Guyenne's valet tranchant.[17] This exception must have been made by the express order of the duke of Guyenne, for Guillaume was not connected in any way with the duke of Burgundy, who, in all likelihood, would have wished to see him replaced with one of his own partisans.

When the time came to establish the twelve commissioners who were to carry out the reformation, however, John the Fearless succeeded in getting a number of persons of his choice nominated.[18] He can definitely be linked with at least half of the twelve commissioners: Jean de Thoisy, bishop of Tournai; Simon de Saulx, abbot of Moutiers-Saint-Jean; Baudouin d'Ailly, vidame of Amiens, Pierre Cauchon from the University of Paris; and Gaillard Petitsaine and Jean de Longueil, both from the Parlement.[19] Of the rest, three were chamberlains of the duke of Guyenne: the lords of Offémont, Moy, and Blaru.

The arrest of a number of royal officials after the promulgation of the ordinance of February 24 caused many persons, including Pierre des Essarts, the disgraced provost, to flee from Paris.[20] The duke of Burgundy allied himself closely with the Parisian butchers and the University, and the duke of Guyenne began to rebel against his influence. In early March, Louis dismissed his chancellor, Jean de Nielles, a Burgundian partisan. The chronicler Monstrelet reports that although both the queen

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and the duke of Burgundy tried to induce him to reinstate Nielles, the young prince was intransigent.[21] This is the first mention of an occasion when the duke of Guyenne refused to follow his mother's advice. Without conducting a "prudent election,"[22] Louis appointed on March 16 Jean de Vailly, a lawyer from the Cour des aides, to the post vacated by Jean de Nielles, but Nielles remained chancellor to the queen.[23]

During this period, the duke of Guyenne began to assume a dominant role in politics. According to Monstrelet, Louis wanted the affairs of the kingdom to be conducted according to his wishes, for, as the prince was heard to say, these affairs concerned him more than anyone else [besides the king].[24] Louis was encouraged in his plans by the dukes of Bavaria and Bar, and Philip of Orléans, count of Vertus. After all, they declared, he was old enough now and smart enough to direct the government himself.[25]

The duke of Guyenne's new attitude was a further development of the assertiveness he had shown to the duke of Burgundy at the siege of Bourges in July 1412. Since that time, Louis had taken into his household several people of whom John the Fearless would not have approved. He had retained as his chamberlain, for example, Charles de Montagu, son of the grand maître d'hôtel du roi who had been executed at Duke John's instigation in 1409, and he had even had the head of the dead grand maître removed from its pike in Les Halles and carried with the body, which had been

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hanging all this time from the gibbet of Montfaucon, to Marcoussis for a proper burial.[26] Another new chamberlain in the prince's household was Jacques de la Rivière, the brother of the man Duke John had replaced in 1410 as Louis' premier chambellan.[27]

In March 1413, according to Monstrelet, the duke of Guyenne did something else which must not have pleased John the Fearless. He ordered the body of Mansart du Bos returned to his widow.[28] In 1410 or 1411, Mansart had written to Duke John renouncing the homage he had paid him for the lordship of Grigny and proclaiming himself a partisan of the duke of Orleans.[29] In November 1411 Mansart had been captured at the battle of Saint-Cloud by John Stuart and sold for 1200 écus to John the Fearless, who had arranged for his execution in Paris a few days later.[30]

The duke of Guyenne was not alone in his negative feelings towards the duke of Burgundy during the first months of 1413, for even some of Duke John's own subjects were not pleased with his behavior. After a meeting with several Burgundian nobles, Jean Jouvenel, a lawyer and royal councillor who was related to them, went to speak with Duke John.[31] Jouvenel was obliged to return several times to the Hôtel d'Artois and wait many hours before the duke finally received him. The lawyer explained that he had come to discuss two problems. One of these was peace. If the duke would only confess that he had erred in ordering the assassination of duke of Orléans, then the peace would be a

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lasting one, he told him. The other problem concerned John's relationship with the Parisian butchers, which, the lawyer said, was not flattering to his honor. The butchers and their colleagues the flayers ("écorcheurs"), already being referred to as the Cabochiens after one of their leaders, the flayer Simon Caboche, were conducting themselves in a manner that displeased many people in Paris.[32] Jouvenel offered to seek out for Duke John, instead, one hundred notable burgesses who would happily do his bidding and even lend him money. The duke's answer was not conciliatory. He would never admit that he had done wrong, he declared, and, as for the butchers, it was necessary to make use of them.

Finally, the duke of Guyenne decided to take action against John the Fearless, and in April he recalled the former provost, Pierre des Essarts. According to the Monk, Pierre had some information that would incriminate Duke John.[33] Besides being provost of Paris and one of John's chamberlains, Pierre had been souverain gouverneur des aides and grand bouteiller de France in 1410 and then souverain maître et général réformateur des Eaux et Forêts in 1412.[34] These offices had allowed him to handle large sums of government-money, and now that he had had a falling-out with Duke John, he promised to show the duke of Guyenne certain signed receipts which proved that John had received from the king two million écus that had never been accounted for. Although the Monk may have exaggerated the sum, the basic

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facts of the story could very well be true, for Pierre surely must have known something that interested the duke of Guyenne enough for the young prince to risk the anger of Duke John and the Parisians by calling him back to Paris.

Quietly, Pierre and his soldiers took over the Bastille, which was located near the duke of Guyenne's hôtel in the rue Saint-Antoine. The duke of Burgundy then showed what he had meant by telling Jean Jouvenel that it was necessary to "use" the Cabochiens. Duke John could not openly oppose the wishes of the duke of Guyenne, for that would make him appear disloyal to the monarchy, which the young prince symbolized in his father's absence. Any overt disloyalty on his part would jeopardize his position in the government, and his position was already rather precarious because of the dauphin's independent attitude and present tendency to listen to Armagnac councillors. John himself could do nothing against these councillors, for he had sworn in Auxerre not to pursue them, and to do so was to disregard the king's wishes and thus invite again a charge of disloyalty. John the Fearless could reach his objectives, however, by using the Cabochiens as his agents, and, as they seem to have been well paid,[35] they were evidently quite willing to act for him. The will of the duke appears to have been transmitted to the butchers through his councillor and chamberlain Elyon de Jacqueville, who became their official captain.[36] Jacqueville, also, received extra financial benefits from the duke in return for his

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co-operation.[37]

As soon as it was discovered that Pierre des Essarts had returned to Paris, the Cabochiens began to spread the rumor that he had come to abduct the king and the duke of Guyenne in order to turn them over to the Armagnacs.[38] The Cabochiens also said that Pierre was intent on destroying Paris. On April 27, while the duke of Burgundy occupied the members of the royal council all day long in his Hôtel d'Artois, the Cabochiens went to the Hôtel de Ville and demanded that weapons be distributed to them at once.[39] The new prévôt des marchands, Andre d'Espernon, agreed, but the city clerk, Robert Louvet, refused to sign the order because, he said, the prévôt, the échevins, and the inhabitants of the city had promised not to arm the burgesses without giving the duke of Guyenne two days' notice. This served to delay the Cabochiens only momentarily, however, for on the next day Elyon de Jacqueville and several other Burgundian nobles, including the lord of Heilly, Robert de Mailly, and Charles de Récourt, called de Lens, led a large crowd of Parisians to the Bastille to force Pierre des Essarts to surrender.[40]

Since the Bastille was impregnable and well stocked with weapons, Pierre refused to capitulate. At this moment, John the Fearless made a timely entrance onto the scene. As if he had had no part in arranging this angry demonstration of the Cabochiens, he begged them to be calm and not commit treason by attacking a royal fortress, and he also promised

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to obtain the submission of Pierre des Essarts. Pierre did, in fact, give himself up to Duke John on the following day after being made to feel that he had the duke's protection.[41] John worked his wiles by making the sign of the cross on the back of Pierre's hand and swearing that he would not release him to anyone else.[42]

From their demonstration in front of the Bastille on April 28, the Cabochiens hurried down the rue Saint-Antoine to carry out another plan. Just as they had spread rumors about the evil intentions of Pierre des Essarts, so had they also maligned the entourage of the duke of Guyenne. They claimed that the young prince kept indecent hours and led a dissolute life because of the bad influence of certain nobles and members of his household. Now they arrived at his hôtel and demanded an audience. The dauphin appeared at a window and was addressed by Maître Jean de Troyes, whom the Cabochiens had chosen as their spokesman.[43] Maître Jean denounced the prince's entourage and boldly stated that even the queen feared that when Louis was older, he would be incapable of ruling.

Despite the "presumptuousness" of this speech, the duke of Guyenne answered them calmly.[44] The crowd should return home quietly, he said, for his servants were very loyal and did not deserve to be attacked. His new chancellor added, perhaps foolishly, that if the people knew of any offenders, they should name them, and this gave Jean de Troyes the opportunity to instantly produce a paper on which about

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fifty names had been written. The duke of Guyenne withdrew with the paper, but the Cabochiens, who were determined to get quick results, broke down the doors and, swarming through the hôtel, seized all the persons they could find who were on their list. Among those arrested were Jean de Vailly, the duke's chancellor; the duke of Bar; Jacques de la Riviere, chamberlain; Jean d'Angennes, chamberlain; Simon du Mesnil, écuyer tranchant; Gillet de Vitry, premier valet de chambre et garde des coffres; and Michelet de Vitry, premier sommelier du corps, who was torn from the arms of the duchess of Guyenne as she tried to protect him.[45] Additional names can be found in the chronicle of Monstrelet: another son of Regnault d'Angennes, a second son of the lord of Boissay, a brother of Du Mesnil, the two brothers Giresmes, and Pierre de Nesson.[46] The greffier of the Parlement wrote in his journal that Enguerrand de Marcoignet, one of the duke of Guyenne's maîtres d'hôtel, was also among the prisoners.[47]

It is very unlikely that the Cabochiens actually knew who all these people were, and it appears that the list of fifty names was drawn up according to the specifications of the duke of Burgundy. At any rate, this is what the duke of Guyenne believed, for while the prisoners were being taken, he accused the duke of having counselled the Cabochiens.[48] Furthermore, John could not deny it, he said, since the principal leaders of the throng were members of his household. "Know with certainty that one day you will be

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sorry," Louis continued, "and things will not always turn out as you would like."[49] The duke replied enigmatically that the prince would be able to seek out the truth when he had calmed himself.

The duke of Guyenne was anxious to ensure the safety of the prisoners, and he therefore compelled Duke John to swear on a golden cross in the presence of his daughter, the dauphine, that no harm would come to them and that they would be brought back as soon as the anger of the Parisians had been abated.[50] As a result, the prisoners were taken to the duke of Burgundy's Hôtel d'Artois.[51] Nevertheless, the attack of the Cabochiens did not end without fatalities. Courtebotte, the duke of Guyenne's minstrel or jester, was murdered,[52] Raoul Brisoul, a royal secretary, was drowned in the Seine,[53] and Watelet, a servant of the duke of Berry, was cut down in the street.[54]

This day's work constituted a triumph for John the Fearless. It is curious that his role in the proceedings has been quite distorted by historians. Lehoux depicts him as a victim, whose original plans for using the Cabochiens backfired under the weight of their own demands.[55] Vaughan, like Coville, sees Duke John as trying to "calm and moderate the worst excesses of mob enthusiasm."[56] It is more reasonable to interpret the duke's pose as intercessor as a complete sham, perpetrated not only to make himself appear guiltless but also to lure the duke of Guyenne with supposedly well-meant counsel into giving in to the

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Cabochiens' demands and allowing the prisoners to be taken away. The bad faith of John the Fearless is evidenced by the fact that he broke his promise to the duke of Guyenne very quickly, for a few days later, he placed the prisoners in the hands of the Cabochiens. Coville claims that John was forced to do this,[57] but such an interpretation is certainly erroneous. Neither Duke John nor any member of his entourage was under attack, and, furthermore, the military men who led the Cabochiens were faithful members of his household. Elyon de Jacqueville, captain of the mob, was so loyal to John that he had recently informed him of a plot which had been formed against him by Lourdin de Saligny, another of his chamberlains.[58] The Cabochiens would not, and probably could not, have forced the duke to give up the prisoners against his will once they were in his Hôtel d'Artois. The truth is that John had to hand them over for reasons of his own, for, otherwise, he would have had to bring them back to the duke of Guyenne as he had promised, and that was something he did not wish to do. With the prisoners under the control of the Cabochiens, not only was he no longer responsible for them, but he could also exonerate himself no matter what happened to them.

Since the duke of Burgundy could be no more than a silent partner to the Cabochiens, they had to seek important allies who could give them open support. They applied, therefore, to the University of Paris, but their overtures were instantly rebuffed. The University was willing only to

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intercede for peace.[59] Not even all the burgesses of Paris were anxious to support the Cabochiens after the arrests made in the hôtel of the duke of Guyenne. In fact, some of them now feared that the duke of Orléans and the other Armagnac princes would take revenge against the city.[60] The prévôt des marchands and the échevins, realizing that their fate was linked to that of the Cabochiens, sent letters on May 2 to various cities to explain what had happened in Paris and ask that false rumors not be believed.[61] The events they related in the letters were limited to the taking of the Bastille, and no mention was made of the attack on the household of the duke of Guyenne.

Shortly after the uprising of April 28, the duke of Guyenne was required to move to the Hôtel Saint-Pol, where the king and queen were in residence, and the gates of the city were guarded so that he could not escape.[62] In early May, the Cabochiens prevailed upon Eustache de Pavilly and others to deliver stern lectures to him.[63] Maître Eustache, who, according to the chronicler Juvenal des Ursins, was especially fond of filling his purse,[64] gratuitously pointed out to the young prince that the "excesses of youth" had caused the incurable illness of the king and the murder of the duke of Orléans, and he added that if Louis did not change his behavior, the right of primogeniture could be transferred to his younger brother.[65] The Monk of Saint-Denis reports that the queen was said to have repeated the same things to the prince on several occasions.[66] This

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may have been another rumor started by the Cabochiens, however.

Maître Eustache also presented the request that a committee be chosen to judge those who had been taken prisoner, and the duke of Guyenne, following the counsel of the lords and prelates who were present, named the following persons to undertake this duty: the lord of Offémont, Helye de Chenac, le Borgne de la Heuse, and Jean de Moreuil, knights; Maîtres Robert de Piedefer, Jean de Longueil, Helie, called Felix, du Bois, and Denis de Vasiere, councillors in the Parlement; Andriet Roussel and Garnot de Saint-Yon, burgesses of Paris; and Pierre de Fresne, greffier of the Châtelet.[67] The nomination of the lord of Offémont, chamberlain of the duke of Guyenne, appears to have been suggested as a token gesture to the young prince, since he was not a Burgundian partisan. Chenac and Moreuil were in the service of John the Fearless, and Robert de la Heuse, called le Borgne, was the new provost of Paris and was later suspected of having Burgundian sympathies.[68]

During the first half of May, Charles VI was still not well enough to attend the council, and the Cabochiens took advantage of his condition by extracting from him in private certain letters which named several of their conspirators to royal offices. Jean de Poligny, called Chappellain, was appointed garde des coffres du roi,[69] Jean de Saint-Yon, the elder, was named garde des deniers de l'épargne on May 6,[70] Simon Caboche became huissier d'armes du roi on May 11,[71]

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and on May 15 Elyon de Jacqueville was appointed captain of Paris.[72]

On May 11, at the end of an audience with the duke of Guyenne and in the presence of the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Lorraine and the counts of Nevers and Charollais, the prévôt des marchands and the échevins of Paris presented the dauphin a roll which contained the names of sixty new persons they wished to arrest.[73] Those listed who could be found at that moment were taken into custody, and the others were summoned by criers throughout the city.[74] On this same day, the duke of Guyenne was forced to reinstate Jean de Nielles as his chancellor, and during the following days, the Cabochiens began to guard the gates of Paris more carefully, for it was said that the young prince had been writing to the Armagnacs for help.[75]

The Monk insists that reliable informants from the court told him that the duke of Guyenne had already tried to escape several times from Paris.[76] The young prince's attempts to flee were thwarted, but other persons were more successful in their endeavors, and the duke of Orléans was soon able to hear eye-witness reports of the deeds of the Cabochiens. On May 7 Duke Charles gave 10 écus to his surgeon Girart Pion, who, escaping "almost naked," had come to Blois to bring him news from Paris.[77] It appears that the duke's brother Philip, count of Vertus, also fled from Paris at the beginning of May.[78]

Suddenly Charles VI seemed well again, and on May 18 he

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went with the dukes of Guyenne and Burgundy to give thanks to God in the church of Notre-Dame.[79] The prévôt des marchands and the échevins of Paris met him as he made his way to the church, and Maître Jean de Troyes presented him with a white hood, similar to the ones the Cabochiens had been forcing the people of Paris to wear as a symbol of adherence to their cause.[80] The king agreed "without difficulty" to wear it, but he also alarmed the Parisians by sending messengers on the same day to the Armagnac princes in order to summon them to Paris to give him advice regarding the affairs of the kingdom.[81]

The possibility of the Armagnacs arriving with an army must have discomfited the duke of Burgundy, as well, and it was probably at his suggestion that Charles VI issued on May 20 a royal letter in which he ordered all captains of men-at-arms to disband their companies and all soldiers to return home within six days of receiving this command from the captains.[82] This did not eliminate the danger for Burgundy and the Cabochiens completely, however, for it was possible that the Armagnacs would be allowed to come to Paris with some sort of military escort. Neither John the Fearless nor the Cabochiens could control the king, whose decisions were erratic and entirely dependent upon his mental state of the moment, but if they could somehow convince him to endorse their actions, they would be safe.

To this end, the Cabochiens sent Eustache de Pavilly to speak to the king on May 22.[83] They had closed the gates of

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Paris, set up patrols in every street, and filled the three courtyards of the royal Hôtel Saint-Pol with armed men.[84] Many nobles had gathered at the hôtel because the duke of Bavaria was scheduled to marry Catherine of Alençon, widow of Pierre of Navarre, on the following day. Maître Eustache spoke to the king before a large assembly, which included the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Burgundy.[85] His speech was based on the allegory of a garden in which the duke of Guyenne was a fleur-de-lis whose growth was hindered by weeds. These weeds, which represented certain members of the young prince's household, had to be uprooted. After all, a gardener would be considered inept if he did not keep his garden weeded, said Maître Eustache, and, thus, the king should desire the removal of his son's evil counsellors.[86]

It is not known how King Charles reacted to this speech, but it appears that he found nothing objectionable in it and retired immediately afterwards to his private apartments. The chroniclers differ in their reports of what happened next. In the narration of Monstrelet, which is the most detailed, the duke of Burgundy once again assumed the role of intercessor.[87] He went down to the crowd that had assembled in the three courtyards and asked them to leave because, he said, it was not expedient for the king, who was barely recovered from his "maladie," to see them bearing arms. They then presented him a roll, which contained the names of more "traitors," and declared that they would not depart until the persons listed were given into their

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custody.[88] The duke brought the roll to the queen, who was much alarmed because her brother headed the list. She quickly summoned the duke of Guyenne, and after she told him the news, the young prince went into a small room nearby and began to cry. John the Fearless exhorted him to dry his tears, and, a few minutes later, the two of them went to ask the Cabochiens to defer the arrest of the duke of Bavaria for eight days.[89] This they refused to do, however, and they declared themselves willing to invade the apartments of the queen or even make the arrests in the presence of the king, if the persons they sought were not delivered to them. Finally, the duke of Bavaria and others whose names were on the list either descended of their own accord and gave themselves up or were taken by force.[90] Among the prisoners were Jean de Nielles, chancellor of the duke of Guyenne, who was soon released; Charles de Villiers and Conrad Bayer, both maîtres d'hotel of the queen; Raoul Cassinel, maître d'hôtel of the duke of Guyenne; Regnault d'Angennes, chamberlain of the duke of Guyenne; Jean le Picart, a secretary of the duke; François de Nerly, the duke's treasurer; and several ladies from the households of the queen and the duchess of Guyenne, including the queen's first cousin Bonne Visconti, wife of the lord of Montauban; Catherine de Villiers, dame du Quesnoy; the dame d'Avelus; the German Isabeau la Maréchalle (Elisabeth Marschalk), wife of the lord of Nouvion; Madame de Malicorne's daughter, Marguerite Aubine, dame de Chasteaulx; and Isabeau des

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Barres.[91]

The Cabochiens sought the approval of the University of Paris for what they had done, and since the University refused to give it, they suddenly felt themselves to be in a rather precarious position.[92] It was essential to obtain support from the king himself, and, to this end, Maître Jean de Troyes, spokesman for the Cabochiens, appeared with several armed men at a session of the royal grand conseil held on May 24, where he presented several requests to the King.[93] Maître Jean asked that the king give the offices of all those who had been imprisoned to persons favored by the Parisians, that he approve everything the Cabochiens had done, and that the reforms which the commissioners had just drawn up be published within the week in the Grand Palais.

The chancellor replied for the king that the reforms would be published and that the names of those persons whom the Parisians wished to hold a royal office should be submitted to the king for consideration. When it came time to discuss the approbation of the deeds of the Cabochiens, the lords in attendance were asked to give their advice. It was the right of the duke of Berry, as the eldest, to speak first, but he said he would rather hear the opinions of the others before he made his comments.[94] It is evident that the old duke was unwilling to place himself in jeopardy by taking the wrong stand in a council filled with Burgundians. The duke of Guyenne and his entourage were absent, and John the Fearless had filled the room with a group of his

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partisans: the constable, the provost of Paris, the bishop of Tournai, the abbot of Moutiers-Saint-Jean, the chancellor of Burgundy, Antoine de Craon, the lords of La Viesville and La Trémoille, and others.[95] The duke of Berry's attempt to get these personages to voice their opinions first failed, however, for the king himself kept insisting that he speak. Berry could not bring himself to say anything against the Cabochiens, for the risk was too great. Less than two years before, the butcher Le Goix had led a band of Parisians to Bicêtre, and they had burned to the ground the old duke's residence there, which had been filled with art treasures.[96] Now, during the recent weeks of upheaval, Berry and his entourage had remarkably escaped attack, and he intended to preserve his safety as best he could. He said, therefore, that he thought the approval desired by the Parisians could be granted so long as restrictions were placed on the form of the royal letter that would contain the grant. This letter was drawn up during the same meeting of the grand conseil, and, in it, the king expressed his satisfaction both with the arrests made by the Parisians and with "what had followed."[97] In closing, King Charles commanded that no action be taken against the Parisians "now or in the future" on account of the deeds in question.

Two days later, on Friday, May 26, 1413, accompanied by the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Burgundy, the counts of Charollais and Saint-Pol, the prévôt des marchands, the échevins and a number of burgesses of Paris, the delegates

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from the University of Paris, and various prelates and knights, Charles VI held a lit de justice in the Parlement for the publication of the list of reforms submitted by the commission that had been appointed three months earlier.[98] The list, which contained 258 articles and took two days to read aloud, was written in the form of a royal ordinance, dated May 25, which has been called by historians the Ordonnance Cabochienne.[99]

The commission had used more than twenty old reform ordinances, some of which dated from the reign of Charles V, as sources for the 258 articles, and sometimes parts of the old ordinances were even copied verbatim.[100] The new document dealt with every facet of the government. There were sections devoted to the administration of the royal domain; the households of the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne; the minting of money; the financial departments; taxation; the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, the Chancery; and the council. A number of royal offices were completely eliminated. All alienations of the royal domain were cancelled except those which constituted the princes' apanages (article 89). Everyone who had received a monetary gift from the king since October 1409 had to return half of it (article 121). The king was not to give any monetary gifts for the next three years (article 123). All pensions granted by the king, the queen, or the duke of Guyenne were revoked (article 208). Articles such as these show the general tenor of the reforms. The objective was to bring

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money back into the king's coffers and prevent the dilapidation of his resources.

Several articles in the ordinance attempted to solve the problems that were created by the fact that the king's mental illness sometimes caused him to make poor decisions before his councillors had the opportunity to advise him. The secretaries were now forbidden to sign royal letters regarding justice and grants of money, offices, or "other things" unless the documents had been issued by the king in a meeting of the council (article 220). This would eliminate, it was hoped, the practice of extorting privileges from the king in private when his mental state clouded his understanding.

The ordinance also detailed the procedure to be followed when the king received petitions (article 212). It had become the practice for people to importune King Charles with demands as soon as he entered the council chamber, even before he, the chancellor, or the councillors had reached their seats. Such requests were often made in hushed tones so that others might not hear what was being solicited. Article 212 stated that petitions could only be submitted when everyone was seated. Furthermore, no one was allowed to present petitions except princes of the blood, royal councillors, or the maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel. The beneficiary was not to be present when a petition was put forward, and the person who submitted it had to speak so that everyone in attendance could hear.

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The Ordonnance Cabochienne did not presume to regulate the amount of money that the members of the royal family spent on themselves. In fact, the reform commission was concerned that the king had neither the funds necessary to live in a royal manner nor extra money with which to build up a treasure such as the one his father had accumulated. In order to pay his expenses, King Charles had even been obliged to pawn the jewels from his "good crown." Article 118 of the new ordinance ordered the recovery of these jewels and forbade their ever being pawned again.

Despite continual financial problems, a steady increase in the expenses of the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne had been observed during recent years, but the reform commission did not reduce their annual budgets by any specific amount. Article 135 of the Ordonnance Cabochienne merely called for them to reduce their expenses "as much as possible" and attempt to reach the level of the budgets of Charles V, John II, and Philip VI. The increase in expenditure was attributed not to the profligacy of the king, the queen, or the duke of Guyenne but to an excessive number of royal officials and the tendency of these persons to defraud the royal family. For this reason, most of the reforms devised by the commission dealt with the reduction of the number of officials and the establishment of rules that would make it more difficult for those who remained in office to embezzle money or indulge in other types of corrupt behavior.

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Since the Cabochiens had requested the publication of the reforms before the commission had finished them, the last article of the ordinance stipulated that whatever additions the commissioners wished to make in the future should be joined to the present document and considered valid. A few months later, after the Cabochiens were overthrown, this provision was said to undermine the sovereign authority of the king and was given as one of the reasons why it was necessary to revoke the ordinance.[101]

Soon after the publication of the Ordonnance Cabochienne, the king's mental health seems to have undergone a severe regression. There is no evidence that he attended any sessions of the council in June, and during this period, almost no royal letters were issued in his presence privately.[102] His absence served the Cabochiens well, and they took advantage of the fact that he had approved their deeds and commanded that no one molest them. On June 10 they beheaded the corpse of the duke of Guyenne's chamberlain Jacques de la Rivière, who had committed suicide in prison, they said, by beating himself on the head with a jug of wine.[103] The Monk of Saint-Denis claims that certain reliable sources informed him that Jacques had actually been murdered by Elyon de Jacqueville.[104] At the same time, the Cabochiens executed the duke of Guyenne's écuyer tranchant, Simon du Mesnil.[105] On June 15 they beheaded Thomelin de Brie, a squire who had served Pierre des Essarts,[106] and on July 1 they sent Pierre himself to the scaffold.[107]

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Meanwhile, they forced themselves to be nominated to various offices in the households of the king and the duke of Guyenne. Maître Jean de Troyes was named concierge of the Grand Palais on May 30; Jean de Saint-Yon was named premier valet de chambre et garde des coffres of the duke of Guyenne; Jean Mainfroy became the duke's argentier; and Jean Noident was appointed on June 20 the duke's treasurer.[108] Even the old butcher, Thomas le Goix, became a member of the young prince's household.[109]

During this period, as a result of the summons sent by the king to the Armagnac princes, a line of communication was forcibly opened up between the dukes in Paris and the duke of Orleans and his allies. Charles of Orléans sent his chancellor, Jean Davy, to Paris, and then, in early June, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy sent ambassadors with royal deputies to Ivry-la-Chaussée to confer with representatives of the king of Sicily, the duke of Orléans, and the count of Alencon.[110] It seems that the Armagnacs had in their possession certain letters from the duke of Guyenne in which he asked them for assistance, and they were prepared to lead an army to Paris in order to rescue the royal family.

While the conference of Ivry-la-Chaussée was in progress, the Cabochiens took two measures to prevent an eventual Armagnac attack on Paris. On June 6 the grand conseil, in the absence of both the king and the duke of Guyenne, issued a royal letter that forbade the assembling of men-at-arms.[111] Then, because they had evidently discovered

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that the duke of Guyenne had written again to the Armagnacs to ask them to come and free him from subjection, the Cabochiens forced the young prince to write letters to various cities on June 13 to deny that the call for help had been sent with his approval. In these letters, Louis declared that the Parisians were in his good graces and that he was "content" with the imprisonments they had made because everything had been done for the good of the king, the people, and himself.[112] Louis addressed, on the same day, a similar letter, which he signed by hand, to the prévôt des marchands, the échevins, burgesses, and inhabitants of Paris.[113] He had never sent to any person of the royal lineage, he told them, a letter in which he asked for aid against them.

These letters show that the duke of Guyenne was no longer a free agent and that he was doing what the Cabochiens required of him. He was forced into this passive role because the king had pronounced himself in complete accord with the Cabochiens. No action was to be taken against them, Charles VI had declared, and thus, if the dauphin overtly sought their downfall, he would make himself a target for a charge of treason. Eustache de Pavilly had already told him that his right to the throne could be transferred to his younger brother, and Louis could not risk disobeying his father's orders. His only hope lay in trying to influence the king to change his mind, but there was little likelihood of this coming to pass, for, according to

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the new reforms, major decisions had to be made in a session of the council. The duke of Guyenne might have been able to extort some sort of letter from King Charles in private, but such a document was of no use under the circumstances. In the council chamber, the young prince could hope for nothing now that the seats were filled with Burgundians. The only high-ranking personage who was still attending the council and was not a Burgundian was the duke of Berry, and he had already proven on May 24 that he was afraid to advise the king against the Cabochiens. In any case, Charles VI was not now well enough to attend the council, so, for the moment, the duke of Guyenne had to submit and bide his time.

The conference of Ivry-la-Chaussée brought no immediate results, and the intemperance of the Cabochiens continued, unabated. In order to raise money to make war on the English in Guyenne, the Cabochien leaders decided to tax the richest burgesses of Paris and the members of the University.[114] Those who had criticized their activities were required to contribute exorbitant sums, but a number of people refused to pay, and this led to more violence. Jean Gerson, chancellor of Notre-Dame, was one of the ones who held out, and he was obliged to run for safety to a tower of his church when the angry Cabochiens came to ransack his house and carry off his belongings.[115] By indulging in these excesses, the Cabochiens committed a fatal error, for they not only reinforced the negative attitude of the University toward them but also drove a group of burgesses to form a

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league that would soon help to bring about their downfall.

The insolence of Elyon de Jacqueville, captain of Paris and of the Cabochiens, knew no bounds. On July 9 he burst into the hôtel of the duke of Guyenne.[116] It was a Sunday night between eleven o'clock and midnight, and the young prince was giving a ball. Elyon rebuked him for what he considered improper behavior and then accused the thirty-one-year-old lord of La Trémoille of being responsible for encouraging the prince's frivolity at such a late hour.[117] There may have been some personal rivalry between La Trémoille and Jacqueville, for they were both chamberlains of the duke of Burgundy. In any case, a violent argument ensued, and the duke of Guyenne stabbed Elyon three times in the chest. This produced no harmful effect on the captain, however, for he was wearing a double cuirass. Someone hailed the Cabochien soldiers who were outside on sentry duty, and these zealots would have killed the lord of La Trémoille on the spot, had it not been for the intercession of the duke of Burgundy, who was also present. The duke of Guyenne was so upset by this incident, reports the Monk, that he spit up blood for many days afterwards.[118]

On the following day, July 10, the king "recovered his health" and agreed to send ambassadors to the Armagnacs as they had requested several weeks earlier.[119] This time the meeting was held in Verneuil. The representatives of the Armagnac princes complained that the castles of Coucy,

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Pierrefonds, and Galardon had not been returned to the duke of Orleans and that the duke of Bar was still in prison, but their greatest concern was the fact that the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne could not act freely.[120] In order to discuss these problems, the Armagnacs wished for a meeting to be arranged in Mantes between the king of Sicily, who would represent them, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. Afterwards, there would be a second conference, at which all the Armagnac princes would be present. The Armagnacs were anxious, their deputies said, to promote "love and union" among all the princes and also to see that every clause of the Treaty of Auxerre was executed.

On July 13, 1413, the royal ambassadors reported to the Parlement in Paris that the Armagnacs were ready to begin a war if the proposed conferences did not take place quickly.[121] With this in mind, the members of the Parlement advised the king to agree to send the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The king's decision was complicated by the fact that Clignet de Brebant, former admiral of France, and Louis de Bosredon had appeared with 700 men-at-arms almost at the confines of the Île-de-France. The news was published throughout Paris on July 15 that this army was already near Etampes.[122] The duke of Guyenne spoke to the king "several times," however, and at last, though angry that the Armagnacs were ignoring his prohibition against assembling in arms, Charles VI agreed to send the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to the proposed conference.[123] This decision forced

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the duke of Burgundy into the position of working against his own interests, but John the Fearless had set himself up as a prime candidate for the role of royal ambassador by acting the part of intercessor for the royal family with the Cabochiens.

According to the chronicler Cousinot, Duke John was afraid of the Armagnacs' intentions, and it appears that he would not agree to meet with the Armagnac princes in person in Vernon, where they had gathered.[124] A conference was arranged, therefore, in Pontoise between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy and representatives of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon, and the counts of Alençon and Eu.[125] John the Fearless prevailed upon the duke of Berry to make the journey to Pontoise without him a day in advance, apparently to look over the situation and be sure that it was safe for him to come. Thus, the old duke left Paris on July 20, and Duke John followed him after dinner on July 21.[126]

The Cabochiens made desperate attempts to prevent the acceptance in Paris of the agreement that was finalized in Pontoise. In order to rally support for their cause, they even released all the noble ladies and some of the other prisoners who had been taken from the royal households.[127] This did not produce the effect they desired, however, for the majority of the burgesses had already deserted them to form a party dedicated to peace under the leadership of the lawyer Jean Jouvenel and two municipal officials who were

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cloth merchants, Estienne d'Ancenne and Gervaisot de Merilles.[128]

On August 1 the articles of the Peace of Pontoise were read in the council before the king and the duke of Guyenne, and while deliberations were in progress, a group of Cabochiens, including Maître Jean de Troyes, Simon Caboche, and members of the Le Goix and Saint-Yon families, intruded and declared disrespectfully that since the matter was of great concern to the city of Paris, the articles should be seen and discussed by the municipal officials.[129] The Cabochiens were not allowed to have their own copy of the articles, but they were told that, if they wished, they could hear them read aloud. The king did send a copy, however, to the prévôt des marchands so that he could discuss the peace in a session of the city council, and other copies were distributed to the chapter of Notre-Dame, the Chambre des Comptes, and the Parlement.[130]

On the afternoon of August 3, Jean Jouvenel went to the Hôtel Saint-Pol with a group of municipal officials to see King Charles.[131] Jouvenel told the king, who was attended by the duke of Burgundy, that peace was now a necessity, and he asked him to permit the duke of Guyenne to take charge of the situation. The king replied that he was agreable to this, but the duke of Burgundy, knowing well how the young prince felt about the the Cabochiens, remarked to Jouvenel that this was not the way things should be done. This last attempt of John the Fearless to prevent the downfall of the

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Cabochiens was not successful, for Jouvenel was not intimidated by him and declared that this was the only way to proceed. The intrepid lawyer did not hesitate to comment that he had spoken to Duke John on an earlier occasion but that His Grace had not wished to listen then, either. Since John the Fearless could not allow the king to see him as an enemy of peace, he constrained himself to appear complaisant, and Jouvenel was given permission to proceed.

This interview had evidently taken place in the courtyard of the hôtel, the king and the duke speaking to Jouvenel from a window, for the lawyer's chronicler son mentions that when Jouvenel addressed the duke of Guyenne immediately afterwards, the prince was leaning on the casement of a window and had a member of the Cabochien Saint-Yon family directly behind him.[132] Jouvenel asked the duke of Guyenne to take the Bastille into his custody and ride through the city on the following day in a triumphal march, during which the dukes of Bar and Bavaria and the other prisoners would be liberated. Louis agreed and sent at once for the keys to the Bastille, which were at the moment officially in the hands of the duke of Burgundy.

At ten o'clock in the morning on the next day, August 4, deputies from the city council, the chapter of Notre-Dame, the Chambre des Comptes, and the Parlement went to the Hôtel Saint-Pol to proclaim their approval of the articles of the Peace of Pontoise, and after their spokesman, Ursin de Talvende, made his speech, a great multitude of armed

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burgesses arrived to escort the duke of Guyenne on his march.[133] The Cabochiens had gathered in the Place de Grève, but they were powerless in the face of such opposition and fled from the city as the duke of Guyenne, accompanied by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, freed the duke of Bavaria from a tower near the Louvre, the duke of Bar from the Louvre itself, and the lord of Boissay and others from the Grand Palais.[134] More prisoners were released from the Châtelet,[135] and the duke of Guyenne sent a message to the bishop of Paris, ordering him to free several other persons, who were in his custody.[136]

At the end of the march, Jean Jouvenel spoke in the Hôtel de Ville to the prévôt des marchands and échevins of Paris in the name of the duke of Guyenne, who was also present.[137] The duke wished André d'Espernon to stay in office as prévôt des marchands, Jouvenel said, but he was going to replace two of the échevins, Jean de Troyes and Robert de Belloy, with Guillaume Cirasse and Gervaisot de Merilles.[138] The duke of Berry was to be captain of Paris, as he had been in the past, the duke of Bar was to be captain of the Louvre, and the duke of Bavaria was to guard the Bastille as the prince's lieutenant.[139]

On Sunday, August 6, the duke of Guyenne attended the congregation of the University of Paris at Saint-Bernard to express his thanks to the members of the University for having supported the cause of peace.[140] The University viewed his visit as an unusual honor and begged him to

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continue to work for unity among the princes of the blood.[141] This unity, it was thought, would be achieved as soon as the clauses of the Peace of Pontoise were executed.

According to the Peace of Pontoise, the princes of the blood were to swear loyalty to one another, cease warlike acts, and refrain from levying troops.[142] The Armagnacs were to disband the army of Clignet de Brébant and Louis de Bosredon and bear no malice against any of the Parisians for recent events. The king's obligations consisted of desisting from the seizure of castles that did not belong to him and dismissing the commission that had been named to judge those who had recently been imprisoned or banished. The treaty also stipulated that the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne would meet with the Armagnac princes outside Paris in order to discuss the affairs of the kingdom.

The flight of the Cabochiens did not guarantee the Armagnacs an immediate invitation from the king to come to Paris. A prerequisite for any meeting with the royal family was the disbanding of the army of Brébant and Bosredon. The king also had his part of the agreement to fulfill, and thus, on August 5, when he issued an ordinance to prohibit again the assembling of men-at-arms, Charles VI included an order for all garrisons to abandon castles that they had taken by force.[143]

As soon as the Cabochiens were rendered powerless, the duke of Guyenne sought to retaliate against all those who had supported them, but many of these persons eluded him.

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Elyon de Jacqueville, who had insulted him so insolently several weeks earlier, was no longer in Paris, for he had led the troops raised by the Parisians into the Gâtinais in pursuit of Brébant and Bosredon.[144] Robinet de Mailly, Charles de Savoisy, Jean de Courcelles, and Maître Guillaume Barraut had fled from Paris with many others.[145] There were some, however, who were not wise enough to run away. The duke of Guyenne managed to arrest the lord of La Viesville, Philip of Poitiers, and Charles de Récourt, chamberlains of the duke of Burgundy, and several burgesses.[146] The young prince's revenge was short-lived, however, for John the Fearless went to King Charles and complained that it was unjust to imprison members of his household who had not committed any crime, and the king agreed without any hesitation to order their release.[147]

While the duke of Guyenne pursued his course of retaliation, the duke of Burgundy tried to preserve his innocent image. On August 20 he even made a show of entertaining ambassadors of the king of Sicily and the duke of Orléans.[148] He realized that the duke of Guyenne was not pleased with him, however, and, according to the chronicler Monstrelet, he began to fear that the young prince was planning to have him arrested.[149] His alarm increased, it seems, when he noticed that his Hôtel d'Artois was being watched at night.[150] John the Fearless decided to flee. On August 23 he went to Vincennes to visit the king, who had gone there the day before.[151] What actually happened in

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Vincennes is somewhat mysterious, but it appears that Duke John approached the king while he was hunting and asked permission to leave the royal court.[152] The King granted this request, albeit unwillingly, and then John the Fearless departed in all haste for Flanders.

The duke of Burgundy's abrupt departure caused him to lose everything he had schemed so assiduously to gain. How wrong he had been when he had said to Jean Jouvenel that it was necessary to use the Cabochiens! It had seemed to be a simple and brilliant plan, for he was to remain in the shadows, above reproach, while the Cabochiens convinced the king that they were working to save the monarchy from corrupt royal officials. Their hints and accusations mercilessly took advantage of the fact that the king was prone to persecutory delusions. As a result, Charles VI did not hesitate to believe them.

It was King Charles himself who was finally responsible for the success of the Cabochiens, for he continually endorsed their actions. The duke of Guyenne could not fight the legal sanctions that protected the Cabochiens, but he had only to bide his time, for just as King Charles was responsible for the success of the Parisian zealots, so was he also the cause of their downfall.

The Cabochiens were crushed by the king's acceptance of the Peace of Pontoise, and yet it is probable that Charles VI neither specifically sought their destruction nor thought that the idea of peace with the Armagnacs was incompatible

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with their program as it had been represented to him, for his mental illness almost certainly did not allow him to make a realistic analysis of the situation. In fact, his acceptance of the Peace may well have had nothing at all to do with the Cabochiens, for his evident tendency towards literal interpretation would have made him base his decision merely upon the simple notion that since he was a king, it was his duty to promote peace in his kingdom and foster unity among the princes.

The fall of the Cabochiens would not have undone the duke of Burgundy if the duke of Guyenne had not seen through his innocent facade and realized that he was supporting them.[153] If the young prince had not been infuriated by this discovery and had not sought revenge,[154] Duke John could have remained safely in Paris, for he did not have to flee from the king or the Armagnacs. The Armagnacs were now bound by the Peace of Pontoise to be John's loyal friends, and if they broke their oath, they would be censured by the king. In August 1413 Charles VI himself held nothing against Duke John. In fact, when he gave him permission to leave Paris, he was "much grieved" to see him go.[155] It was the wrath, then, of the sixteen-year-old duke of Guyenne and his desire for retribution that drove John the Fearless to give up all rather than risk the possibility of being arrested, imprisoned, and perhaps even tried for the murder of Louis of Orléans.

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NOTES

(1) Having renounced his alliance with the English and sworn an oath of fealty to Charles VI, the count of Alençon received the title to his confiscated possessions in a royal letter of Nov. 3, 1412. (Lehoux, III, 281 n.5 (with reference to AN, K 57 B, no. 27)) The count of Armagnac agreed on Dec. 29 to suspend hostilities against the count of Foix, Regnier Pot, and the lord of Saint-Georges, agents of the king in Languedoc. (Ibid., p. 289 n.4)

(2) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 395.

(3) Petit, Itinéraires, pp. 395-96.

(4) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1572, fol. 41v.

(5) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1572, fol. 50v.

(6) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1572, fols. 43-43v.

(7) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1572, fol. 45.

(8) A. Coville, Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413, Paris, 1888, p. 159.

(9) The date of Jan. 30 is given by the Monk of Saint-Denis (IV, 736) and is confirmed by documentary evidence published in J. Marion, "Rapport adressé au roi, sur les doléances du clergé, aux États Généraux de 1413," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, VI, 281.

(10) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 160.

(11) The notes taken by Jehan le Roy, procureur du roi, at the assembly of Feb. 3, 1413 are published in Marion, pp. 281-88.

(12) RSD, IV, 738-40.

(13) RSD, IV, 744. A copy of the roll from the Archives des

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Basses-Pyrénées (E 61) is published in H. Moranvillé, "Remontrances de l'université et de la ville de Paris à Charles VI sur le gouvernement du royaume," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LI (1890), 422-42.

(14) Baye, II, 99-100.

(15) During the period between late February and May 20, 1413, royal letters were periodically issued in the king's presence (but not during meetings of the council), e.g. on Feb. 25 (BN, ms. fr. 23271, p. 415), March 4 (AN, JJ 167, p. 167), March 6 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 7624, fol. 184), March 12 (AN, JJ 167, p. 73), March 13 (BN, P.O. 1281, Guerquesalle, no. 2), March 15 (AN, X.1c 105 A, no. 190), March 17 (AN, JJ 167, p. 155), March 24 (AD Nord, B 657, no. 15226 bis), March 27 (BN, ms. fr. 20416, no. 10), March 28 (AN, X.1c 105 B, no. 217), March 29 (ibid., no. 209), April 5 (ibid., nos. 227 & 245), April 6 (ibid., no. 292), April 9 (ibid., no. 253), April 18 (AN, P 264.1, no. 130), April 19 (AN, X.1c 105 B, no. 310), May 6 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 81), May 7 (AN, X.1c 105 B, no. 289), May 9 (ibid., no. 293), May 11 (ibid., no. 286), May 12 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, VIII, no. 65), May 13 (ibid., DCCLXXXII, p. 81), May 15 (ibid.), and May 18 (ibid.). Finally, on May 20, Charles VI attended the grand conseil. (AN, KK 1008, fols. 36-37) Note that the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 38) states that the king recovered on May 18.

(16) Ordonnances, X, 59-60.

(17) See Appendix IV under Mesnil.

(18) The twelve commissioners are named by the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 4).

(19) For material on Jean de Thoisy, see P. Champion and P. de Thoisy, Bourgogne, France, Angleterre au traité de Troyes; Jean de Thoisy, évêque de Tournai, chancelier de Bourgogne, membre du conseil du roi 1350-1433, Paris, 1943. Simon de Saulx was a councillor of the duke of Burgundy in 1413. (Delabarre, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne, Paris, 1729, p. 105) For the vidame of Amiens, see Appendix IV under Ailly. Gaillard Petitsaine and Jean de Longueil were both exiled from Paris in 1417 because they were suspected partisans of the duke of Burgundy. (Douet

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d'Arcq, Choix, I, 392) Pierre Cauchon, maître en arts et licencié en décret, had been retained as Duke John's councillor on Feb. 6, 1409 at 50 francs per year, and he was still receiving his pension in May 1413. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fols. 113v-114)

(20) RSD, V, 4.

(21) Monstrelet, II, 334.

(22) "non tamen per electionem prudentum" (RSD, IV, 768).

(23) See Appendix IV under Nielles and Vailly.

(24) Monstrelet, II, 335.

(25) Monstrelet, II, 335.

(26) RSD, IV, 726; and Monstrelet, II, 300-01.

(27) See Appendix IV under Riviere.

(28) Monstrelet, II, 336.

(29) BN, ms. fr. 31900, fol. 111.

(30) AD Côte-d'Or, B 1570, fol. 139v.

(31) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 249.

(32) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 249.

(33) RSD, V, 6.

(34) Pierre des Essarts was named provost of Paris on April 30, 1408. (BN, ms. fr. 20684, pp. 22-23) He was replaced evidently on Nov. 8, 1410 (Lehoux, III, 203 n.4), then reinstated in Sept. 1411 (Monstrelet, II, 180), and finally discharged on Feb. 24, 1413

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(Ordonnances, X, 59-60). He had been a maître d'hôtel du roi as early as 1402. (BN, P.O. 380, Boessay, no. 3) He was named grand bouteiller de France and premier président de la Chambre des Comptes on July 21, 1410 (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 26) but was replaced by the count of Saint-Pol on Oct. 31, 1410 (ibid., p. 27). In Feb. 1410, Pierre was already souverain gouverneur des finances des aides (BN, P.O. 1072, Essarts, no. 66), a title which he still used on Sept. 12, 1410 (BN, ms. lat.n.a. 2320, no. 180). On March 5, 1412, he was named souverain maître et général réformateur des Eaux et Forêts de tout le royaume in place of the count of Saint-Pol (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 35), but he was replaced on Sept. 19, 1412 (ibid., pp. 38-39). In May 1412 he was councillor and chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy and also the duke's captain of the castle of Beure. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1571, fols. 149v-50) Pierre was named captain of Montargis on Dec. 5, 1412 (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 39) but was replaced on Feb. 8, 1413 (ibid., p. 40). In 1412 he was lord of Villerval and La Motte-Tilly (Aube). (BN, Coll. Clairambault, CLIX, no. 69) He married Marie de Ruilly. (Godefroy, p. 796)

(35) On March 13, 1413, the duke of Burgundy ordered 80 francs paid to Maître Jean de Troyes, one of the leaders of the Cabochiens. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fol. 129) In January Duke John had given the maître wine worth 40 livres parisis. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1572, fol. 37v)

(36) Elyon de Jacqueville is called captain of the Cabochiens by Monstrelet (II, 344) and Juvenal des Ursins (p. 250).

(37) On April 4, 1413, the duke of Burgundy gave 500 francs to Elyon de Jacqueville (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fol. 149v), and on April 3 he gave him wine which cost 50 francs (ibid., fol. 194v-195).

(38) RSD, V, 8.

(39) RSD, V, 8-10.

(40) RSD, V, 12-14; and Monstrelet, II, 344.

(41) RSD, V, 22-24.

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(42) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 250. See also G. Le Bouvier, dit le Héraut de Berry, Chronique du règne de Charles VI, in Histoire de Charles VI, ed. D. Godefroy, Paris, 1653, p. 425.

(43) RSD, V, 18.

(44) RSD, V, 20.

(45) RSD, V, 21. The Monk gives the name Jean to Simon du Mesnil. For biographies of the persons listed, see Appendix IV.

(46) Monstrelet, II, 345. For biographies of these personages, see Appendix IV.

(47) Baye, II, 109.

(48) Monstrelet, II, 345.

(49) "Si sachez seurement que une foiz vous en repentirez, et ne yra pas la besongne tousjours ainsi a votre plaisir." (Monstrelet, II, 345)

(50) Le Bouvier, p. 425.

(51) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 398.

(52) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 251; and RSD, V, 146.

(53) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 251. The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 22) gives the surname of Raoul Brisoul as "de Brisac." For information about Raoul, see BN, P.O. 523, Brisoul, no. 2.

(54) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 251; and RSD, V, 22.

(55) Lehoux, III, 300.

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(56) Vaughan, John, p. 99. See Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 372.

(57) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 190.

(58) Le Bouvier, p. 424.

(59) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 192.

(60) RSD, V, 26.

(61) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 193. The letter sent by the Parisians to the city of Noyon is published in F. Bourquelot, "Correspondance entre le corps municipal de la ville de Paris et celui de la ville de Noyon en 1413," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, VII (1845-46), 59-63.

(62) Monstrelet, II, 346.

(63) RSD, V, 28-30.

(64) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 252.

(65) RSD, V, 30.

(66) RSD, V, 30.

(67) RSD, V, 30-32. Although the Monk says twelve commissioners were chosen, he gives only eleven names. Instead of the name Moreuil, he writes Morteul, and he does not identify the greffier, whose name can be found in Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 210.

(68) Helye de Chenac had been sent on a secret mission by the duke of Burgundy in Jan. and Feb. 1409. (Lehoux, III, 138 n.6) Jean de Moreuil, lord of Sus-Saint-Léger (Pas-de-Calais), was a chamberlain of both the king and the duke of Burgundy in March 1413. (AN, X.1c 105 B, no. 299) In 1414 he served the disgraced duke of Burgundy. (Lehoux, III, 343 n.3) Robert de la Heuse ran away from Paris in Jan. 1414 for fear of being

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imprisoned as a Burgundian partisan. (RSD, V, 234)

(69) See Appendix IV under Chappellain.

(70) BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 81. On May 10, 1413, the following persons pledged a bond of 4,000 livres to enable Jean de Saint-Yon, the elder, maître des boucheries de la ville de Paris, to assume his post as garde de l'épargne: Antoine de Craon, Elyon de Jacqueville, Charles de Lens, Robinet de Mailly, all councillors and chamberlains of both the king and the duke of Burgundy; and Jean le Goix, the younger, and Thomas Thibert, burgesses of Paris. (BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 659)

(71) BM Rouen, Coll. Leber 5866 (Menant II), fol. 61.

(72) BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 81.

(73) Monstrelet, II, 350.

(74) According to Monstrelet (II, 350), the lord of Boissay and Michel de Laillier were among those taken prisoner on May 11, 1413. The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 44), however, says that Boissay was taken during the last series of arrests, but since he dates that episode May 12 instead of May 22, he was perhaps mistaken also about Boissay. In any event, the Monk does not even speak of the second series of arrests. The following persons also appeared on the Cabochiens' list of May 11, but it is not known if they were taken on that day: Jean d'Arsonval, confessor of the duke of Guyenne; Raymond Raguier, maître de la chambre aux deniers du roi, Charles Poupart, argentier du roi, and Hemon Raguier, trésorier de la reine. (Baye, II, 110) Regnault d'Angennes was on the list, as well, but he was not imprisoned until May 22. (Ibid., p. 113)

(75) RSD, V, 34. For the reinstatement of Jean de Nielles, see Appendix IV under Nielles.

(76) RSD, V, 32-34.

(77) L. de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, III, Paris, 1852, 261.

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(78) RSD, V, 32.

(79) RSD, V, 38.

(80) The dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Burgundy had been given white hoods by the Cabochiens at an earlier date. (RSD, V, 26)

(81) RSD, V, 38-40.

(82) Charles VI issued the letter of May 20, 1413 in a session of the grand conseil attended by the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, and Burgundy, the chancellors of France and Burgundy, the governor of the Dauphine, the provost of Paris, and other notables. (AN, KK 1008, fols. 36-37)

(83) Baye, II, 112. Both the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 40) and Monstrelet (II, 351) assign incorrect dates to the events of May 22, 1413.

(84) Monstrelet, II, 351.

(85) Baye, II, 112.

(86) RSD, V, 40-42.

(87) Monstrelet, II, 353.

(88) Monstrelet, II, 353. The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 42-44) does not mention the duke of Burgundy at all and claims that the demands of the Cabochiens were submitted to the duke of Guyenne by Jean de Troyes and that the ensuing arrests were made by Elyon de Jacqueville.

(89) Monstrelet, II, 354.

(90) Monstrelet (II, 354) reports that the duke of Bavaria and the others gave themselves up to the Cabochiens of

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their own accord, but the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 42-46) claims that Elyon de Jacqueville and sixteen armed men invaded the private apartments of both the duke of Guyenne and the queen and took the prisoners by force. According to the Journal d'un bourgeois (p. 30), the Cabochiens had to break down a door to gain entry to the room in which the duke of Bavaria and several ladies had taken refuge. Note, however, that the Bourgeois states incorrectly that the Cabochiens took all these persons to the Louvre, whereas the prisoners were actually divided up and confined in various places. (Ibid., p. 70 n. 1)

(91) RSD, V, 44-46; Monstrelet, II, 353; Baye, II, 113-14; and Journal parisien, pp. 179-80. Monstrelet (ibid.) claims that the archbishop of Bourges was arrested, as well, but it seems that this is not true, since that prelate attended the grand conseil two days later (Ordonnances, X, 70). Conrad Bayer was already a maître d'hôtel of the queen in 1411. (AN, KK 46, fol. 57v) For biographies of the other personages, see Appendix IV and Y. Grandeau, "De quelques dames qui ont servi la reine Isabeau de Bavière," Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1975, pp. 129-238.

(92) Monstrelet, II, 356.

(93) RSD, V, 43.

(94) RSD, V, 50.

(95) Ordonnances, X, 70.

(96) RSD, IV, 520.

(97) AN, KK 1008, fols. 41-42v; published from another copy in Ordonnances, X, 68-70.

(98) Baye, II, 114-15.

(99) Ordonnances, X, 70-141. The article numbers used in my discussion are those which appear in the version of the ordinance published by A. Coville, L'Ordonnance cabochienne, Paris, 1891.

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(100) Coville, Les Cabochiens, pp. 216-19.

(101) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 379.

(102) A letter was issued by Charles VI on June 9, 1413 but not in the council. (AN, Z.1a 525, no. 357) The duke of Guyenne presided over the grand conseil on June 6 (Ordonnances, X, 150) and the conseil on June 20 (ibid., p. 152).

(103) Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI, ed. A. Tuetey, Paris, 1881, pp. 31-32. The execution of the corpse of La Rivière is dated June 4 by the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 56) and June 10 by Monstrelet (II, 370).

(104) RSD, V, 58. The accusation of Jacqueville is reported also by Monstrelet (II, 370).

(105) Journal d'un bourgeois, pp. 31-32.

(106) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 32 (where Thomelin is called Colin). The correct name and same date can be found in Monstrelet (II, 371).

(107) Monstrelet, II, 373.

(108) For Jean de Troyes, see BN, ms. fr. 20684, p. 43. For the others, see Appendix IV.

(109) See Appendix IV under Goix.

(110) Lehoux, III, 310-11; and Baye, II, 118.

(111) Ordonnances, X, 147-50.

(112) The duke of Guyenne's letter of June 13, 1413 to the inhabitants of Caen (BN, ms. fr. 26039, no. 4767) is quoted by Lehoux (III, 306 n.6). The date of June 12 is assigned to a similar letter, sent by the duke to

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the city of Orléans, in an inventory of documents which was written in 1444 (AN, K 535, no. 27, fols. 12-12v) and published in P. Champion, Un Inventaire des papiers de Charles d'Orléans (1444), Paris, 1912, no. 68, pp. 28-29.

(113) For a copy of this letter, see AN, KK 1008, fols. 38-38v.

(114) RSD, V, 60-62.

(115) RSD, V, 62.

(116) RSD, V, 78.

(117) For biographical information on the lord of La Trémoille, see Appendix IV under Trémoille.

(118) RSD, V, 80.

(119) RSD, V, 80; and Baye, II, 119.

(120) Baye, II, 119-20.

(121) Baye, II, 121-22.

(122) RSD, V, 92. The Parisians decided to collect a small tax to raise troops in order to pursue Clignet de Brébant, and on July 23, 1413, the king allowed them to use force to get people to contribute what they had been assessed. (AN, KK 1008, fols. 35v-36)

(123) For the duke of Guyenne's intercession, see RSD, V, 86.

(124) Cousinot, p. 148.

(125) Lehoux, III, 315.

(126) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 34, and Petit, Itinéraires,

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p. 400. On July 20, 1413, the English Nation of the University of Paris elected a representative to go with the other delegates from the University to the conference in Pontoise. (Denifle and Châtelain, II, col. 154)

(127) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 257. Regnault d'Angennes was among the prisoners who were released by the Cabochiens in July 1413. (Ibid., p. 261)

(128) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 258. Juvenal (p. 260) later calls Estienne d'Ancenne "Guillaume."

(129) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 259. A short account of the meeting of the council on Aug. 1, 1413 and the events of the following days appears in a royal letter of Aug. 10, 1413 addressed to the seneschal of Toulouse. (AN, J 877, no. 5)

(130) Baye, II, 123.

(131) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 260.

(132) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 261. The Saint-Yon in question must have been Jean, whom the duke of Guyenne had been forced to accept as his premier valet de chambre and garde des coffres. See Appendix IV under Saint-Yon.

(133) Baye, II, 125-26; and RSD, V, 126.

(134) Baye, II, 126. The chronicler Juvenal des Ursins took part in the duke of Guyenne's march through Paris on Aug. 4, 1413 with his father, Jean Jouvenel, and he gives (p. 262) an interesting account of it.

(135) Monstrelet, II, 396.

(136) RSD, V, 130.

(137) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 262.

(138) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 262. Juvenal must be incorrect

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when he reports that the other two échevins could remain in office, for one of these was Garnier de Saint-Yon, a Cabochien. In any case, on Aug. 17, 1413, Troyes, Saint-Yon, and Belloy were officially replaced by Pierre Augier, Guillaume Cirasse, and Jean Marceau "by the election" of the duke of Guyenne. (AN, KK 1009, fol. 1v) Note the accuracy of the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 142) when he discusses this.

(139) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 262.

(140) Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Mss., Registre 5, fol. 57; published in Denifle and Châtelain, II, cols. 155-56. The duke of Guyenne was accompanied by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bar, and Bavaria, and these last two took the opportunity to thank the University for helping to free them. (Ibid.)

(141) RSD, V, 132-36.

(142) The "tractatus pontisare" appears in the registre du conseil of the Parlement. (AN, X.1a 1479, fols. 254v-55v) The clauses were copied (with minor changes in language) by Monstrelet (II, 387-90), and they were translated into Latin by the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 116-20).

(143) The royal ordinance of Aug. 5, 1413 was sent to various royal bailiffs. The one addressed to the bailiff of Amiens is published in Ordonnances, X, 159-60.

(144) Monstrelet, II, 391 & 399.

(145) For Robinet de Mailly's flight, see Monstrelet, II, 399. Robinet was a chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fol. 58v) The flight of Savoisy, Courcelles, and Barraut is mentioned by the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 144). See also Appendix IV under Courcelles. Charles de Savoisy was a royal councillor and chamberlain, whom the duke of Burgundy had begun to attach to himself by monetary gifts, e.g. 1,000 francs given on March 17, 1411 (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1562, fol. 34v). Guillaume Barraut was the king's premier secrétaire in 1413. (Ibid., B 1576, fol. 195)

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(146) The arrest of Charles de Récourt, called de Lens, is mentioned by Monstrelet (II, 399). For the arrest of La Viesville, Poitiers, and the burgesses, see RSD, V, 144. For biographical information on Récourt and the lord of La Viesville, see Appendix IV under Récourt and Viesville. Philip of Poitiers was a chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy as early as 1409. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fols. 141-41v) In 1412 Philip was councillor to both Duke John and the king. (Ibid., B 1570, fols. 101-01v)

(147) Monstrelet, VI, 218 (from the Chronique des Cordeliers: BN, ms. fr. 23018).

(148) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 400.

(149) Monstrelet, II, 400.

(150) Monstrelet, II, 400.

(151) See the letter of the chancellor of Burgundy, dated Aug. 23, 1413 and translated in Vaughan, John, pp. 101-02.

(152) We are following the version of the flight of the duke of Burgundy given by the monk of Saint-Denis (V, 148). The story told by the chronicler Juvenal des Ursins is very different. Juvenal (p. 263) said that his father, who had just been named chancellor of the duke of Guyenne (see Appendix IV), discovered that although Duke John's alleged purpose in going to Vincennes was to take the king hunting, he really meant to abduct him and take him to Meaux. Coville (Les Cabochiens, pp. 374-75) and Lehoux (III, 324) accepted this story without questioning it, but the fact that some of the essential details of Juvenal's account are incorrect throws a bad light on the rest of his narrative of the episode. Juvenal assigned the erroneous date of August 6 to the hunting trip and said incorrectly that the duke of Burgundy returned to Paris with the king and then fled from the city on the following day. He was also mistaken when he stated that the duke lured the king out of Paris to hunt. The fact that the king left for Vincennes a day earlier than Duke John is proven by the letter of the chancellor of Burgundy already mentioned. The idea that John the Fearless wished to abduct the king is very unlikely, for such an act would have been utter folly if the duke of

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Guyenne was left behind, since, with his authority to represent the king, the young prince could easily have branded John a traitor and mounted, with the help of the Armagnacs, a full-scale war against him. In the past, Duke John had relied on royal funds to fight the Armagnacs, and if he were away from Paris, this money would no longer be available to him whether he had the king with him or not. It is more likely, then, that the straightforward report given by the Monk (V, 148) is the true version of the story. This version is based on three alleged facts: the duke asked the king's permission to leave; he made his request in a private setting, outside the city; and he left immediately afterwards without returning to Paris. Under the circumstances, this was the most sensible thing that Duke John could have done. His messages to King Charles in the succeeding months show how much he wished to follow the rules in order to keep up a good image, and he must, therefore, have followed the prescribed etiquette on August 23 by soliciting the king's permission to go. It was necessary for him to be able to say later that he had not run away in a suspicious manner. The reason Duke John followed the king when he went hunting was not to abduct him but to make his request in private. He could not have accomplished this in Paris, where the king was surrounded by people, for the duke of Guyenne could have discovered his plan and prevented his departure if he wished.

(153) Vaughan incorrectly believed that the duke of Burgundy was not closely linked with the Cabochiens. Furthermore, he distorted his interpretation of the impact of the zealots' downfall by remarking (John, p. 100) that "the effect of the Cabochien uprising...on John the Fearless's position in France has been much exaggerated."

(154) According to the Journal d'un bourgeois (p. 39), after the flight of the Cabochiens, the duke of Guyenne, "qui ouvroit a voulente, habandonna le corps et les biens de tous ceulx qui savoit bien qui avoient cause de les emprisonner." The anonymous Bourgeois attributes the measures taken against the Cabochiens to the furor of the young prince and the defection of some of the people from the Cabochien cause: "Ainsi leur advint par fureur de prince, par murmure de peuple, et furent tous leurs biens mis en la main du roy." (p. 40)

(155) "Et le Roy fut moult dolant de sa departie"

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(Monstrelet, VI, 218-19 (from the Chronique des Cordeliers: BN, ms. fr. 23018).

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CHAPTER VI

CIVIL WAR AND FOREIGN INVASION (1414-1415)

The political role played by the duke of Guyenne after the fall of the Cabochiens and the hasty departure of the duke of Burgundy from Paris in August 1413 has been completely misunderstood by the historians who have studied this period in French history. These scholars were evidently so struck by the accusations made against the prince by the Cabochiens that they saw no reason to take Louis seriously, and, thus, they failed to focus their attention on him in order to understand his actions and motivation during the events of late 1413 and 1414. Coville, whose attitude towards the duke of Guyenne was extremely negative, even attributed the harsh excesses of the Cabochiens to his "bad conduct."[1] Vaughan considered the young prince "almost as unstable as his father,"[2] and Henri David nicknamed him "l'instable Guyenne."[3] Lehoux, in a similar vein, described Louis as being "de caractère instable, tourmenté."[4]

The prejudice exemplified by remarks such as these has continued to exist unchallenged not only because historians happily accepted the slanderous statements of the Cabochiens as fact but also because the political situation after the fall of the Cabochiens became increasingly complex and is difficult to understand. Seeking a way out of the tangled

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web, scholars simplified their task by viewing French domestic policy after August 1413 as dependent solely upon two factors: the antipathy between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs and the conflict between the Armagnacs and the duke of Guyenne. Subjugation by the Armagnacs drove the duke of Guyenne, they thought, to actively seek the return of John the Fearless to Paris.

This simple explanation left several of the duke of Guyenne's subsequent actions incomprehensible, and that only served to confirm the popular notion of his inconstancy. The stigma of an alleged unstable character made it easy for historians no longer to concern themselves with the young prince's desire for revenge against the Burgundians, and yet, upon closer examination, it is very clear that this desire continued to motivate his actions for the rest of his life. Given the importance of the duke of Guyenne as the representative of his father and as heir to the throne, his enmity towards John the Fearless must be considered a third factor on which depended the events that occurred after August 1413.

When the duke of Burgundy left Paris on August 23, the queen and the duke of Guyenne must have expected that the monarchy would now enjoy an independence it had not known for a long time. They may well have thought, too, that this new freedom would be guarded by the Armagnacs, who had come to support them against the Cabochiens, for it had been the Armagnacs' show of military strength and their demands for

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negotiation that had caused the drafting of the Peace of Pontoise. The Armagnacs had been careful not to disabuse the queen and the duke of Guyenne of their optimistic notions, and on August 13 the duke of Orléans had sent letters to certain captains of men-at-arms in the Vendômois with orders to vacate the area in accordance with the terms set down in Pontoise.[5] The confidence engendered by acts such as this had led to a change in plan, for although the first meeting of the Armagnacs with the royal family was supposed to take place outside Paris, the Armagnac princes had received an invitation to the city by August 19, a few days before the duke of Burgundy's departure.[6]

The king of Sicily, the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon, and the counts of Vertus and Alençon, wearing violet-colored clothes sent to them by the duke of Guyenne, entered Paris on August 31.[7] The gift of clothing was designed to ensure that the duke of Orléans was not dressed in mourning on this occasion. In fact, the prince asked Duke Charles not to wear mourning for his father at all from this time forward.[8] Clearly, the duke of Guyenne was intent on showing Charles that he did not want the subject of the assassination of Louis of Orléans to again dominate governmental policy.

On September 2, in a meeting of the grand conseil attended by the king, the Armagnac princes dutifully swore to abide by the Peace of Pontoise.[9] Then, on September 5, King Charles held a lit de justice in the Parlement and cancelled the Ordonnance Cabochienne.[10] The cancellation was

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necessary, declared Henri de Marle, the king's new chancellor, in a speech before the assembly, because the ordinance had been published hastily without first being discussed in the royal council or the Parlement. Another reason was the fact that the king's authority was "injured and lessened" by the final clause, which had ordered that future decisions of the reform commission were to have immediate validity.

At the same time, Charles VI annulled the ordinances that, after the Treaty of Auxerre in 1412, had prohibited the Armagnacs from reclaiming their former governmental posts or confiscated property.[11] The king also revoked the letter of October 3, 1411 in which he had outlawed the duke of Orléans and his allies, and he now forbade anyone to injure them or their servants.[12] On the very next day, the Parlement began to be flooded with contested cases resulting from the attempts of the Armagnacs to be reinstated in the offices that they had lost during the past few years.[13]

In September 1413, now that he was at a safe distance from Paris, the duke of Burgundy was anxious to maintain contact with the royal family. On September 8 his councillor Robert de Bailleux departed from Lille, where the duke was in residence, to carry letters to the king, the queen, the dukes of Guyenne and Berry, and other persons.[14] John the Fearless thought that his image was still officially untarnished enough to allow him to commission Robert to ask the queen, the duke of Guyenne, and the

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financial officers of the king to order the payment of certain large sums of money that the king had granted him in the past but that had not yet been paid. Word had already reached Duke John that these assignations had been cancelled. This must have been the work of the duke of Guyenne, still intent on revenge, for the Armagnacs had just arrived in Paris and did not yet wield any power. John's application to the royal family was fruitless, and, in fact, Robert de Bailleux was unable to obtain any definite answer from the king's financial officers, although he stayed in Paris for almost three months. It is probable that the duke of Guyenne was ultimately responsible for this.

The duke of Guyenne's desire for revenge against John the Fearless was shared at this time by the duke of Bavaria. Louis the Bearded could not forget that despite the alliance they had signed on March 12, 1413,[15] Duke John had given him into the hands of the Cabochiens only two months later. Moreover, although John had promised the duke of Guyenne that he would guarantee the prisoners' safety, Louis had been scheduled for execution.[16] By September 8, 1413, John the Fearless learned that several of his Burgundian chamberlains who were guarantors of certain loans he had taken out were being legally pursued at the duke of Bavaria's request.[17]

On September 20 the duke of Burgundy sent a more impressive embassy to the king, the queen, and the duke of Guyenne. Among the ambassadors were the lords of Dours,

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Bours, Roubaix, and Saint-Georges, and the bishop of Arras.[18] It was too late for them to accomplish anything, however, and they returned to Duke John with a cordial but empty answer from the king.[19] Meanwhile, the duke of Guyenne continued to exact retribution from John's partisans. According to the chronicler Monstrelet, the young prince was responsible for the dismissal from royal office of several important Burgundians, including the lord of Rambures, maître des arbalétriers, and Antoine de Craon.[20] The duke of Guyenne may also have caused the lord of Croy, a favorite chamberlain of Duke John, to be discharged from the office of grand bouteiller.[21]

Many Cabochiens had been denounced in a royal letter of September 18, and since they had fled from Paris, copies of the letter were sent to various persons and towns with the request that the traitors on the list be arrested if they could be found.[22] This letter was sent also to John the Fearless, but, although most, if not all, of the Cabochiens were in his territories, he paid no attention to the king's command and proceeded to put a number of the designated criminals on his payroll.[23]

The duke of Guyenne's situation in Paris appears to have begun to change in October 1413. Observing the hostile attitude of the dukes of Guyenne and Bavaria towards the duke of Burgundy, Charles of Orléans evidently decided to forsake his oath of loyal friendship to John the Fearless and start anew his campaign to avenge the honor of his

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murdered father. He had already signed an alliance against Burgundy with Sigismund, king of the Romans, on September 12.[24] Now, in October, Duke Charles made use of a current debate concerning a speech that Jean Gerson, chancellor of Notre-Dame, had made before the king and the duke of Guyenne at a large assembly in the Grand Palais on September 4.[25] Gerson, who had suffered humiliation and hardship at the hands of the Cabochiens, had spoken on this occasion in rather obscure terms of the danger involved when a king favored certain persons without punishing them. He had also stressed the commandment "Thou shalt not kill," and, without specifically mentioning his source, he had quoted some false assertions that Jean Petit had made in his official justification of the murder of Louis of Orléans.

Gerson's interpretation of these assertions was submitted to the University of Paris for examination, and it was soon clear that not all branches of the University wished to support him.[26] In the face of this opposition, Gerson claimed that he was neither attacking specific persons nor demanding that anyone in particular be punished.[27] The matter might have been dropped at this point, but on October 7 Charles VI ordered the bishop of Paris to examine with the inquisitor of the Faith all writings which might contain heresies.[28] This necessitated, of course, the re-examination of the actual text of Jean Petit's Justification. Since the royal command was issued in general terms, the king may well not have realized that he was resuscitating the question of

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the murder of Louis of Orléans. The idea of bringing this issue to public notice again was against all royal policy since the Peace of Chartres in 1409, and it seems most likely that it was the duke of Orléans who took advantage of the king's mental state in this case and tricked him into issuing the order.

It was probably Duke Charles' role as instigator of the royal command of October 7 that caused the disintegration of his relationship with the duke of Guyenne, for the young prince had made his position quite clear when he had requested that Charles no longer wear mourning. Because the duke of Guyenne's attitude was hostile to his project, the duke of Orléans tried to diminish Louis' political influence. The efforts he made in this direction were evidently quite successful, for the anonymous burgess of Paris described in his journal the period from October through January as a time of Armagnac supremacy, when the king was ill and the duke of Guyenne was kept in the Louvre, where no one except the Armagnacs was permitted to speak to him "day or night."[29]

This account is definitely exaggerated, for the king presided over the council regularly from mid-October at least until mid-November.[30] Furthermore, it is not likely that the duke of Guyenne was kept under lock and key, and yet he only attended two of the thirteen councils at which his father was present.[31] His absence is unusual and rather mysterious. It appears that Charles VI was not summoning

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him to the council. Since the king was presiding regularly at this time, the duke of Orléans may have realized that to lessen the duke of Guyenne's influence, he would have to see that he became estranged from the king. By suggesting to Charles VI that while he was well it was not fitting that the duke of Guyenne should be seen to wield such power, Duke Charles could have caused the king's paranoid tendencies to dominate his relationship with the young prince. Charles VI would then have considered Louis a threat and refrained, for that reason, from calling him to the meetings of the council.

The duke of Guyenne made an attempt to retain his power and influence by going to the king privately towards the end of November. Charles VI appears to have already become too ill again to attend the council, for no record of his presence there has been found for the rest of 1413. During their interview on November 22, the duke of Guyenne succeeded in obtaining from him a letter which named David de Brimeu général conseiller sur le fait des aides.[32] David was one of Louis' chamberlains and was not considered an Armagnac, although he had married a Montagu.[33] The duke of Guyenne probably hoped to use Brimeu's new position in the department of taxation to make sure not only that his revenues were not withheld but also that the Armagnacs did not deplete the royal resources during this period when their influence was so strong.

Less than two weeks later, the duke of Guyenne began to

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take more drastic steps. He sent three letters in quick succession to the duke of Budgundy. These letters, dated December 4, December 13, and December 21 or 22, 1413, ordered Duke John to come immediately to Paris.[34] The young prince gave no reason for his command and specified only that he should come "well accompanied for his own protection."[35] Vaughan considered it likely that John the Fearless forged these letters "in an effort to manipulate events in his favour."[36] The contemporaries of the duke of Guyenne, however, accepted the letters as authentic without hesitation.[37] Moreover, forgery would have been foolhardy in this instance, however, for it would have placed the duke of Burgundy in an awkward position when the duke of Guyenne announced that he had not summoned him. This inevitable disavowal, which would have been issued with a formality that proved its authenticity, would then have obliged Duke John to disband the army he would have raised at great cost to lead to Paris or risk being branded a traitor and losing the virtuous image he had been struggling to maintain.[38] Clearly, forging letters from the duke of Guyenne could not help the cause of John the Fearless. Actually, Duke John appears to have been quite taken aback by the letters, as well he might have been, since he was aware of the duke of Guyenne's hostility towards him. He was hesitant and perhaps skeptical. Evidently without sending a reply to the prince, Duke John went to Antwerp to discuss the matter with the duke of Brabant, the bishop-elect of Liège, and the

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counts of Hainaut, Charollais, Cleves, and Saint-Pol.[39]

The duke of Burgundy's surprise at his son-in-law's letters has been shared over the years by historians, who have thought that the "unstable" duke of Guyenne had finally decided that subjugation by the Burgundians was better than Armagnac domination. This notion is incompatible, however, with the young prince's actions both before and after he sent the letters. Proof that his hostility towards John the Fearless remained constant can be found in his later continual prolongation of the negotiations with the Burgundians when he was in charge of finalizing a treaty with them. It is clear that Louis had no intention of letting Duke John come back to Paris in the near future. Instead, evidently counting on the fact that John could not successfully besiege the city of Paris and defeat the Armagnacs without royal support, Louis was using him to frighten the duke of Orléans and his partisans.

The young prince intended to use other tactics, as well, against the Armagnacs, it seems, for he became involved with certain members of his household in a plot to ride with them through the streets of Paris at night and arm a group of Parisians. Their purpose was evidently to provoke a civil reaction against the Armagnacs. A royal letter of January 12 blames the aborted plot on the duke of Guyenne's officers, and it appears that no one was ever completely sure of the prince's personal intentions.[40]

The Armagnacs reacted with speed, however, and on January

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9 a secret council was held in the Louvre in the presence of both the queen and the duke of Guyenne.[41] The chancellor of France, Henri de Marle, who was a noted partisan of the Armagnacs, berated the young prince and attacked his entourage.[42] The Armagnac princes who were present supported the chancellor's insulting speech and prevailed upon the queen to order the dismissal of the members of the duke of Guyenne's household who were suspected of having something to do with the plot. Among the officers she discharged were his chamberlains Bertran de Montauban; the lord of Moy; Jean de Croy; and the much favored David de Brimeu.[43] The queen was evidently shocked and angry. Whereas Louis probably considered his scheme daring but feasible, Isabeau must have thought it dangerous and foolhardy, and, in fact, John the Fearless was already making plans to march to Paris and "liberate" the duke of Guyenne.[44]

Isabeau's consent to the wishes of the Armagnacs in this instance constituted a momentary set-back for the prince. He still held the trump card in this game, however, because the Armagnacs had to come to terms with him in order to obtain an official cancellation of his summons to John the Fearless. Even though on January 12 the king personally signed a letter in which he ordered Duke John to stop assembling men-at-arms and not come to Paris unless instructed to do so by a royal letter issued in the grand conseil and sealed with the great seal, Duke John could argue that the Armagnacs had forced the poor, demented king

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to sign this command and that the duke of Guyenne really was in danger. Thus, the Armagnacs had to persuade the young prince to make a retraction. It appears that they did not immediately succeed, however, for the Monk reports that the duke of Guyenne did not countermand his summons until after the council of January 16.[45]

What concessions the Armagnacs made to the prince are not known, but the duke of Guyenne wrote again to John the Fearless on January 23 and sent copies of the letter to various bailiffs.[46] Louis did not deny having written the three December letters, and he neither claimed they were forgeries nor said they had been sent without his knowledge. He merely stated with perfect honesty that he had never commanded Duke John to come to Paris with a great army ("a tout puissance"), as the duke was now doing. Because this maneuver was "harmful, prejudicial, and contrary" to the Peace that had been sworn, Louis ordered Duke John to disband his troops and not to proceed, even without them, to Paris. He commanded the bailiffs to publish this prohibition and order all royal subjects in their bailiwicks not to join the duke of Burgundy's army.

Coincidentally, John the Fearless wrote from Lille on the same day, January 23, 1414, to the important towns in Picardy to announce his immediate departure and give the reasons for his expedition to Paris.[47] This caused the queen to issue a call to arms in the name of the king on January 26.[48] The duke of Orléans appears to have feared that, under

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pressure, the queen might not support the Armagnacs, and on January 29 he solicited and signed a personal alliance with her in which they swore to maintain the honor of the king and of each other.[49]

The duke of Burgundy arrived with part of his army in Roye on February 1.[50] On the same day, his brother Philip, count of Nevers, went to Compiègne to show the governors of that city the letters in which the duke of Guyenne had summoned Duke John and to ask them to grant entry to the Burgundian army.[51] Although the governors had in their possession royal letters that prohibited them from receiving the Burgundians within their walls, they felt that the handwritten messages of the duke of Guyenne could not be ignored, and, as a result, the inhabitants of the city were allowed to take a vote.[52] The majority voted in favor of letting the Burgundians enter, and John the Fearless arrived on the following day.[53]

The duke of Guyenne was evidently unaware of the duke of Burgundy's exact whereabouts, for on February 2, while John marched to Compiègne, he addressed a letter to the city of Noyon, which was further north, and ordered the inhabitants not to aid the Burgundians.[54] At the same time, in order to be sure that the Parisians did not begin to support Duke John, Louis sent a similar letter of warning to the municipal officials, burgesses, and "inhabitants" of Paris.[55] On Sunday, February 4, while he was dining in the cloister of Notre-Dame in the house of a canon of the

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church, Louis finally received word that John the Fearless was in Compiègne.[56] He quickly called a meeting of princes in the cloister, and when the king of Sicily, the duke of Orléans, and the counts of Vertus, Richemont, Eu, and Armagnac arrived with a company of men-at-arms, he marched with them in battle formation to the Hôtel de Ville.[57] There, his chancellor, Jean Jouvenel, exhorted the Parisians to prove their loyalty and resist the duke of Burgundy.

John the Fearless arrived before the walls of Saint-Denis on February 7, and the provost and twelve inhabitants of the town opened the gates to him after a brief altercation with a guard, who futilely waved in their faces the royal letter that prohibited all towns from allowing the Burgundians to enter.[58] On the following day, in Paris, the queen held a meeting of the grand conseil, which the duke of Guyenne attended, and called up in the king's name the arrière-ban with the specification that all men-at-arms come to Paris as quickly as possible.[59] This command was sent out in a letter that also ordered the arrest of any person who was known to be in the service of John the Fearless. These persons were to be summoned "on pain of banishment," and their properties and belongings immediately confiscated and seized.

On this same day, February 8, the duke of Burgundy sent a herald to the king and the duke of Guyenne.[60] The herald was received by the count of Armagnac, who, with the duke of Bavaria, had been put in charge of the city.[61] Count Bernard gave the messenger a sumptuous meal but then told him rudely

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never to return if he valued his life.[62] More rigorous action was taken against John the Fearless with the royal proclamation that henceforth he was to be considered a rebel.

On February 9 the king, the queen, the duke of Guyenne, and the royal council sent ammbassadors to attend the congregation of the University of Paris at Saint-Bernard.[63] The government had learned only too well during the Cabochien uprising that it was important to secure the adhesion of the University to royal policy, and, therefore, the ambassadors asked that the University, also, declare Duke John a rebel and announce this in sermons to the public. In order to help prevent the Parisians from supporting the Burgundians, they requested, as well, that the Univerity punish all those who acted or even spoke against the Peace of Pontoise. The English Nation of the University agreed to these requests,[64] and although the responses of the other Nations are unknown, it is probable that they, too, acquiesced.

On the next day, Saturday, February 10, John the Fearless marched from Saint-Denis to Paris.[65] At nine o'clock in the morning, the greffier of the Parlement, Nicolas de Baye, climbed to the top of one of the towers of the Grand Palais to view the approaching army, and he saw that the soldiers occupied the fields between the hill of Montmartre and the chapel of Le Roule, which was located on the road to the gate of Saint-Honoré.[66] Duke John expected the Parisians to

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open the city to him, but the count of Armagnac had no intention of letting this happen. All the gates had been walled up except the gate of Saint-Antoine, which was located on the opposite side of the city from the area where the Burgundians had taken up their position, and the gate of Saint-Jacques, which was on the other side of the river.[67] The Parisians had been ordered on pain of death not to take up arms or approach the city walls, and the count of Armagnac patrolled the streets with armed guards.[68]

While the duke of Burgundy and his army waited, the queen and the duke of Guyenne presided together over a meeting of the grand conseil and issued a letter in the king's name to announce to royal officials throughout the kingdom that the duke of Burgundy had been declared a rebel.[69]

The duke of Burgundy was unsuccessful in his various attempts to incite the Parisians to act in his behalf, and to make matters worse for him, the king recovered from his psychotic relapse on February 13.[70] King Charles rode on horseback to the church of Notre-Dame to give thanks for his recovery, and on the next day, he commanded his bailiffs to order all royal vassals and subjects in their bailiwicks not to read any letters that Duke John might send them.[71] All such letters were to be forwarded immediately to Paris to either the king or the royal council.

Now that Charles VI himself spoke out against him, there was nothing left for John the Fearless to do but depart. First, he burned the wooden bridges that had been built for

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him in Saint-Denis and that had been a source of great wonder to the chronicler monk who resided there, and then, on February 16, he began the march north.[72] On the following day, a public declaration was read at all the main intersections ("carrefours") in Paris.[73] John the Fearless, called a false traitor and a murderer, was banished with all his followers, and their goods were confiscated. This proclamation appears to have helped bring to a close the deliberations that had been in progress for several months concerning the writings of Jean Petit, for on the same day, February 17, Petit's Justification of the murder of Louis of Orleans was officially condemned by the bishop of Paris.[74] A copy of the Justification was publicly burned on February 25 in front of the church of Notre-Dame in the presence of the bishop of Paris.[75]

The recovery of Charles VI was evidently not as complete as everyone had expected it would be, for he did not attend the meetings of the grand conseil held on February 22 and 26.[76] Nor was he present on March 2, when the queen and the duke of Guyenne, after deliberating with a group of princes, decided that he himself would lead a royal expedition against the duke of Burgundy.[77] This proposal of a military campaign against John the Fearless must have done much to gratify the desire for revenge that the duke of Guyenne had felt since that day on April 28, 1413, when the Cabochiens had made their first attack on his household and he had said to Duke John, "Know with certainty that one day you will be

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sorry, and matters will not always go as you would like."[78]

After another week passed, Charles VI was in better health, and preparations for the expedition began in earnest.[79] The duke of Guyenne was not present in any of the councils at which the king presided in March. The queen, who, according to custom, did not attend the council when the king was there, may not have wished Louis to be present when she was unable to watch him, for she could never be sure how he might influence his father. Isabeau clearly had misgivings about the prince during this period, for ever since he had sent his three appeals to John the Fearless, she had continually accompanied him to the councils held in the king's absence.[80]

Charles VI set out from Paris on Palm Sunday, April 1, 1414, and went to hear mass in the abbey of Saint-Denis.[81] On the following day, the abbot presented the Oriflamme to him, and he, in turn, gave it to his chamberlain Guillaume Martel, whom he had named garde de l'Oriflamme in place of the lord of Aumont, who had died two weeks earlier, a victim of the epidemic that had been raging in Paris for the past two months.[82] Martel hung the banner from his neck as if it were a precious jewel, and wore it in this fashion until he arrived with the king in Senlis, where the rest of the princes were scheduled to meet. The faithful chamberlain, whose physical strength had enabled him to subdue the king during his mad rampage in the summer of 1392, was now over sixty years old and had weakened considerably. Since his

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condition would prevent him from defending the Oriflamme properly in battle, he chose three knights to help him.[83]

The queen, the duchess of Guyenne, and Princess Catherine followed the king to Senlis, where they were given expensive presents by the officials of the town.[84] The duke of Guyenne left Paris with a "very noble company" on Monday, April 9, the day after Easter.[85] He had been retained by a royal letter of March 31 as commander of 3,000 men-at-arms and 1,500 bowmen ("hommes de trait"), and Arthur of Brittany, count of Richemont, was to have charge of the company, presumably as his marshal.[86] Since it was Louis' first visit to Senlis, the townspeople had voted to give him a special gift.[87] They had sent a deputy, Rolant Morel, to Paris to select something appropriate, but he had vacillated between a "nef d'argent dorée" and two "boutelles d'argent doreez" in the shop of Jacques de Laillier. Morel had called in Enguerran de Marcoignet, one of the prince's maîtres d'hôtel, for an opinion, and Enguerran had advised him to take the nef, which cost 180 écus. The townspeople of Senlis probably felt obliged to make a special effort to please the members of the royal family at this time because they had angered them a few months earlier by refusing to let the queen's brother pass through their gates. Louis of Bavaria had been sent into the area to ensure the loyalty of the towns to the crown after the duke of Burgundy's departure, but Senlis had refused him entry on February 19.[88]

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From Senlis, the royal army marched towards Compiègne. John the Fearless had left a garrison there that not only had successfully rebuffed the attempts of the constable, Charles d'Albret, to reduce it to royal obedience but had also refused to pay any attention to the ambassadors the king had sent them when he was in Senlis.[89] While the royal avant-garde went to Compiègne to continue the siege begun by the constable, Charles VI decided to remove the rest of his army from the vicinity in order to minimize the damage done to the loyal inhabitants of the region.[90] Thus, on April 16, he sent two of his chamberlains, the lords of Moreuil and Bains, to prepare for his arrival in Noyon, a town located 24 kilometers north of Compiègne.[91] The chamberlains were met with disbelief, and the inhabitants of Noyon decided on April 17 to send four deputies to the king's camp in order to make sure that he really was travelling with the army.[92] This hesitation and display of skepticism was considered outrageous and insolent, and the town of Noyon would have been mercilessly pillaged but for the intervention of the duke of Guyenne.[93]

The deputies from Noyon may have met the king while he was in transit, for on April 17, thinking that the sight of the main body of his army would frighten the garrison of Compiègne into submission, Charles VI marched in battle formation before the walls of that place and halted just to the north in the town of Choisy, where a bridge crossed the River Aisne.[94] There, towards sundown, a sudden fire

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devastated the area, and the houses in which the king and the duke of Guyenne had taken lodging were destroyed.[95] It seems that the queen was no longer with the army when this happened, for the Monk does not mention her presence in Choisy, and she did not take part in the royal entry into Noyon on the following day.[96]

When Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne arrived in Noyon on the afternoon of April 18, the townspoeple presented them with the traditional gifts of wine and oats.[97] Since it was his first visit, the duke of Guyenne also received two fat oxen ("boeufs gras"). The king did not hold a grudge against the inhabitants for the way they had behaved a few days earlier, and on April 22 he restored to them the right to have a saltworks ("grenier a sel").[98]

While King Charles was in Noyon, he received news that John the Fearless had issued a call to arms and that he had also solicited aid from the town of Cambrai. On April 19 Charles VI wrote to Cambrai to make known his wish that no help be given to Duke John, and on April 20 he proclaimed that all persons who did not abandon John's service would be considered rebels.[99] He also stipulated in the letter of April 20 that under no circumstances should anyone go to Duke John's military rendezvous, which had been set for April 22. The duke of Guyenne issued a letter on April 21 in which he asked everyone to obey the king's ordinance of the previous day.[100]

Shortly thereafter, news arrived in Noyon that the troops

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of the avant-garde were having problems at the siege of Compiègne, and Charles VI set out with 8,000 soldiers to bring them support.[101] He took up residence in the house of a burgess, who lived between the town and the forest, and the duke of Guyenne lodged in the nearby abbey of Royallieu.[102] The Monk of Saint-Denis, who had come along to take notes for his chronicle, slept on the ground in the soldiers' camp.[103]

May Day was approaching, and this inspired Hector, the bastard son of the late duke of Bourbon, with a witty idea. It was the custom to awaken a loved-one with the gift of a "May branch" on the first of May, and Hector sent word to the knights of the Burgundian garrison in Compiègne that he intended to come and wake them on that morning.[104] True to his word, he appeared before the gates with his May offering in the company of two hundred knights, each of whom wore a garland of May flowers atop his helmet. A violent skirmish followed, and Hector's horse was felled by the enemy. Hector himself, however, survived, unharmed.

Within a day or two, parleys began, and throughout the negotiations, the Burgundian knights retained an attitude of supreme arrogance. When a group from Compiègne was brought before Charles VI, Hue de Lannoy, a thirty-year-old chamberlain of John the Fearless,[105] claimed proudly that the garrison had guarded the place faithfully for the king and the duke of Guyenne, just as Duke John had ordered them to do.[106] Hue was told to leave the king's presence and

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return with a different attitude.

The Burgundians prolonged the negotiations with the hope that John the Fearless would send reinforcements. Duke John had asked the Flemish towns for help, but since they would not bear arms against the king, he sent word to his knights in Compiègne to submit to Charles VI "as courteously as they were able."[107] Hector de Saveuse, one of John's écuyers d'écurie, who, with two of his brothers, had helped defend Compiègne, left that place in haste on May 6 to carry the news to Duke John in Arras: the garrison was going to make its official submission on the following day, May 7.[108]

Charles VI then sent his avant-garde, under the command of the constable d'Albret, the duke of Bar, and the count of Armagnac, to begin the siege of Soissons, a town located 38 kilometers to the east.[109] King Charles and the princes of the blood left Compiègne on May 10 and arrived before the walls of Soissons on the following day to discover that the bastard of Bourbon had died only hours before.[110] The gallant Hector had been shot in the throat by an arbalister during a skirmish on the previous day. The fighting had begun after the royal ambassadors accompanying the avant-garde had been rudely rebuffed by Enguerran de Bournonville, chief spokesman for the Burgundian garrison of Soissons.[111] While claiming that the garrison was loyal to the crown, Enguerran had declared with much arrogance that if Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne wished to enter the town, they could only bring with them members of their

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households.

While the siege of Soissons continued, the king resided close to the town in the abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, and the dukes of Guyenne and Orleans lodged in the nearby abbey of Saint-Crepin.[112] Finally, after enduring many skirmishes and a final terrible assault on five areas of the ramparts at the same time, the garrison surrendered on May 21.[113] The town was mercilessly pillaged by the royal army, and many of the inhabitants drowned in the River Aisne as they attempted to swim to safety.[114] The insolent Enguerran de Bournonville and several others were beheaded.[115]

Before the royal army departed, Charles VI proclaimed that the inhabitants of Soissons would not be condemned to perpetual servitude and could remain in their homes.[116] They were to pay a tax on their lands and inheritances, however, and they were to rebuild the town.

From Soissons, Charles VI marched in a northeastern direction to Laon, located at a distance of 35 kilometers.[117] Here, on June 3, the duke of Burgundy's brother Philip, count of Nevers, came to profess his loyalty to the crown and submit his person and possessions to the will of the king.[118] Charles VI dealt charitably with him. Philip was obliged to promise that neither he nor his vassals would support John the Fearless in the present quarrel and that they would serve in the king's army if they were summoned.[119] All the count's territories were to be governed and guarded by royal officials named by the king,

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but Charles VI permitted Philip to retain the usufruct.[120]

While the king was in Laon, he received letters from the towns of Flanders. The Flemish wrote humbly that they were at his command, and they requested a safe-conduct so that they could send deputies to him.[121] At this time, Charles VI was already making plans to ride north towards the duke of Burgundy's county of Artois. His first destination was to be Saint-Quentin, located about two-thirds of the distance between Laon and the most important city in Artois, Arras. On June 8 the municipal officials of Saint-Quentin borrowed 61 livres 4 sous tournois from the savings of an orphan in order to purchase gifts for the king and the duke of Guyenne, who were expected to arrive in a short time.[122]

Soon after he had established himself in Saint-Quentin, Charles VI received a visit from the duke of Burgundy's sister Margaret, countess of Hainaut. Besides being the king's first cousin, Margaret was also the mother-in-law of his son John, duke of Touraine. The Monk mentions that she had a secret conference with the king, but he did not know what they discussed.[123] According to Monstrelet, she had come to negotiate for peace.[124] These first overtures were brief, however, and she left on the following morning to report to her brother in Douai.[125] Any idea of coming to terms was forgotten when the royal army learned that a large troop of soldiers from the duchy of Burgundy was even then marching north through the Thiérache to meet John the Fearless.[126] The royal army set out in pursuit, but the

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avant-garde, after chasing the Burgundians across the county of Hainaut, returned with no more than a few prisoners.[127]

The king now set in motion a plan to use his total force of 10,000 men-at-arms and 4,500 bowmen in an attack against the strongholds of the duke of Burgundy, and a tax of 300,000 écus was levied to pay the troops' wages.[128] Before he left Saint-Quentin, however, Charles VI issued on June 25 a safe-conduct to the duke of Burgundy's brother Anthony, duke of Brabant, so that he could come to him freely as Duke John's ambassador with a suite of as many as 300 persons.[129] Shortly thereafter, King Charles moved on towards Arras and arrived in the royal city of Péronne on June 29.[130]

On the following day, Duke Anthony came with the countess of Hainaut to see the king, and on July 1 the duke of Guyenne entertained them with a lavish feast.[131] John the Fearless had instructed his brother and sister to say that he begged the king "in all humility" to receive him into his good graces, for he had never intended to cause him any displeasure.[132] Duke John was ready to open Bapaume to the king and also any other towns in his possession. If this was not considered specific enough, Anthony and Margaret were to add, first, that the offer encompassed those towns which were fiefs of the crown and, second, that the Burgundian officers in these towns would swear not to arm themselves against the king or the duke of Guyenne if the same oath was required of the officers of all towns that belonged to the other princes of the blood. Duke John

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specified, however, that this oath was not to prevent the princes from defending themselves against each other.

If these terms were accepted, Anthony and Margaret were to ask the king to issue letters which would "repair" Duke John's damaged honor; return to his vassals, servants, allies, and adherents the belongings and properties that had been confiscated; and cancel the banishment that had been imposed on certain townspeople (viz. the Cabochiens). In addition, all persons who had served him during this period of discord were not to be subjected to any form of legal pursuit. Since his partisans had all been discharged from their governmental posts, John the Fearless further requested that either they be reinstated or the king dismiss the present occupants and make new nominations. He also asked that the princes of the blood be sent to reside in their own territories until all differences were settled.

Given the nature of these demands, it is not surprising that they were immediately rejected. Charles VI proclaimed that John the Fearless would obtain justice and mercy only if he came to him and admitted contritely that he had committed a crime and acted badly.[133] The duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut returned with this ultimatum to their brother, and Charles VI sent his avant-garde to begin the siege of Bapaume.[134]

Before the royal artillery was put to use, however, the duke of Guyenne summoned Ferry de Hangest and the two other captains of the Burgundian garrison of Bapaume to a

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parley.[135] When he asked them why they refused to submit to the king, they replied that they were, in fact, guarding the place for the king and for him, just as they had been instructed to do by the duke of Burgundy. They requested a truce of several days in order to send a message to Duke John and inquire what course they should pursue now that the royal army had arrived. The duke of Guyenne granted them the delay but warned them that if they forced the king to take the town by force, the entire garrison would be put to the sword without mercy.[136] At the same time, royal ambassadors were sent to Cambrai for another meeting with the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut, but still no agreement was reached.[137]

John the Fearless ordered his captains to open the gates of Bapaume to the king, but Charles VI, instead of entering the town, merely caused his coat of arms to be engraved and painted on the gates and walls.[138] Then, on July 19, having replaced the garrison with one of his own, he marched north to Wancourt, a town located about 9 kilometers from Arras.[139] The siege of Arras, which, according to the Monk, began on July 28, lasted over a month. During this time, while keeping the walls of the town surrounded, the royal army made excursions into the neighboring area and took Avesnes-le-Comte, Villers-Châtel, and other fortified places.[140] One detachment of 1,200 men fought its way through the county of Saint-Pol, to the northeast, and pushed on as far as Hesdin.[141]

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At the siege of Arras itself, there was very little action, and the knights of the royal army became bored. They were preoccupied with chivalric ideals of earlier centuries which called for a constant public display of personal valor, and in order to satisfy this need to excel as individuals, they organized military games with the enemy. One of these combats pitted eighteen-year-old Charles of Artois, count of Eu and grandson of the duke of Berry, against the older and more experienced Jean de Neufchastel, lord of Montaigu, a chamberlain of John the Fearless.[142] This spectacle took place at the entrance to a tunnel which the royal soldiers had dug in an attempt to undermine the walls of Arras. The lord of Montaigu, armed with an ax, a sword, and a dagger, was to take his position inside the tunnel, and the count of Eu, similarly armed, was to guard the entrance and prevent him from coming out. The prize consisted of a diamond worth 100 écus, to be purchased by the loser, for the winner to give to his lady. The young count of Eu, whom his stepfather, the duke of Bourbon, dubbed a knight so that the fight would be between equals, won the diamond.[143]

The news that John the Fearless was sending reinforcements to Arras put an end to the divertissements. A contingent selected by the leaders of the avant-garde set out with the hope of ambushing Duke John himself, but they only succeeded in skirmishing with a detachment that he had sent ahead.[144] According to Monstrelet, the objective of the

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Burgundian reinforcements was not to strike at the king or the main corps of the royal army but rather to attack the avant-garde.[145] The duke of Burgundy may have felt that the failure of this little stratagem put him in a bad light, for he sent his brother and sister once again to negotiate with the king. Duke Anthony and Countess Margaret appeared before the king and the duke of Guyenne on August 30.[146]

Charles VI was now desirous of establishing peace, and when an Armagnac nobleman tried to convince him to order a full-scale assault on Arras, he became angry and sent him away.[147] During the days that followed, however, the king's mental health worsened, and the duke of Guyenne took charge of the negotiations.[148] It appeared that this was not going to cause any shift in royal policy, for the young prince, too, wished to end the war.[149] Besides the fact that an epidemic was wreaking havoc in the royal camp,[150] there were two important reasons why it was now necessary for the expedition to be terminated. First of all, the cost of maintaining an army of this size for such a long period was extremely high and had by this time exceeded 750,000 francs merely for the wages of the soldiers.[151] The second reason involved the negotiations that both the government and the duke of Burgundy had been carrying on separately with the English.

On August 7, in Ypres, the duke of Burgundy and the ambassadors of Henry V had signed an agreement in which Duke John consented to aid the English in the reconquest of

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Guyenne and Poitou.[152] King Henry had asked that their alliance be directed specifically against Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne, but, on this point, Duke John had said that he could not make any reply at the moment. He did agree, however, not to give any support to the French in the event that Henry V made war on King Charles.

On August 8 a different group of English ambassadors had arrived in Paris, and they had been received by the duke of Berry, who, with the king of Sicily, was in charge of the city while the king and the duke of Guyenne were absent.[153] Henry V's demands on the French government at this time were excessive. He wanted all the French provinces that had been claimed by Edward III, or at least the territories granted by the Treaty of Bretigny, plus part of Provence, the 500,000 écus still due of the ransom of King Jean, and a dowry of two million écus for Princess Catherine, whose hand the French were anxious to bestow upon him.[154] The duke of Berry was prepared to offer, in the name of King Charles, only that part of Guyenne which the English already occupied and some small additions and a dowry of 600,000 écus for the princess. The French had no intention of paying the rest of King Jean's ransom. In the light of this minimal offer, it was feared that Henry V would make a greater effort to attach the duke of Burgundy to his interest, and the complete defection of Duke John had to be averted as soon as possible. None of the Armagnacs wanted to lift the siege of Arras, however, except the count of Alençon, whose troops

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were bored with the lack of action and wished to move on to greater exploits elsewhere.[155]

The duke of Guyenne was unmoved by the desires of the Armagnac princes, for he understood the necessity of coming to terms with John the Fearless. Nevertheless, he wished to be sure that few of Duke John's demands were satisfied. The young prince accomplished his objective by means of a ruse. His first step was to draw up a preliminary agreement, which was published on September 4.[156] This Peace of Arras stipulated that Arras and any other towns which the duke of Burgundy held from the crown would be opened to the king and that royal officials would control the municipal government of these places for as long as the king or the duke of Guyenne desired. Duke John was to return Crotoy and Chinon to the king and no longer harbor the persons whom the king had banished, and, in return, Charles VI would pardon all the others who had favored the duke by issuing a general pardon, which would be drafted according to the specifications of either the king himself or the duke of Guyenne. The duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut certified that their brother had made no alliance with England but agreed, nonetheless, to obtain John's promise that he would never make an "alliance or treaty" with the English against the king, the duke of Guyenne, or the kingdom of France. It was also agreed that Charles VI would issue a letter to "rehabilitate" Duke John's honor. Finally, the terms of the Peace of Chartres of 1409 and of

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all the treaties that had followed it were to be scrupulously observed by both the Burgundians and the Armagnacs.

A comparison of the terms of this Peace with Duke John's objectives, which are contained in his instructions of June 1414 to the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut, shows that a number of his demands were totally ignored. In the first place, the princes were not going to be permitted to pursue their quarrel by defending themselves against each other. Nor was the banishment of the Cabochiens revoked. No promises were made about the reinstatement of discharged officers, and the princes of the blood were not going to be sent away from court until a final treaty was signed.

The refusal of the government to give in to the duke of Burgundy's demands had caused negotiations to fail all through the summer, and now that the Peace of Arras accorded Duke John so little, the duke of Guyenne knew that it was imperative to lure him into ratifying the terms of this preliminary agreement by promising that more would be granted in the final treaty. The duke of Guyenne's lure consisted of a separate agreement that he made with the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut. This document has come to be known as the "secret articles," but neither the text itself nor other evidence indicates that the articles were actually drawn up in secret.[157] The document contained only two clauses. In the first, the duke of Guyenne stated that the royal officers would remain in Arras for six days

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at most and that they would cause no damage there. In the second, he promised that he would see that pardons were granted to the banished nobles and townspeople who were not from Duke John's territories. This group implicitly included the Cabochiens. As an additional lure, Louis stated that a separate document would declare that he had charge of Duke John's invitations to the royal court. Because of the letters Louis had written to him in December, John now believed himself to be in the prince's good graces, and, therefore, it was especially important to him that Louis have control of his invitations to court, for the king was undependable and the queen had never been sympathetic to his cause.

The duke of Guyenne's ruse was successful. Thierry Gherbode, a councillor of the duke of Burgundy, wrote to Duke John on September 4 that the Peace was "much to his honor."[158] Evidently Thierry had feared that Duke John would receive harsh treatment, since the lands of his more innocent brother, the count of Nevers, had been put under distraint by royal command. Thierry also wrote that, as far as he could tell, the dauphin had shown himself to be the duke of Burgundy's "good and true friend and son."[159]

The duke of Guyenne wished his father-in-law to believe in his friendship, but he also intended to postpone for as long as possible the drafting of a final treaty. Several councillors of the duke of Brabant and of the countess of Hainaut, along with the deputies of the Three Estates of

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Flanders, followed Louis and the king to Senlis and then to Saint-Denis in order to pursue negotiations, but, finally, on October 8 in Saint-Denis, after telling them that they were not endowed with sufficient power to negotiate further, the duke of Guyenne sent them away.[160] Not wishing to dispel the illusion of goodwill he had created, however, he declared that, regarding the general pardon, he would make sure that the duke of Burgundy was as satisfied as he could reasonably expect to be.[161] These carefully chosen words left him a legal loophole, for it was the right of the crown to decide what was "reasonable" in this case. In answer to their request for a date, Louis told the Burgundian councillors that negotiations would be continued before November 1.

A few days later, on October 13, Charles VI made his entry into Paris.[162] The leisurely trip back to Paris from Arras was probably arranged by the duke of Guyenne on purpose to help delay the negotiations with John the Fearless. The precise date of Louis' own return is unknown, but he presided over the council in Paris on October 16.[163] The young prince had come back armed with greater authority, for on September 22, in Senlis, Charles VI had given him the power to govern all the royal finances and control the nomination of royal officials.[164] This grant was not issued during a meeting of the royal council or in the presence of witnesses, so it is likely that the duke of Guyenne had taken advantage of the king's poor mental health to extort

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these privileges during a private interview. Nevertheless, the ordinance had been sent immediately to Paris and the Parlement had registered it without opposition on September 27.[165] The duke of Berry, on the other hand, had made a vociferous protest in an assembly in Paris attended by the prévôt des marchands, the échevins and burgesses of the city; and various members of the University, the Parlement, and the Chambre des Comptes.[166] According to the old duke, the duke of Guyenne was too young to possess such power, and he should have it instead. Those present had replied that the matter should be discussed by the king and the grand conseil and not by them.

The duke of Guyenne was regarded with suspicion by both the duke of Berry and the Armagnacs when he returned to Paris because, in order to ensure the success of his clever negotiations, he had evidently kept silent about his true purpose. A certain memorandum, apparently penned by the chancellor of the duke of Orleans for that duke in mid-October, reveals the wariness with which the Armagnacs viewed the duke of Guyenne.[167] The memorandum suggested that an effort be made to induce the queen to find out what Louis' intentions were regarding the articles of the Peace of Arras. Furthermore, a way of controlling him was to be found, and the members of his entourage who might try to prevent this were to be eliminated.

The end of October was approaching, and the negotiations with John the Fearless were about to resume. The duke of

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Guyenne still wished to delay the drafting of a final treaty, and it seems that he finally took the duke of Berry into his confidence. On October 23 he went to have supper with the old duke in the Hôtel de Nesle, and together they conceived of a plan.[168] Louis was to leave Paris.[169] The young prince was evidently without enough ready cash for the proposed journey, for the bishop of Chartres, who was also present that night, loaned him between eleven and twelve hundred francs.[170]

It appears that while the prince and the old duke plotted, their supper was interrupted by a visit from Andry Marchant, provost of Paris. Andry had learned the day before that the duke of Guyenne intended to replace him as provost with Tanneguy du Chastel, marshal of Guyenne.[171] He had protested in the Parlement, but on this day, October 23, Tanneguy had been received in office. Marshal Tanneguy had promised to step down, however, if it pleased the duke of Guyenne, and Andry had come to the prince to plead his case. A bargain was struck. Andry loaned Louis 1,125 francs, and on the following day, October 24, he was reinstated as provost.[172]

The duke of Guyenne did not return to his own residence on that night of October 23. Instead, disguised as a valet and mounted on a small horse that was loaded down with a bundle of firewood, he hastily left Paris under the cover of darkness.[173] Accompanied by the bishop of Chartres, former trésorier général of the duke of Berry; the bishop's

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secretary; Robinet d'Estampes, garde des joyaux of the old duke; and a few members of his own household; Louis travelled through Melun, Nemours, and Montargis into the duchy of Berry.[174] The counts of Richemont and Vertus joined him on the road, and the small group arrived in Bourges on the night of All Saints Day (November 1).[175] From there, they went to the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, which the duke of Berry had given to Louis as a gift.[176]

The duke of Guyenne sent a letter to the countess of Hainaut to tell her that their meeting would have to be postponed, and he did not return to Paris until about December 6.[177] While he was away, the duke of Orléans and his partisans tried to accomplish the objectives that had been set down in the anonymous memorandum already mentioned. Their success in late October and early November 1414 is confirmed by a document of Burgundian origin which lists the wrongs done to John the Fearless since the Peace of Arras.[178] In this document, besides claiming that the duke of Guyenne had been taken away from Paris by force so that negotiations for a final treaty could not continue, the Burgundians complained, for example, that certain women (viz. the wives of the Cabochiens) had been banished and that royal officials were mistreating persons suspected of Burgundian partisanship by piercing their tongues, cutting off their hands, putting them in the pillory, or locking them up in prison. All persons who had supported Duke John had been chased from Paris, they said, and, furthermore,

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royal letters had been sent out to order the king's bailiffs to arrest anyone who had been a Burgundian partisan.

The Armagnacs were enjoying success in their campaign against the Burgundians, but their efforts to control the duke of Guyenne came to nothing. According to the anonymous Armagnac memorandum, they had wished to change the officers of Louis' household, but a computerized analysis of the biographies of these officers shows just how dismally they failed to accomplish this objective.[179] A total of 536 persons are known to have held positions in the duke of Guyenne's household in either 1414 or 1415, and only two of the ones who were appointed after 1413 were also servants of Charles of Orléans: the lord of Bracquemont and Jean de Montagu, archbishop of Sens. These men, it should be noted, were officers of the king, as well.[180] Bracquemont and Montagu were on the duke of Guyenne's payroll, but it is not known how often they were actually in his company. It is obvious that although the prince's household was continually increasing in size, the Armagnacs were unable to effect a successful infiltration. Louis was determined to keep them at a distance, and he was awarding the positions in his household to persons who would not be swayed by either Armagnacs or Burgundians. Clearly, the duke of Guyenne was in the process of forming his own political party. The number of new officers he appointed in 1414 and 1415 is impressive, and the fact that the total number of persons in his service at this time reached the high figure of 536 is

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quite extraordinary. The percentage of increase is all the more apparent when one considers that only 352 people, in all, are known to have been in his employ at any point during the sixteen years from his birth until 1413.

Although the duke of Guyenne managed to elude the Armagnacs, the king did not. Charles VI's compliance with them during the autumn of 1414 indicates that his mental health was poor at this time, for his actions contradicted the desire for peace he had adamantly expressed in Arras in August. Then, he had told an Armagnac lord that the duke of Burgundy had been pardoned for the murder of Louis of Orléans and that it was necessary to establish peace.[181] Now, he had forgotten, it seems, ever having uttered these words.

The anti-Burgundian feeling in Paris at this time was reinforced by the official attitude of the University. The condemnation of Jean Petit's Justification of the murder of Louis of Orléans had altered Duke John's relationship with the University so completely that during the summer, the University had notified the duke of Berry that John the Fearless could not be rightfully allowed to negotiate for peace until he had been examined on certain "articles of faith" and several of Jean Petit's propositions.[182]

Armed with the official condemnation, Jean Gerson, chancellor of Notre-Dame, became relentless in his pursuit of Duke John, and on October 9 the duke made a formal protest against Gerson's statements and the condemnation.[183]

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He would only submit to the decision of Pope John XXIII or the general council of the church, he declared. To his dismay, however, he soon learned that Gerson was trying to induce certain French prelates to ask the general council of the church to "extirpate" the errors he claimed to have found in the Justification.[184] Gerson obtained support for his cause from the government on December 27, 1414, when the University's condemnation of certain propositions extracted from the Justification was confirmed by Charles VI.[185]

The action taken by the University against John the Fearless may well have helped the Armagnacs to retain their influence over the king. On January 5, 1415, Charles VI attended a solemn funeral mass for Louis of Orléans in the church of Notre-Dame.[186] Jean Gerson preached a sermon on this occasion with much vehemence and declared that the duke of Burgundy should be required to make adequate compensation for Louis' murder. Gerson's warlike attitude did not disturb the king, and, within a few more days, Charles VI had similar masses celebrated both in the chapel where his brother was buried and in the chapel of the Collège de Navarre.

The duke of Guyenne did not attend any of these services but went instead to Melun to see his sister Jeanne, duchess of Brittany, who was visiting the queen there.[187] His sudden departure appears to be related to an incident which the chronicler Cousinot mentions but dates at least one day too late.[188] A group of Parisians who were partisans of the duke

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of Burgundy had planned a sedition, and they thought that since Louis, also, seemed to favor Duke John, he would be willing to ride through the streets of Paris as their leader when they rose up against the Armagnacs.[189] Perfectly aware of the prince's hostility towards their policies, the Armagnacs had evidently believed, as soon as the plot was discovered, that Louis really was going to do this, and they had even demanded the dismissal of several of his officers who were guilty, they said, of complicity.[190]

Both the Parisians and the Armagnacs had obviously been misled by the enigmatic image the duke of Guyenne had created, but this only served the prince's interests further, for the incident caused the negotiations with the Burgundians to be again postponed. The duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut were informed of the new delay by the duke of Bavaria and several other royal ambassadors.[191] They certainly could not blame the duke of Guyenne for this turn of events, and the story of the foiled plot must have made them think that he really did favor John the Fearless. That this notion should settle in their minds even before the negotiations began was a stroke of luck for the duke of Guyenne.

The duke of Burgundy had requested that the negotiations take place outside Paris, for he thought that in this way the influence of the University and the Armagnacs would be lessened and the duke of Guyenne could act freely. His request was granted, and Senlis was selected as the location

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for the conference, but before January 14, both the king and the duke of Guyenne sent letters to the countess of Hainaut to inform her that plans had been changed and that the meetings would be held in Saint-Denis instead.[192] The countess asked for a reversal of this decision because her husband had told her she could travel only as far as Senlis.[193] The government did not accomodate her, however, and, thus, she was prevented from being present at the conference. One of the excuses given for moving the location closer to Paris was the "feebleness" ("foeblece") of the duke of Berry, who was planning to accompany the duke of Guyenne.[194]

The conference of Saint-Denis opened on January 28, when the duke of Guyenne received the ambassadors of John the Fearless.[195] They presented Duke John's requests, but no discussion followed. They were merely told to return on February 7 for a second audience. On February 2, however, in a session of the grand conseil, the king issued, without their knowledge, his official proclamation of the terms of the final treaty.[196] The proclamation was not made public until February 7, when the duke of Guyenne caused it to be read at the second audience granted to the Burgundian ambassadors.[197] The king's ordinance complicated the mission of the ambassadors, for it did not satisfy the wishes of John the Fearless. The king had not granted the general pardon promised by the duke of Guyenne in the separate agreement he had made in Arras with the duke of Brabant and

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the countess of Hainaut. Five hundred non-noble persons were to be excepted from the pardon along with everyone who had been banished by due process of law. This latter group included a number of noble officers of Duke John's household. A list of the five hundred non-nobles was to be sent to Duke John before the coming June 24.

The proclamation of February 2 also stipulated that officers who had been dismissed from the royal households since the Peace of Pontoise, along with those who had left voluntarily, could not return either to service or even to the city of Paris for a period of two years. The king would give back the fiefs he had confiscated, but any movables that had been seized since the Peace of Pontoise were to be considered lost to their former owners. The princes of the blood were ordered not to pursue any of their vassals who had not answered their call to military service or who had served their adversaries, and the king expressly prohibited them from signing an alliance with the English that would be prejudicial in any way to the crown or to the terms of the Peace of Chartres. The Peace of Chartres itself and all subsequent treaties were to be executed, and the princes were to take oaths and issue sealed letters which would formally confirm their adherence.

The king's proclamation made no mention of Louis of Orléans. Since the Peace of Chartres was going to be enforced, however, neither John the Fearless nor the Armagnacs would be permitted to pursue the matter.

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Nevertheless, this did not prevent Jean Petit's Justification from being submitted for examination at the council of Constance by order of the king. It had been agreed at Arras that Charles VI would declare that he would not interfere with the question of the Justification,[198] but the proclamation of February 2 made no mention of this promise.

The contents of the royal proclamation upset John the Fearless considerably, and he wrote in haste to several of his councillors who were with his embassy at the conference in Saint-Denis.[199] He told them to persevere, for he would never be content with them until they obtained what the duke of Guyenne had promised in Arras. He had written to the duke of Brabant, he said, with a request to make a special effort to get permission to speak privately with the duke of Guyenne. John considered a private conversation essential because Duke Anthony had written to him that the young prince was "clearly" being prevented from keeping his promises regarding the treaty by the persons who accompanied him.[200]

Both John the Fearless and Anthony of Brabant were completely taken in by the scenario created by the duke of Guyenne. It is obvious that if Louis really wished to speak privately with Duke Anthony, he could have sent for him. The prince could not grant him such an interview, however, without endangering the successful outcome of the game he was playing, for a private conversation would force him into

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either giving direct answers or else acting in an evasive and suspicious manner. Both of these alternatives could well expose him to a charge that he had broken a solemn promise, and a charge of this nature could be used by John the Fearless as an excuse to refuse to ratify the terms of the king's proclamation. It was necessary, therefore, for the duke of Guyenne to remain enigmatic by keeping his entourage always near him like a protective shield. The presence of the duke of Berry was especially helpful because the old duke was associated with the king's support of Gerson.[201] For this reason, he already appeared to John the Fearless in a bad light and thus served to avert suspicion from the duke of Guyenne, which helped the young prince to be seen more easily as a victim. The dukes of Guyenne and Berry had plotted together in October to delay the negotiations with the Burgundian embassy and arrange Louis' trip into the duchy of Berry, and there can be no doubt that they were working together now at the conference of Saint-Denis.

After the proclamation of February 2 was made public, the duke of Burgundy sent a list of complaints for his ambassadors to present to the duke of Guyenne.[202] He declared that the terms of the general pardon went "directly against" the promises that the prince had made, and he even attacked the wording of the royal ordinance, which insinuated, he said, that he had been delinquent in his behavior towards the crown, whereas, in actuality, he had

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never done anything to cause the king displeasure.

On February 18 Duke John instructed his ambassadors not to ratify the proclamation unless everything the duke of Guyenne had "promised and sworn" was granted.[203] If the prince was prevented from keeping his word, the ambassadors were to take leave of him in an honorable manner, but, first, the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut were to have Louis' promises read in public with a commentary which would show clearly to one and all how Duke John had been dishonored by the king's proclamation.

John the Fearless did not know that on the very day he wrote this message, his ambassadors had finally agreed among themselves to ratify the proclamation. Their opinions had been equally divided, but the duke of Brabant, the countess of Hainaut, and the deputies from the Three Estates of Flanders had succeeded in convincing the others that it would be dangerous to put off the ratification.[204] Anthony of Brabant was chiefly responsible for this decision. He had attended the tournament given in Paris on February 10 in honor of the arrival of ambassadors from Henry V of England, and he had evidently decided then that it was unwise to let the English see that the majority of the French princes were against the duke of Burgundy.[205]

The message which John the Fearless sent from Burgundy on February 18 arrived in Paris on February 23. It came too late, however, for the conclusion of the peace had already been announced. On February 22 one of the Burgundian

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ambassadors, the bishop of Tournai, presented several requests to the duke of Guyenne, and the duke's replies, given in writing three hours later, were unwavering.[206] As far as the general pardon was concerned, the chancellor of Guyenne told the bishop when handing him the written replies that Louis "had neither his mouth nor hand closed" and was always ready to grant individual pardons.[207] As an example of his goodwill, the prince ordered on the same day, after dinner, the release from prison of Hector de Saveuse, an écuyer d'écurie of John the Fearless.[208] Then, in the evening, he ordered an announcement to be made to the public that the treaty had finally been concluded.[209] The church bells of Paris rang until nighttime, and the townspeople lit bonfires and danced joyfully in the streets.[210]

On March 13 the Burgundian ambassadors ratified the terms of the royal proclamation of February 2 in a sealed document.[211] At six o'clock in the evening on the same day, the king held a large council, which was attended by the dukes of Berry, Orléans, Alençon, and Bourbon, the counts of Vertus, Eu, and Tancarville, and many prelates and great lords of the kingdom.[212] At this assembly, the duke of Brabant and the other Burgundian ambassadors swore in the name of Duke John and in their own names to abide by the terms of the new Peace.[213] Prior to the actual oath-taking, however, the duke of Brabant said that he and the others intended "in all humility and reverence" to pursue negotiations with the king and the duke of Guyenne for a

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general pardon.[214] The king cordially accepted these remarks, and after they had sworn to the Peace, he ordered the release from prison of Charles de Récourt, called de Lens, a chamberlain of John the Fearless.[215] The Armagnac princes and a number of royal councillors also took their oaths in this ceremony, and then, on March 16, the royal proclamation of February 2 was read and published in the Parlement.[216]

Now that it seemed as if he had won his game with John the Fearless, the duke of Guyenne made a move to resolve his conflict with the Armagnacs. The political situation was complicated at this time, however, by disquieting news that had just reached the French court from England. Even while the Anglo-French conference in Paris was still in progress, Henry V had been making preparations for war.[217] In fact, on March 10 he had informed the municipal officials of London that his intention was to lead, in person, a military expedition to France.[218] On March 13, the same day that the Burgundian ambassadors ratified the king's proclamation concerning the peace with John the Fearless, Charles VI announced that because Henry V was collecting a war tax and beginning to assemble a great number of soldiers and ships, it was necessary to levy a tax in both Languedoil and Languedoc for the protection of the kingdom.[219] Also on this day, in an effort to postpone the inevitable, King Charles commissioned several of his councillors to go to a meeting with the English in Calais and attempt to prolong the truce

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that was scheduled to expire on May 1.[220]

It was now more important than ever before to minimize the internal problems of the government, and the duke of Guyenne resolved to find a way to end the attempts of the Armagnacs to exert pressure on the king. Apparently seeking advice and help from his mother, Louis went to visit her in Melun, where he arrived by March 17.[221] The queen was evidently pleased with the way he had dealt with the Burgundians, and it seems that she counselled him to continue to use in an aggressive manner the power that was his by right. In Melun, on March 28, the young prince cancelled the reform ordinances that had been imposed by the Armagnacs and that were in the process of being executed, and he discharged the commissioners who had been named to execute them.[222] Then, between April 5 and April 9, he summoned to Melun all the princes who were then at court, and while the queen kept them occupied, he returned to Paris without them on April 9.[223] He went immediately to a private interview with the king, and on this day Charles VI named him captain of both the Bastille and the castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.[224]

The queen had left certain large sums of cash in Paris with Michel de Laillier, Guillaume Sanguin, and Picquet de la Haye, and it seems that she had agreed to let the duke of Guyenne take custody of this money, for he went in person to the houses of the three men and directed its removal to his own residence.[225] On April 11, Louis issued a letter in

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which he stated his present intentions.[226] After the king, he "alone and before all others" possessed the "natural right" to govern the kingdom, he declared, and he planned to preserve the king's sovereign rights, which had been much abused in the past. To this end, he prohibited all royal subjects, no matter what their status, from taking any action against the peace that the king had proclaimed. In the future, he said, everyone was to show their loyalty to the king and to him without favoring any other party. To ensure unity and peace, he ordered all companies of soldiers, except those guarding the frontiers, to disband, and he stipulated that no one was to presume to conduct the affairs of the kingdom without his or the king's permission. He reserved both for the king and for himself the right to summon whatever persons they chose to come to court in order to counsel and serve them, and he retained the sole privilege of punishing his officers for the crimes they might be accused of committing. Because of the past conflicts over rights to various governmental posts, Louis now took over the duty of appointing all royal officials. He was desirous, he said, of remaining "under the obedience" of only the king and the queen.

The duke of Guyenne's ordinance of April 11 was probably read aloud during the convocation that, according to Monstrelet, was held in the prince's presence in the Louvre.[227] The provost of Paris, the prévôt des marchands, deputies from the University of Paris, and a great number of

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burgesses were gathered there, and the chancellor of Guyenne, Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres, gave a long speech in which he chronicled the abuses that had occurred since the beginning of the king's reign and stated that the duke of Guyenne was taking control of the government in order to preserve the kingdom from destruction.

The princes who had been left behind in Melun were told not to return to Paris, and each one went to reside in his own domain.[228] Even the duke of Berry, who had helped the duke of Guyenne accomplish his purpose during the negotiations with John the Fearless, was not invited back to Paris. It appears that the prince had not forgotten how vociferously the old duke had opposed his nomination as governor of all the royal finances after the expedition to Arras. Clearly, Louis did not wish to see a discontented duke of Berry attempting to rally support in Paris for his claim that he was too young to rule.

The exclusion of the duke of Berry from the government delayed the embarkation of the French ambassadors who were to travel to England for a conference with Henry V. The old duke, in charge of the negotiations with the English since the summer of 1414, had announced the imminent departure of the ambassadors at the beginning of April, but they did not leave Paris until June, even though this was an especially crucial time in the relations between France and England.[229]

By April 19, Charles VI had learned more about King Henry's preparations,[230] and on April 26 he named the duke

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of Guyenne his lieutenant and captain-general of all the frontiers with the authority to call up as many soldiers as he thought necessary for the protection of the kingdom.[231] Shortly thereafter, news arrived that on April 24, in Calais, the royal councillors commissioned by the king on March 13 had signed an agreement which extended the truce with England through the coming June 8.[232] The prolongation afforded a brief respite, and the duke of Guyenne used this period of grace to bring Paris completely under his power. On May 10 he obtained from Charles VI the guardianship of the Louvre, and this meant that he now controlled the three main fortresses of the city: the Bastille, the Grand Palais, and the Louvre.[233] A few months earlier, he had successfully imposed the nomination of his chamberlain and marshal, Tanneguy du Chastel, to the office of provost of Paris, and on April 18 he had effected the replacement of three échevins of the city with persons of his choice.[234]

Towards the end of May, when the expiration of the truce with England was not far away, the duke of Guyenne evidently decided it would be wise to consult with the duke of Berry before sending off the ambassadors whom the old duke had chosen at the beginning of April and for whom Henry V had already issued a safe-conduct which listed each of their names.[235] The duke of Berry was invited to return to Paris, and he arrived from Dourdan sometime between May 11 and June 5.[236] It was then decided that of the ambassadors who had been selected, the count of Tancarville, the lords of

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Offémont and Roussay, and two of the royal secretaries, Jean de Villebresme and Étienne de Mauregart, would not go to England after all. The rest of the ambassadors departed from Paris on June 4.[237]

During this period, the behavior of John the Fearless still constituted a problem for the French government, for he persisted in refusing to swear to the Peace, although it had been approved by his deputies in his name. He had sent Jean de Vergy, lord of Autrey; Regnier Pot, the duke of Guyenne's former governor of the Dauphine; and several others to speak to the king and the young prince in April,[238] and royal ambassadors had gone to him in early May.[239] Since these two meetings did not have a successful outcome, Vergy and Pot were obliged to make the trip to Paris several more times.[240] The duke of Burgundy's complaints still revolved around two things: his dislike of the wording of the royal proclamation of February 2, which offended his honor, he said, and the fact that exceptions had been made to the general pardon.[241]

The duke of Guyenne made his reply to Duke John's protests on June 29.[242] He refused to change the wording of either the proclamation itself or the royal letter which "repaired" Duke John's honor, but, now that war with England seemed unavoidable, he evidently thought that in order to preclude the possibility of an Anglo-Burgundian alliance, it was advisable to make a few concessions. He agreed, therefore, to reduce the number of non-nobles excepted from

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the general pardon from 500 to 200, and he said that if Duke John wished to apply for individual pardons for the persons who had been banished by the king's justice, a category which included certain noble members of the Burgundian entourage, he would see to it that John was "reasonably content."[243] Furthermore, Louis promised that if Duke John behaved as he should, he would eventually pardon the 200 exceptions, as well.

According to the chronicler Monstrelet, the Burgundian ambassadors also had a more delicate matter to discuss with the duke of Guyenne.[244] They were instructed to ask him to send away the young lady whom he had taken as his mistress and to live on a permanent basis with his wife, Duke John's daughter, whom he had sent away from the queen's residence, where she habitually dwelled, to the castle of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.[245] Louis did not reconcile with his wife, however, and eventually sent her to Marcoussis, where she appears to have remained until his death.[246]

During the month of June, news arrived in Paris that Pope John XXIII had been deposed by the Council of Constance. The duke of Guyenne was infuriated that the deposition had been made without the consent of the crown, and he held the University of Paris responsible.[247] When the rector and several masters of the University came to the Louvre on June 13 to ask him to lower the tax which had been recently imposed on the king's subjects, Louis took the opportunity to retaliate by imprisoning their spokesman, Maître Jean de

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Châtillon. He told the masters to revise their opinions and stop meddling with affairs that were beyond the scope of their power. After deposing the pope, he said, perhaps they would like next to try to expell the king or the princes.[248]

The duke of Guyenne was involved in more serious matters in July. In London, on July 6, the archbishop of Canterbury announced to the French ambassadors and an assembly of more than 1,500 people that Henry V was declaring war on the king of France.[249] There was to be a short respite before the English troops were mobilized, however, for the Anglo-French truce did not expire until August 1.[250]

It seems that news of the collapse of Anglo-French relations was slow to reach Burgundy, for on July 30, in Rouvres, John the Fearless allowed himself to be persuaded by Guichart Dauphin and Jean de Vailly, ambassadors of the king and the duke of Guyenne, to swear to abide by the terms of the royal proclamation of February 2.[251] His capitulation was not complete, however, for on the same day he stated in a separate document, drafted by apostolic notaries, that his oath was contingent upon the fulfillment of the duke of Guyenne's promise to include everyone in the general pardon.[252] Duke John's bargaining-power increased during the following month, when Henry V crossed the Channel with 1,500 ships to invade Normandy.

The English army landed on the French coast in the early morning on August 14, and King Henry set up his lodgings with his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, in

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the priory of Graville.[253] The constable of France, Charles d'Albret, who was nearby in Rouen with his troops, made no move to prevent the English from disembarking, and this exposed him to much criticism.[254] He did watch their movements closely, however, and on August 23, a few days after they had laid siege to Harfleur, he sent a messenger to Paris to inform the king and the duke of Guyenne of the measures which he considered necessary for Harfleur's protection.[255] A contingent of 300 men-at-arms, led by the lord of Gaucourt, had already been sent to help the garrison, and they had successfully entered the fortress from the other side of the river, but, due to the enormous size of the English army, there was urgent need of more combattants.[256] On August 28 Charles VI ordered his bailiffs, seneschals, and other officers to call up the arrière-ban, and he stipulated that, on this occasion, all soldiers were to wear the traditional white cross as their emblem.[257]

The duke of Guyenne saw immediately that he would have to adopt a more lenient attitude towards the duke of Burgundy, for not only was it essential to keep him from favoring the English in this war, but his military aid was needed. Thus, while presiding over the grand conseil on August 31, Louis issued two documents in the name of the king in favor of John the Fearless. In the first, Duke John's honor was "repaired" in a manner which would cause no further complaint.[258] The second letter modified all previous

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decisions concerning the three categories of persons originally excepted from the general pardon: the 500 non-nobles; the outlaws ("bannis") banished by due process of law; and the officers of the royal households who had been ordered to stay away for two years.[259] Now, all these people, with 45 exceptions, were to be included in the pardon. Among those still excluded were the leaders of the Cabochien uprising: Elyon de Jacqueville and Robinet de Mailly, chamberlains of Duke John; Maitre Jean de Troyes; Simon Caboche; and three members of the Le Goix family. Copies of these documents, along with a list of requests, were taken to Duke John by the duke of Guyenne's chamberlain Thibaut de Soissons, lord of Moreuil, and Jean de Vailly, Louis' former chancellor, who was now a president in the Parlement. Louis commissioned separately Jean Pioche, one of his maîtres d'hôtel, to ask Duke John to send 500 men-at-arms and 300 bowmen to join the royal army as soon as possible and to give permission for his son, the count of Charollais, to send ships, canons, and other artillery from Flanders.[260] Pioche was also to transmit the request that Duke John remain in his own domain while the war was being waged.

During another session of the royal council held on this same day, August 31, the king himself presided and sent a letter to the tax commissioners in Coutances.[261] Since the previously ordered tax of 600,000 francs had been judged insufficient, a small surtax had been added, he told them,

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and of this new charge, the *élection* of Coutances was to pay 24,000 *francs* by September 20.

Now that military and financial arrangements had been made, the king and the duke of Guyenne decided to travel to Normandy in order to be closer to the front so that precious time would not be lost by communicating from afar with the commanders of the army. The duke of Guyenne set out from Paris at night on September 1, accompanied by trumpeters and a group of "young people."[262] He went first to Saint-Denis, where on September 3 he received a messenger who brought news from Harfleur that the royal garrison there was in dire need of reinforcements.[263] Then he proceeded towards Normandy by boat and arrived on September 4, at night, in Mantes, where he was met by a torchlight procession and given presents of wine, fish, and oats.[264] From there, Louis travelled to Vernon.[265]

The king's party left Paris separately. Charles VI departed after dinner on September 9 and went to Saint-Denis to spend the night.[266] There, on the following day, he received the banner of the abbey, the *Oriflamme*, which he entrusted once again to Guillaume Martel, lord of Bacqueville, and then, on September 11, he resumed his journey, finally arriving in Mantes on September 18 or 19.[267] He did not continue on to Vernon, where the duke of Guyenne was in residence, but remained in Mantes until October 7.[268]

During this time, urgent calls for help were sent out by

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the defenders of Harfleur, but they remained unanswered, for it was impossible to procure the necessary aid immediately.[269] It appears that the main problem encountered by the government in gathering forces was the fact that most of the nobles of nearby Picardy refused to answer the king's summons because they had been instructed by the duke of Burgundy, their overlord, to await his call to arms and not respond to anyone else's.[270]

The lord of Gaucourt was obliged, therefore, to begin negotiations with the English on September 17, and in an official document dated September 18, he promised to surrender Harfleur if no help came from the king or the duke of Guyenne by one o'clock on Sunday afternoon, September 22.[271] Help did not come, and on the appointed day, Henry V, enthroned in a pavilion at the top of the hill outside Harfleur, received the keys to the town from Gaucourt, Lyonnel de Bracquemont, and several other deputies, who all wore hair shirts and had ropes around their necks.[272] King Henry paid dearly for this triumph, however, for an epidemic of dysentery had decimated his army, and it was already clear that he was not going to be able to continue his campaign.[273]

The lord of Gaucourt and about sixty other French knights, along with 200 noblemen, were allowed to leave Harfleur on September 27 after promising to return as prisoners to Calais on November 11.[274] Gaucourt was sent with an English herald to deliver a personal challenge from

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Henry V to the duke of Guyenne.[275] Since Charles VI was not well, it would be better, King Henry said, for Louis to engage in single combat with him rather than allow the children of God to destroy one another in this war. If Henry won, the kingdom of France would be transferred to him after King Charles' death. Henry may have thought that this was a practical yet chivalrous way of dealing with the fact that his army was too ravaged by disease to face the French troops, which, he assumed, were gathering by now in large numbers. He waited for more than a week, but no reply to his challenge came from the duke of Guyenne, and so, without wasting any more time, he began to march towards the English stronghold of Calais, about 300 kilometers away.[276] Henry left a garrison of 300 men-at-arms and 900 archers in Harfleur, and since more than 2,000 men had died from the epidemic and 5,000 more had been sent back to England because they were too ill to fight, the English army now consisted of 900 men-at-arms and 5,000 archers.[277]

The French government was by no means as well organized as Henry V probably supposed. Charles VI left Mantes to join the duke of Guyenne in Vernon on October 7, and, together, they went to Rouen, where they arrived on October 12.[278] The duke of Berry was already there,[279] but the king of Sicily was still a great distance away, having left Le Mans, southwest of Paris, on that very day.[280] The duke of Bourbon arrived in Rouen on October 17,[281] and the duke of Orléans, who was still in the city of Orléans on October

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19,[282] came sometime later. The duke of Burgundy did as he was bid and remained in his duchy.[283]

King Henry's troops made their way north and on October 11 arrived before the walls of the town of Arques, near Dieppe.[284] As they passed by Eu on the following day, a small detachment of French men-at-arms sallied forth for a skirmish, but only minor injuries were sustained, and the English pushed on to find a place to cross the River Somme.[285] To their dismay, they discovered that all the bridges had been broken, and soon their scouts returned to report that a large number of French men-at-arms had gathered on the opposite bank. This contingent was under the command of the constable d'Albret, Marshal Boucicaut, the count of Vendôme, the lord of Dampierre, and the duke of Alençon.[286]

For a time, the French followed, like a shadow, as the small English army marched southeast along the river in search of a place to cross over safely, but, finally, King Henry ordered his men to move away from the Somme, and they marched further inland (yet still in the direction of Péronne). They had now gone more than 100 kilometers out of their way, but as they approached the Somme again, they found two neighboring fords, at Béthencourt and Voyennes, which the French had left unguarded, and they succeeded in crossing there on October 19.[287]

The commanders of the French army decided that it was imperative to fight the English, and, following the correct

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procedure, they sent heralds to Henry V to announce their intention and ask that the selection of time and place be made by deputies from both sides.[288] King Henry replied that there was no need for such formality because his men would be ready at any time to respond to the challenge. Then, turning northwest, he continued to march towards Calais.

On October 24, after crossing the River Ternoise at Blangy, the English saw that, a few miles ahead, their path was blocked by a great multitude of French soldiers. They realized that the moment of reckoning had come. The French arrayed themselves in battalions in the field between the town of Azincourt and the forest of Tramecourt on the morning of October 25, and there they waited for the English to advance against them.[289] Finally, Henry V gave his men the signal to attack, and thus began the terrible battle of Azincourt (or Agincourt, as the English called it).[290]

The field was muddy and narrow, and the French knights were too numerous, undisciplined, and proud to deal adequately with the situation. Chivalry was uppermost in their minds, and, paying scant attention to the baseborn English longbowmen, they sought to glorify themselves in hand-to-hand combat with King Henry's small company of men-at-arms. With shocking ease, the longbowmen unhorsed the French cavalry as it charged forward from the wings, and the floundering animals and stumbling knights fell back against the men-at-arms who were advancing on foot in a tightly packed unit to support them. The resulting

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confusion played a large part in the ultimate destruction of the French army.

It has not been established how many died in this battle, but the lord of Saint-Rémy, who fought on that day, estimated that 10,000 Frenchmen were killed.[291] The chroniclers, while eulogizing the dead, recorded the names of 433 well-known slain noblemen, among whom were the duke of Brabant and the count of Nevers, brothers of John the Fearless; the constable d'Albret; and the dukes of Bar and Alençon.[292] Not all of the Frenchmen who died fell in battle, for, in a moment of panic, the English put to death a great many of those who had been captured early in the fight. The prisoners of high rank were spared, however, because they could be expected to pay a good ransom. This group included the dukes of Orléans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and Marshal Boucicaut.[293]

When news of the disastrous defeat was brought to Charles VI, he and the duke of Guyenne were still in Rouen with the duke of Berry and the king of Sicily.[294] They had a detachment of men-at-arms with them, along with the troops that had been brought by John V, duke of Brittany. Duke John V had left Rouen sometime after October 21 to join the army that was trailing the English, but he had only reached Amiens by October 25, when the battle of Agincourt was fought, so he then retraced his steps to Rouen.[295] It appears that since he had signed a ten-year commercial treaty with Henry V in January 1414, he did not wish to step

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onto a field of battle as his enemy.[296]

Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne remained with their entourage in Rouen to see what Henry V intended to do after his victory. The first reports which they received informed them that the English army, which had suffered few casualties at Agincourt, had continued its march to the north. The English marched quickly, and King Henry made his triumphal entry into Calais on October 29 to the sound of joyful cries of "Noël."[297] According to an Italian intimate of his brother Gloucester, Henry wished to make plans to lay siege to Ardres, Boulogne, or some other neighboring fortress but was dissuaded from this by his soldiers, who wanted to go home.[298]

While King Charles and his son waited in Rouen for further news, they were besieged with petitions by persons who wished to be appointed to the royal offices left vacant by those who had died at Agincourt. The king appears to have granted the titles to some of these posts indiscriminantly, for on October 29, while he presided at a session of the council attended by the king of Sicily, the duke of Berry, the chancellor of Guyenne, and others, he cancelled all nominations that he had made since the battle and declared that in the future such grants were to be issued in the more formal setting of a council at which either he or the duke of Guyenne presided.[299] Charles VI's mental state was not stable enough to allow him to abide by this ordinance, however, and he continued to make

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appointments that were solicited in private.[300]

The ordinance of October 29 stipulated that the duke of Guyenne was to make nominations in consultation with the council ("par meure deliberation de conseil"), but there was no proviso that a vote by the majority was necessary. Thus, Louis was able to impose persons of his choice, and there is evidence to prove that he took advantage of this opportunity to increase the prestige of members of his entourage.[301]

Now that many of the important Armagnacs were either dead or prisoners of the English, it was feared that the duke of Burgundy would make an attempt to return to Paris. Before mid-October, the royal negotiations with Duke John had gone very well. On September 24 he had cancelled his statement that his oath to the Peace was contingent upon a general pardon without exceptions, and even though he had added that he still intended to continue presenting his requests concerning the matter, his cancellation represented a great diplomatic victory for the duke of Guyenne.[302] At the same time, Duke John had also announced that he would send more than the 500 men-at-arms and 300 bowmen requested by the king, and, in addition, he promised canons and other supplies from Flanders.[303] On October 12 he sent Regnier Pot; the lords of Courtiambles and Croy; Jean Chousat; and his secretary Jean de Rosay to tell the king and the duke of Guyenne how many troops he had levied to help them fight the English.[304] At this point, he intended to lead the contingent, himself, to join the royal army, but, in the

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end, he changed his mind, and he also made sure that his son, the count of Charollais, was absent on the day that the battle of Agincourt was fought.[305]

After the battle, the government was uncertain of Duke John's plans, and if he marched to Paris, it was possible that the Parisians would let him inside the city. With this in mind, the royal council in Rouen sought to placate the Parisians by ordering on November 7 the cessation of all legal action that had been taken against the persons who could be affected by the general pardon. If any of these persons were still in prison, they were to be released.[306] There was still no question, however, of absolving the forty-five people excepted from the pardon. The council sent the ordinance immediately to Paris, where it was read in the Parlement and to the public on November 13.[307] Since at least 155 Parisians were affected by the pardon, it was hoped that this action would appease them until the king and the duke of Guyenne returned to Paris.

Before long, news arrived in Rouen that John the Fearless was coming north from Burgundy and was heading towards Champagne.[308] On November 15 the duke of Guyenne issued a letter in the king's name in which he ordered the provost and municipal officials of Paris to refuse to allow anyone accompanied by men-at-arms to enter the city unless he possessed royal letters patent, sealed with the king's great seal, which gave him permission to come.[309] He also ordered the destruction of all bridges within the limits of the

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provostship of Paris unless they could be adequately protected, and he prohibited any prince of the blood from trying to enter Paris by force. The bishop of Saint-Brieuc, Regnault d'Angennes, Jean de Vailly, and Jean de Roussay left Rouen as ambassadors of the king and the duke of Guyenne to tell John the Fearless not to approach Paris with his army, and Duke John received them on November 23 in Troyes.[310]

By this time, the royal court in Rouen had learned that on November 16 Henry V had sailed back to England, and Charles VI and the duke of Guyenne prepared immediately to return to Paris.[311] The king left Rouen on November 23, and after passing through Pont-de-l'Arche, Louviers, Vernon, Mantes, Meulan, Poissy, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and Saint-Cloud, he arrived in Paris on November 29.[312] The duke of Guyenne took a different route and was accompanied by a large contingent of men-at-arms. As he approached Paris, he assigned the soldiers' winter quarters in various areas outside the city.[313] Then, passing through Saint-Denis, he entered Paris on November 30.[314] The duke of Berry had arrived by boat the evening before, and the king of Sicily, who was ill, entered by boat on November 30.[315]

John the Fearless had ignored the royal letter of November 15, and on December 1 he arrived in Provins, 85 kilometers from Paris.[316] News of his approach had caused the queen, who was sick in Melun, to have herself carried back to Paris by footmen.[317]

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Many Parisians were terrified that the Burgundian and Armagnac partisans among their ranks would start fighting each other in the city, and people began to take the precaution of keeping their fires going all night.[318] On December 2 the duke of Guyenne, presiding over the grand conseil, issued a letter in the name of the king in which he ordered the provost of Paris to announce publicly throughout the city that no one was to take up arms or gather in numbers for any reason whatsoever.[319] Another meeting of the council was to be held after dinner on December 4 in the Hôtel de Bourbon, where the duke of Guyenne was lodged, but since he dined at a late hour, the meeting was postponed until the next day.[320]

The council of December 5 in the Hôtel de Bourbon was attended by the duke of Guyenne and his younger brother Charles, count of Ponthieu; the duke of Berry; the king of Sicily; and members of the grand conseil, the Chambre des Comptes, and the Parlement.[321] Robert Mauger, premier président of the Parlement, presented a list of articles regarding the administration of the government, and several reforms concerning the officers of the royal households were endorsed.[322] While the council was in session, Regnier Pot, Jean Chousat, and other ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy were allowed to enter to speak to the duke of Guyenne.[323] They said that Duke John wished to have the king's permission to advance to Meaux with his men-at-arms, but Louis replied that he would grant no such license and that

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the duke would not enter Paris, either, unless he came as an obedient subject, accompanied only by members of his household. Regnier Pot then told the prince that since Duke John realized certain persons feared his arrival, he was willing to send, as a guarantee, his written oath, or, if that was not enough, he would send his son, the count of Charollais, as hostage. The duke of Guyenne remarked curtly that it was his prerogative to select a suitable guarantee, since, as heir to the throne of France, he was higher in rank than the duke of Burgundy. The interview faltered, and the Burgundian ambassadors withdrew.

On the next day, the duke of Guyenne sent the new bishop of Chartres, Philippe de Boisgiloust; a president of the Parlement, Simon de Nanterre; Jean de Vailly; Guillaume le Clerc; and others to command John the Fearless to disband his troops and come no closer to Paris.[324] Louis warned the duke that he no longer intended to be dominated by persons who wastefully emptied the royal treasury and that, from now on, he was going to rule alone.[325]

After dinner on that day, December 6, the duke of Guyenne went to visit the queen, who had not yet recovered from her illness.[326] He returned to the Hôtel de Bourbon that night, and on the following morning, he felt too sick to get out of bed. According to the Monk of Saint-Denis, Louis had come down with a violent case of diarrhea but refused to follow the advice of his physicians.[327] The prince was probably making every effort to get back on his feet again as soon as

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possible because he feared that while he was ill, arrangements with the duke of Burgundy would be made behind his back.

The duke of Guyenne's illness appears to have thrown the king of Sicily into a panic. King Louis evidently believed that, without the duke of Guyenne to hold him in check, John the Fearless would be at the gates of Paris at any moment. King Louis and Duke John had been bitter enemies ever since the [illegible]e betrothal of their children, Catherine of Burgundy and Louis of Anjou, and King Louis did not want to face the angry duke. The best thing to do, he thought, was to escape while there was still time, and at five o'clock in the morning on December 10, he left Paris.[328]

The duke of Guyenne made a spirited but foolhardy effort to continue to preside over the royal council and conduct the affairs of state. On December 10 he held a meeting of the grand conseil, and on the same day certain ambassadors he had sent to the duke of Burgundy came to report to him that Duke John had refused to pay any attention to his prohibitions.[329] John the Fearless was, in fact, advancing at that very moment towards Paris, and on the night of December 10, he arrived in Lagny-sur-Marne, only 29 kilometers away.[330] On December 12 Louis again presided over the grand conseil, but instead of hearing news of the duke of Burgundy, he was obliged to listen to a discussion of the excessive number of saltworks in the kingdom. It was decided that thirty-three saltworks would be shut down and a

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new one opened up in Creil.[331]

When news of John the Fearless finally did arrive, the duke of Guyenne was too sick to be disturbed. Excerpts from the duke of Burgundy's household accounts say that it was on December 14 that Duke John sent his ambassadors to Paris.[332] Juvenal des Ursins, naming the same ambassadors plus four others, wrote, however, that they came to the gates of Paris on December 15 with a suite of 400 persons.[333] Only Regnier Pot and Jean Chousat were allowed inside the city, according to Juvenal, and since the duke of Guyenne could not receive them, they went to see the duke of Berry.[334] The old duke arranged for all the ambassadors to return on Tuesday, December 17. He would hear what the duke of Burgundy had charged them to say on Wednesday, he told them, and they would receive an answer a week after that.

On December 18 the Burgundian ambassadors presented Duke John's requests as planned, but they never received the government's reply, for on the evening of that same day, the duke of Guyenne died.[335] This event took everyone by surprise, and for several days time was held in suspension as arrangements for his last rites became the main preoccupation of the royal family.[336] The young prince's body was carried to the church of Notre-Dame on Sunday, December 22, and he was buried there near the main altar on the following day at ten o'clock in the morning.[337] The service was attended by the duke of Berry, Louis' younger brother Charles, count of Ponthieu, several prelates, and

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the members of the Parlement.

A few days later, on December 27, ambassadors of John the Fearless came to Paris to present several requests concerning his daughter, the duchess of Guyenne.[338] The duke asked that Margaret's widow's dower be assigned, that she be given half of her deceased husband's movables, and that she be sent back to him at once. The ambassadors were told that the duchess was free to go but that her dower could not be discussed at this time because the king had slipped into a relapse of his illness. The duke of Guyenne's movables, they said, now belonged to the king. Margaret, accompanied by the dames d'Autechy and du Quesnoy, arrived in Lagny-sur-Marne by January 9 and left on January 10 for Burgundy.[339] She was never provided with a widow's dower while Charles VI lived.[340]

The death of the duke of Guyenne ruined the duke of Burgundy's opportunity to negotiate with the government in Paris. The count of Armagnac, who had been named to replace the slain lord of Albret as constable of France, arrived from the south on December 29 and immediately sent companies of men-at-arms to guard the towns in the area surrounding Lagny-sur-Marne in an attempt to cut off the food supply of the Burgundian army.[341] Finally, John the Fearless had no recourse but to withdraw.

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NOTES

(1) Coville, Les Cabochiens, p. 194.

(2) Vaughan, John, p. 197.

(3) H. David, Du Nouveau sur Jean sans Peur, Dijon, 1959, p. 25.

(4) Lehoux, III, 341.

(5) Lehoux, III, 322 n.8 (quoting BN, ms. fr. 26039, no. 4784).

(6) Lehoux, III, 323 n.4 (quoting BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20028, no. 101).

(7) RSC, V, 148-50.

(8) RSD, V, 150.

(9) Baye, II, 138-39.

(10) Baye, II, 140-43.

(11) Baye, II, 141-42.

(12) AN, KK 1008, fols. 44-46; published (from the copy in AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 284) in Ordonnances, X, 167-70.

(13) Baye, II, 143 ff.

(14) M. Mollat, Comptes généraux de l'état bourguignon entre 1416 et 1420, Paris, 1965-76, I, 181-82.

(15) AD Côte-d'Or, B 11932 (original of the alliance between John the Fearless and Louis of Bavaria, signed by both parties).

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(16) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 263.

(17) Mollat, I, 182.

(18) It is not clear if all the Burgundian ambassadors left for Paris on Sept. 20 with the lord of Roubaix. The lord of Saint-Georges appears to have been still in Flanders on Sept. 28. (AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fols. 213v-15v) John, lord Du Bois; Henry Gredhals, dean of Liege; and the ducal secretary Jean de la Keythulle were also on the trip. (Ibid.)

(19) RSD, V, 168.

(20) Monstrelet, II, 409. Monstrelet also states that the duke of Guyenne was responsible for the removal of Guichart Dauphin from the office of grand maître d'hôtel du roi, but this seems to have occurred a few months later, for Guichart would probably have lost his position in the young prince's household at the same time, and he was still serving there after Dec. 1, 1413. (AN, KK 228, fol. 105) Antoine de Craon was replaced as grand panetier de France by Jean Malet, lord of Graville. (BN, ms. fr. 20691, p. 861)

(21) The lord of Croy was replaced by Robert of Bar. (Baye, II, 147)

(22) Copies of the royal letter of Sept. 18, 1413 were sent, for example, to Ypres (BN, Coll. Moreau, MCDXXIV, no. 57), to Blois (AN, K 58, no. 5: a vidimus published in Monstrelet, VI, 115-23), to the count of Armagnac (BN, Coll. Doat, IX, fols. 157-62v), and to the duke of Burgundy (BN, Coll. Moreau, ibid., no. 58). Henry V of England received a slightly different letter. (T. Rymer, Foedera, 2nd ed. London, 1726-35, IX, 51-55.

(23) For the letter to John the Fearless, see the previous note, and for Duke John's employment of the Cabochiens after their flight from Paris, see Coville, Les Cabochiens, pp. 398 & 441.

(24) AN, K 57 B, no. 36.

(25) Coville, Jean Petit, p. 433.

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(26) Coville, Jean Petit, p. 445.

(27) Coville, Jean Petit, p. 448.

(28) Coville, Jean Petit, pp. 448-49.

(29) Journal d'un bourgeois, pp. 46-47.

(30) The king attended the council on Oct. 12, 1413 (BN, Coll. Doat, CCXII, fol. 125), Oct. 20 (grand conseil) (ibid., fol. 127), Oct. 21 (C. de Vic and J. Vaissette, Histoire générale de Languedoc, Toulouse, 1872-92, X, pt. 2, col. 1975), Oct. 22 (grand conseil) (Ordonnances, X, 180), Oct. 24 (BN, Coll. Clairambault, CCXVIII, no. 75), Oct. 25 (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 9941, fols. 467-67v), Oct. 26 (Ordonnances, X, 181), Oct. 27 (ibid., p. 184), Oct. 29 (AN, J 188 B, no. 18), Oct. 30 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 706), Nov. 8 (AN, JJ 167, p. 328), Nov. 11 (grand conseil) (Rymer, IX, 71), Nov. 14 (AN, KK 1008, fols. 37-37v).

(31) The duke of Guyenne attended only the councils held on Oct. 21 and Oct. 29, 1413. (See previous note under these dates for references)

(32) The duke of Guyenne was the only person present (besides the royal secretary) when the king issued this nomination. (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 90; see also fr. 20684, p. 49)

(33) See Appendix IV under Brimeu.

(34) The three letters are published in Plancher, Preuves, III, nos. CCLXXXXII-IV (from a manuscript of Monstrelet's chronicle); in Le Fevre de Saint-Rémy, Chronique, ed. F. Morand, Paris, 1876, I, 140-41; and in the additions to Monstrelet, VI, 137-38. The date of the third letter is given as "le XXIe de decembre" by Le Fevre, as "le vingt-deuxiesme jour de Decembre" by Plancher, and as "le XXIIe jour de decembre" by the editor of Monstrelet.

(35) Coville's version (Les Cabochiens, p. 389) of the

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letter of December 4 renders "vostre" as "nostre," thus changing the meaning entirely. In that case, the duke of Burgundy is being asked to come for Louis' protection. Coville's reference is to a register in the Archives of Noyon that has since been destroyed. This register contained the text of all three of the duke of Guyenne's letters. The reading "vostre" seems more accurate, however, for in the third letter, Louis gives as his reason for the summons "certaines causes que tant nous touchent que plus ne peuvent." This explanation would have been superfluous if he were asking Duke John for protection. In a letter addressed to the city of Amiens on Jan. 23, 1414, John the Fearless claimed the duke of Guyenne had informed him that he was being held in the Louvre with the drawbridge raised (Monstrelet, II, 423), but this fact was not given in any of the prince's three letters to him.

(36) Vaughan, John, p. 195. Note that Vaughan stands alone with this interpretation.

(37) For the reaction of the officials of Compiègne when they saw the December letters of the duke of Guyenne, see p. 342.

(38) For the duke of Burgundy's protestations of virtuousness and loyalty shortly before he received the duke of Guyenne's messages, see his letter to the king in the additions to Monstrelet's chronicle (VI, 124-33), where the letter is dated Nov. 21, 1413. The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 220) dates the same letter Nov. 16.

(39) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 404. See also Monstrelet, II, 419.

(40) AD Côte-d'Or, B 11894. This signed letter of Charles VI to the duke of Burgundy bears only the date Jan. 12, but the year must be 1414, since the king mentions that Duke John is marching towards Paris with an army. Vaughan (John, p. 203 n.1) is incorrect when he dates the letter 1415, for the duke was not marching towards Paris in January of that year.

(41) RSD, V, 232.

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(42) For the political sympathies of Henri de Marle, see R. Van Marle, Un Chancelier de France sous Charles VI: Henri de Marle, Paris, 1910, p. 25. Marle had been singled out for attack during the Cabochien uprising, when he was accused of corruption in his office of premier president in the Parlement.

(43) RSD, V, 234 (where Bertran de Montauban is mistakenly called the lord of Montauban and Brimeu is not mentioned); and Monstrelet, II, 420-21. For a discussion of the discrepancies of these two accounts, see Lehoux, III, 341 n.10. Jean de Croy was the only one who was imprisoned, and the probable reason for this is that the Armagnacs wanted to punish him for having kidnapped the children of the duke of Bourbon during the civil war.

(44) RSD, V, 232.

(45) RSD, V, 234-36.

(46) For the text of the copy of the duke of Guyenne's letter to Duke John that was sent to the bailiff of Amiens, see Monstrelet, II, 425-27. Plancher (Preuves, III, no. CCLXXXXV) dates the prince's letter Jan. 24.

(47) A copy of Duke John's letter was sent to Amiens, and this copy was included by Monstrelet (II, 421-24) in his chronicle in full.

(48) BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 707. For a letter issued in the name of the queen and the duke of Guyenne, also dated Jan. 26, 1414, which ordered the provost of Paris and the prévôt des marchands to allow the men-at-arms who were summoned by royal command to enter Paris, see AN, KK 1008, fols. 38v-39v.

(49) AN, K 57 B, no. 34.

(50) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 406.

(51) AM Compiègne, BB 1, fols. 201v-02.

(52) The letters of the duke of Guyenne, described as

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"escriptes de sa main," were left by the count of Nevers in the governors' possession. (AM Compiègne, BB 1, fol. 202)

(53) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 406.

(54) The duke of Guyenne issued the letter to Noyon on Feb. 2, 1414 in the church of Notre-Dame "a l'issue de nostre messe." This letter is published in full in L. Mazière, "Annales noyonnaises," Comptes Rendus et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Noyon, XII, 209-12. At the same time, Louis addressed a similar letter to the city of Tournai. (Vandenbroeck, I, 107 n.1)

(55) AN, KK 1008, fols. 42v-44.

(56) The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 238) mentions the date and the rest of the day's events but not the duke of Guyenne's dinner in the cloister. That information is given by Monstrelet (II, 429). The date is confirmed in Baye, II, 165.

(57) Monstrelet, II, 429-30.

(58) RSD, V, 242. The date is confirmed by the household accounts of the duke of Burgundy. (Petit, Itinéraires, p. 407)

(59) Ordonnances, X, 192-95 (copied from Monstrelet). For a vidimus of a copy of this letter which was sent to the bailiff of Vermandois, see AM Châlons-sur-Marne, AA 2, no. 9.

(60) RSD, V, 242-44.

(61) Journal d'un bourgeois, pp. 48-49.

(62) RSD, V, 244.

(63) Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Mss., Registre 5, fols. 59v-60; published in Denifle and Châtelain, II, cols. 165-66.

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(64) Denifle and Châtelain, II, col. 166.

(65) RSD, V, 246.

(66) Baye, II, 167-68.

(67) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 47.

(68) RSD, V, 246.

(69) Monstrelet (II, 442-57) copied in full the text of the letter of Feb. 10, 1414 in his chronicle. He used the copy that had been sent to the bailiff of Amiens. The date of Feb. 10 is confirmed in a letter of the bailiff of Rouen dated Feb. 28, 1414. (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 7624, fols. 248-50)

(70) RSD, V, 248.

(71) For the king's visit to Notre-Dame, see RSD, V, 248. The royal letter of Feb. 14 is summarized in the letter of the bailiff of Rouen dated Feb. 28, 1414. (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 7624, fols. 248-50)

(72) RSD, V, 248. The date of the duke of Burgundy's departure given by the Monk is confirmed by Duke John's household accounts (Petit, Itinéraires, p. 407) and by Baye (II, 169-70).

(73) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 49.

(74) The date Feb. 17 appears in Charles VI's confirmation of the condemnation (March 16, 1414). (AN, J 359, no. 29) The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 276) erroneously implies that the bishop did not condemn the Justification of Jean Petit until Feb. 23.

(75) Baye, II, 170-71.

(76) For the grand conseil of Feb. 22, 1414, see AM

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Châlons-sur-Marne, EE 1, and for the grand conseil held on Feb. 26, see AN, Z.1a 525, no. 362 and BM Senlis, Coll. Afforty, V, pp. 2509-10.

(77) Monstrelet, II, 463-64.

(78) Monstrelet, II, 345.

(79) Charles VI held meetings of the council on March 10, 1414 (AN, JJ 167, p. 459), March 12 (AN, J 865, no. 23), March 16 (grand conseil) (AN, J 359, no. 29), March 20 (AN, KK 1008, fols. 39v-41; and P 2298, fols. 31-33), March 23 (grand conseil) (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, pp. 92-93), March 28 (grand conseil) (AN, J 386, no. 17), March 29 (AN, KK 336, fols. 170v-71), and March 31 (AN, P 2298, p. 407; and BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 709).

(80) The councils attended by both the queen and the duke of Guyenne were held on Jan. 9, 1414 (RSD, V, 232), Jan. 26 (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 707; and AN, KK 1008, fols. 38v-39v), Feb. 8 (Ordonnances, X, 195), Feb. 10 (Monstrelet, II, 457), and March 2 (ibid., 463-64).

(81) RSD, V, 284.

(82) The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 282) mentions that the lord of Aumont died from the epidemic. For a description of the epidemic, see Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 49. The date of Aumont's death was March 13, 1414. (V. Leblond, "Notes pour le nobiliaire du Beauvaisis," Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, des Sciences et des Arts du Département de l'Oise, XXIII, 12-13)

(83) RSD, V, 286.

(84) AM Senlis, BB 2, fol. 49v.

(85) Monstrelet, III, 1-2.

(86) BN, P.O. 717, Chaumont, no. 134.

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(87) AM Senlis, BB 2, fol. 48v.

(88) AM Senlis, BB 2, fol. 45v. The people of Senlis had refused to let the duke of Bavaria enter because they said that the king had given the guard of the city to them. (Ibid.) They immediately sent ambassadors to Paris, and these persons reported in Senlis on Feb. 21 that when they had explained that the town was in a state of poverty and could not afford to have men-at-arms inside the walls, they had been told that if they refused to obey royal orders, they would be considered rebels. (Ibid., fol. 46v) Maître Jean de Vailly, former chancellor of the duke of Guyenne, and Pierre Ogier, an échevin of Paris, went to Senlis to restore them to "vraye et bonne obeissance," and finally the town was granted a letter of pardon on Feb. 26, 1414. (BM Senlis, Coll. Afforty, V, pp. 2509-10) It seems that the duke of Bavaria was allowed to enter Senlis on Feb. 22. (Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 170) For a discussion of the purpose of the duke of Bavaria's expedition, see ibid.

(89) For the constable's siege of Compiègne, see Monstrelet, II, 465. For the royal embassy which was sent from Senlis, see RSD, V, 292.

(90) RSD, V, 294.

(91) Mazière, pp. 218-19. Charles VI signed a lettre de créance for the two chamberlains on April 15 in Verberie, which is located 14 kilometers south of Compiègne. (Ibid.)

(92) Mazière, p. 220.

(93) RSD, V, 296-98.

(94) RSD, V, 294. The Monk assigns the date April 11 to this royal march, but since the march clearly took place on the day before the king's entry into Noyon, the date should be adjusted to April 17.

(95) RSD, V, 296.

(96) Monstrelet (III, 2) states that the queen went to Meaux

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when the king left Senlis for Verberie. She must have been with Charles VI in Verberie, however, since the original plan was for her to accompany the king to Noyon. (Mazière, pp. 218-19) The initial insolence of the townspeople of Noyon may have caused the change in her plans, and she may have gone to Meaux from Verberie.

(97) Mazière, p. 220.

(98) Ordonnances, X, 207-08. The saltworks had been transferred from Noyon to Compiègne in 1396. (M. de Sars, Noyon à travers l'histoire, Chauny, 1942, p. 76)

(99) BN, Coll. Moreau, MCDXXIV, nos. 62 (letter of April 19) and 62.1 (letter of April 20).

(100) BN, Coll. Moreau, MCDXXIV, no. 62.2.

(101) RSD, V, 302. The king was evidently at the siege of Compiègne on April 27, 1414. A royal letter was issued there on that date, but the only extant copy is in the form of a vidimus contained in the text of a letter of the duke of Berry, and the formula of the signature is not given in the quote. (AM Montpellier, Louvet 2521) Petit ("Séj. Charles VI," p. 408) states, without giving his source, that the king was at the siege of Compiegne on April 26.

(102) Monstrelet, III, 2.

(103) RSD, V, 302.

(104) Monstrelet, III, 2-3.

(105) Hue de Lannoy was born circa 1384. (T. Leuridan, "Les Seigneurs de Roubaix," Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation de Roubaix, 3e serie, VII, 66. For references to his office of chamberlain, see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1576, fols. 142v & 267v.

(106) RSD, V, 306-08.

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(107) Monstrelet, III, 3.

(108) For the trip of Hector de Saveuse to Arras, see AD Nord, B 1903, fol. 170. This entry says that Hector's purpose was to tell the duke of Burgundy "aucunes choses secretes," but it is clear that these matters concerned the surrender of Compiègne. For the mention of Hector's brothers, see Monstrelet, II, 465 (where the editor erroneously implied, by omitting a comma, that the Hector mentioned was the son of the lord of Saint-Léger). Hector is also mentioned by the Monk (V, 294). For the date of the capitulation of Compiègne, see RSD, V, 310; and Monstrelet, III, 4.

(109) RSD, V, 310. Monstrelet (III, 5) omits the constable and states that the royal avant-garde was led by Bar, Armagnac, the bastard of Bourbon, Clignet de Brébant, and Amé de Sarrebruck.

(110) RSD, V, 314. For the date of May 10, see Monstrelet, III, 5. Lehoux (III, 352 n.2 and 355 n.8) claims that the duke of Orléans was no longer with the royal army at this time. She states that he was in Orléans on May 12, but the document to which she refers (BN, ms. fr. 6210, no. 356) is dated 1415 and not 1414. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that Duke Charles did not remain with the army. Note that he was in the abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes outside Soissons on May 24. (Ordonnances, X, 210)

(111) RSD, V, 312-14.

(112) Monstrelet, III, 6.

(113) RSD, V, 322-24. During the final assault, the duke of Bavaria, the count of Richemont, the provost of Paris, and several others were knighted. (Monstrelet, III, 7)

(114) Monstrelet, III, 9.

(115) RSD, V, 328; and Monstrelet, III, 10-11. The funerary statue of Enguerran de Bournonville still exists in the church of Marle, north of Laon.

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(116) RSD, V, 328-30.

(117) Charles VI was in Soissons on May 28, 1414 (BN, P.O. 671, Chanteprime, no. 60) and in Laon on May 30 (AN, JJ 167, p. 578).

(118) RSD, V, 330.

(119) RSD, V, 332-36.

(120) The county of Nevers was officially distrained in the king's name by the bailiffs of Mâcon and Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier on July 12, 1414. (M. de Marolles, Inventaire des titres de Nevers, Nevers, 1873, col. 66)

(121) RSD, V, 336.

(122) E. Lemaire, Archives anciennes de la ville de Saint-Quentin, III, Saint-Quentin, 1910, no. 856. Charles VI was in Laon on June 6, 1414 (Ordonnances, X, 213) and Saint-Quentin on June 13 (AN, JJ 167, p. 586). According to Monstrelet (III, 13), King Charles left Laon on June 10 and travelled to Saint-Quentin via Ribemont (through the area called La Thiérache).

(123) RSD, V, 336-38.

(124) Monstrelet, III, 13.

(125) RSD, V, 338.

(126) On June 20, 1414, the duke of Burgundy sent his chamberlain Roland d'Utkerke and the lord of Ghistelles from Douai to meet these soldiers and lead them across Flanders. (AD Nord, B 1903, fol. 70)

(127) The accounts of this episode differ in RSD, V, 338-40 and Monstrelet, III, 13-15.

(128) RSD, V, 344-46. For the number of combattants in the royal army, see P. Contamine, Guerre, état et société

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à la fin du Moyen-Age, Paris, 1972, p. 223 (with reference to a letter of Charles VI dating from June 1414: BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 711).

(129) Lemaire, III, no. 857.

(130) RSD, V, 346; and Monstrelet, III, 15.

(131) Monstrelet, III, 15.

(132) The instructions given by the duke of Burgundy to the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut are published with the incorrect date Aug. 1414 in J. Finot, "La Paix d'Arras (1414-15)," Annales de l'Est et du Nord, 1906, pp. 61-65, no. I. For proof that the correct date of this document is June 1414, see Lehoux, III, 356 n.1.

(133) RSD, V, 346-48.

(134) RSD, V, 358. According to the Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 360), Charles VI himself moved from Péronne to Miraumont, near Bapaume, on July 12. Documentary evidence signals the king's presence in Grandcourt-lez-Miraumont on an unspecified day in July 1414. (AN, JJ 167, p. 554) Monstrelet (III, 18) claims that King Charles made a pilgrimage to Curlu on July 9 and did not return to Peronne.

(135) Monstrelet, III, 19-20.

(136) RSD, V, 362.

(137) Monstrelet, III, 21. The duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainaut made their report of this conference to John the Fearless in Lille on July 19, 1414. (Petit, Itinéraires, p. 410) After this Duke Anthony returned to his duchy of Brabant. He arrived in Antwerp by July 25 (Quicke, "Rectifications," p. 17) and left that city shortly after Aug. 4 (ibid.) to return to Lille, where he arrived on Aug. 8 (Petit, ibid., p. 411).

(138) RSD, V, 364.

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(139) Monstrelet, III, 23. The date given by this source is supported by the fact that the last known letter of Charles VI from the camp before the walls of Bapaume is dated July 18, 1414. (AN, P 8, no. 256) For a royal letter issued in Wancourt on an unspecified day in July, see AN, JJ 167, p. 551.

(140) Monstrelet, III, 30.

(141) Monstrelet, III, 28.

(142) Le Fevre de Saint-Rémy, I, 177-78. For the correct date of the birth of the count of Eu, see Lehoux, II, 372 n.5. The lord of Montaigu was captain-general of the duchy and county of Burgundy and also of the county of Charollais in 1411. (BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LIV, fol. 338) During the siege of Arras, he was one of the captains of the Burgundian garrison. (P. de Fénin, Mémoires, ed. D. Godefroy, in Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France, Paris, 1653, p. 456)

(143) Fénin, p. 457; and Monstrelet, III, 31.

(144) RSD, V, 374.

(145) Monstrelet, III, 29-30.

(146) Monstrelet, III, 31.

(147) Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 282-83.

(148) RSD, V, 380.

(149) Monstrelet, III, 35-36.

(150) The duke of Bavaria, the constable d'Albret, and Ame de Sarrebruck were victims of the epidemic at the siege of Arras, but of these three, Ame was the only one who died from it. (Monstrelet, III, 32)

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(151) The wages of soldiers remained remarkably stable during the reign of Charles VI. For the wages current in 1380, see Contamine, Guerre, p. 626. In 1412, during the expedition to Bourges, the monthly wages were as follows: chevalier banneret, 60 francs, chevalier bachelier, 30 francs, écuyer, 15 francs, arbalétrier à cheval, 12 francs, arbalétrier à pied, 8 francs, archer à cheval, 10 francs, archer à pied, 7 francs, etc. (BN, ms. fr.n.a. 20528, p. 241) Using a list of 3,306 names of men-at-arms who went on the expedition to Arras in 1414, Contamine (ibid., p. 228) has estimated that 98.3 % of the men listed under that category were écuyers. It has not been possible to break down the term hommes de trait into more specific categories. A royal letter of June 14, 1414 mentions that the original tax of 600,000 francs had been judged insufficient to support the expedition and a surtax of 300,000 francs had been ordered. This surtax was to be brought to Paris by August 15. (BN, ms. fr. 25709, nos. 710 & 711)

(152) The duke of Burgundy's agreement with Henry V, dated Aug. 7, 1414, is published in full in O. Cartellieri, "Zum Frieden von Arras (1414-15), Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Burgund," Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913, 9 Abh., no. II.

(153) Lehoux, III, 358.

(154) Lehoux, III, 359-60.

(155) RSD, V, 378.

(156) Monstrelet, III, 32. The text of the preliminary agreement is published in P. Thomas, "Le Texte authentique de la Paix d'Arras (4 septembre 1414)," Revue du Nord, V (1914-19), 204-10.

(157) The "secret articles" are published in P. Thomas, pp. 210-12.

(158) The letter of Thierry Gherbode of Sept. 4, 1414 is published in Finot, no. II.

(159) "...en tout ce que nous avons peu appercevoir, il

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s'est monstre et est vostre bon et vray ami et filz" (Finot, no. II).

(160) Finot, no. III.

(161) "il en fera tant de grace de lui meismes et aussi de par le Roy que mondit seigneur le duc de Bourgogne en sera et devra par raison estre content" (Finot, no. III).

(162) Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 57. The date given by this source is supported by documentary evidence: the king was in Saint-Denis on Oct. 13, 1414 (AN, P 264.1, no. 236) and in Paris on Oct. 14 (Ordonnances, X, 225).

(163) P.J. Varin, Archives administratives de la ville de Reims: archives législatives (2e partie: statuts), Paris, 1840-52, I, 548.

(164) Ordonnances, X, 219-21.

(165) Ordonnances, X, 221.

(166) Monstrelet, III, 46-47.

(167) This anonymous memorandum, entitled Advis, is published in Finot, pp. 65-68. The date mid-October, 1414 is suggested by Lehoux, III, 370. I suggest the chancellor of Orléans as author because of the next to last article which reads, "Item, de aviser des maintenant la practique pour avoir un recteur a nostre poste." This suggests that the post of the author is unique, influential, higher than that of councillor, and one for which a rector of the University of Paris would be qualified. The only office that fits this description is that of chancellor, and the only Armagnac princes who had chancellors were the king of Sicily and the duke of Orleans. Since the king of Sicily is mentioned in the text, the document obviously was not composed for him. The chancellor of the duke of Orleans in 1414 was Jean Davy, lord of Saint-Péravy. (BN, P.O. 983, David, no. 9)

(168) For the date of the supper, see BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 19v.

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(169) Lehoux (III, 372) believed that the duke of Berry "organized" the duke of Guyenne's departure from Paris because he was "désireux de mettre un terme aux menées subversives du jeune duc." This is an unlikely interpretation. If Berry had forced the prince to leave, Louis would have been hostile to him after his return, and he was not. Mirot ("Paix d'Arras," p. 273) thought that the prince left Paris to escape the tyranny of the Armagnacs. If there had been open conflict between Louis and the Armagnacs at this time, it is doubtful that he would have withdrawn and abandoned the field to them after receiving the power with which the royal ordinance of Sept. 22 had endowed him. Moreover, Louis' actions in 1414-1415 show that his attitude was not passive but aggressive.

(170) BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 19v.

(171) Baye, II, 193-94.

(172) The story of Andry Marchant and the duke of Guyenne has been pieced together here from the facts given in BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 19v; and Baye, II, 193-94.

(173) The Burgundians stated that the duke of Guyenne left Paris "par nuyt accompaigne de sept ou huit chevaulx seulement." (Finot, no. VI, p. 79) Princess Michelle wrote that "Monseigneur de Guienne, apres ce qu'il avoit souppez chiez beaux oncle de Berry en son hostel de Nesle, a este d'illecques en habit et guise de vallet sur un petit chevallet, trousse une bouges...envoie de nuyt jusques a Nemours senz repaistre et d'illecques a Bourges ou a Meun sur Yeuvre." (Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. II) The statement that Andry Marchant gave Louis the money "le soir du jour qu'il partit" (BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 19v) must mean, then, that Louis received the money during "the evening on which he left" and not during "the night before the day he left."

(174) For the presence of the bishop, see BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 22; for Pierre Hutin, the bishop's secretary, see ibid., fol. 23v; for Robinet, see ibid., fol. 27. The duke of Guyenne was also accompanied by Charlot de Boissay, his premier échanson (ibid., fol. 19v) and Herbelot Petitpas, his valet de chambre (ibid., fol. 24). After he arrived in Berry, Louis sent for Jean

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Cadart, his physician, and Estienne Bongré, his secretary. (Ibid., fol. 24) Other persons who may have accompanied him on this trip are Guillaume de Nourroy, Jehan de Sarnoy, and Franquelance. (Ibid., fols. 19v & 23v) The entries concerning these three persons might refer to the expedition of Bourges of 1412 and not to the trip of 1414. For the passage of the duke of Guyenne through Melun and Montargis, see Monstrelet, III, 53.

(175) Monstrelet, III, 53.

(176) Although he gave Mehun-sur-Yèvre to the duke of Guyenne, the duke of Berry retained the usufruct for himself. (Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, I, 195)

(177) The countess of Hainaut received the duke of Guyenne's letter before Nov. 8, 1414. (Finot, p. 186 n.1) For the approximate date of the dauphin's return to Paris, see Monstrelet, III, 53. The count of Vertus had returned to Paris by Dec. 2, 1414. (AN, JJ 168, fol. 21)

(178) Finot, no. VI. The date of this document is discussed in Lehoux, III, 373 n.5.

(179) I am very grateful to Wang Chi Wong for writing the two computer programs which enabled me to analyze on the computer of The City University of New York the biographical data concerning the officers of the duke of Guyenne. The biographical data used appears in the present work as Appendix IV.

(180) The lord of Bracquemont served the king and the dukes of Guyenne and Orléans as chamberlain, and the archbishop of Sens was their councillor. (See Appendix IV under Bracquemont and Montagu)

(181) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 283.

(182) RSD, V, 362.

(183) BN, Coll. Moreau, MCDXXIV, no. 63.

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(184) Finot, no. VI, p. 80.

(185) Lehoux, III, 374.

(186) Monstrelet, III, 55-57. The mourning clothes which the duke of Orléans purchased on Jan. 2 and Jan. 4, 1415 to wear at this service are described in his letter of Jan. 31, 1415. (BN, P.O. 552, Buignet, no. 9)

(187) Monstrelet, III, 55. The duchess of Brittany was also in Paris in January 1415, at which time she presented a list of requests to the king. (AN, P 2298, pp. 73-75) She was back in Nantes by Jan. 17. (Pannier, p. 68 n.1)

(188) Cousinot, pp. 153-54.

(189) Vaughan (John, p. 203) is mistaken to link to this episode the royal letter dated Jan. 12 in AD Côte-d'Or, B 11894. The text of this letter, discussed earlier, proves that it was written in 1414 and not in 1415. See p. 339.

(190) According to Cousinot (p. 154), David de Brimeu and the lord of Montauban were among the officers of the duke of Guyenne who were dismissed. Initially, they were under arrest, but the fact that they were not prosecuted indicates it was quickly proven that the plot had been organized solely by the group of Parisians.

(191) Monstrelet, III, 54-55.

(192) See the letter of the countess of Hainaut to Charles VI sent from Compiègne on Jan. 14, 1415. (Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. III)

(193) See the letter of Guillaume de Bonnières in Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. IV.

(194) Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. IV.

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(195) RSD, V, 402-04.

(196) AN, J 948, no. 1 (original, with the king's great seal), published from another "original," sealed in green wax, now in Lyon, in L. Caillet, "Le Traité d'Arras de 1414 d'après un nouveau texte des archives de Lyon," Mémoires de l'Académie d'Arras, 2e serie, XL (1909), pp. 226-34. For a first draft of the document with corrections, see Finot, no. IX. Charles VI also issued on Feb. 2, 1414 a letter in which he restored the duke of Burgundy's honor by declaring that he had received him again into his good graces. (BN, Coll. Moreau, MCDXXIV, no. 64)

(197) Finot, no. XIV, p. 206. The proclamation was read "devant tout le peuple a huiz ouvert."

(198) Cartellieri, 1913, 2 Abh., no. II.

(199) Finot, no. VIII (letter of the duke of Burgundy dated Feb. 10, 1415).

(200) Finot, no. XIII.

(201) Finot, no. VIII.

(202) Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. VI.

(203) Finot, no. XIV.

(204) Finot, no. XI.

(205) Cartellieri, 1913, 2 Abh., no. X.

(206) Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. VIII. See also Cartellieri, 1913, 2 Abh., nos. V & VI.

(207) "et aussi fu dit que mondit seigneur de Guienne n'avoit la bouche ne la main close de tousjours faire grace et amour" (Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. VIII, p. 323)

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(208) Hector de Saveuse was écuyer d'écurie of the duke of Burgundy and captain of Bapaume in Nov. 1414. (AD Nord, B 1903, fol. 112)

(209) Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. VII.

(210) Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. VII.

(211) AN, J 573, no. 3.

(212) AD Nord, B 17618, dossier "politique générale" (letter of Guillaume de Bonnières dated March 13, 1415).

(213) AN, J 948, no. 1 verso, and J 877, no. 7 verso. The oath of the countess of Hainaut, who was not present, was sworn by a deputy. (Ibid.)

(214) AD Nord, B 17618, letter of Bonnières already mentioned. Another little speech made to the king by the duke of Brabant as an introduction to his oath is quoted in full in this letter.

(215) AD Nord, B 17618, letter of Bonnières already mentioned. The duke of Brabant had requested the release of Charles de Lens. For information about this personage, see Appendix IV under Récourt.

(216) AN, J 948, no. 1 verso, and J 877, no. 7 verso.

(217) According to the letter of Guillaume de Bonnières mentioned earlier (AD Nord, B 17618), the English ambassadors were due to leave Paris on March 14, 1415. Guillaume wrote that because the Franco-Burgundian peace had been concluded, the English would probably leave without accomplishing anything.

(218) Lehoux, III, 386.

(219) AD Nord, B 935, no. 15281. The tax was to be paid in two equal sums on June 1 and August 1. (Ibid.)

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(220) AN, J 646 B, nos. 13 & 13 bis.

(221) BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 24.

(222) For the duke of Guyenne's presence in Melun on March 28, 1415, see BN, Coll. Doat, CCXII, fol. 147v. His ordinance of that date is mentioned in AN, X.1a 8602, fols. 301-02v.

(223) Monstrelet, III, 68 (where only the month of April is given for this episode). On April 5 the duke of Orléans was in Beauté-sur-Marne, which was not on the road to Melun. (BN, P.O. 383, Boillefèves, no. 15) Since the king's letters in favor of the duke of Guyenne were issued on April 9 (see below) and the bishop of Chartres served the prince in Melun until April 9 (BN, ms. fr. 32511, fol. 24v), it is certain that Louis returned to Paris on that day.

(224) For the duke of Guyenne's nomination as captain of the Bastille, see Morice, Preuves, II, 902. It is not known how this appointment was signed. Louis' nomination as captain of Saint-Germain-en-Laye was signed merely "Par le Roy," and, thus, no witnesses were present when the king issued the letter. (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 106)

(225) Monstrelet, III, 68-69.

(226) AN, X.1a 8602, fols. 301-02v.

(227) Monstrelet, III, 69.

(228) Monstrelet, III, 69-70.

(229) Lehoux, III, 385-86.

(230) Lehoux, III, 386.

(231) AN, J 369 B, no. 22.

(232) AN, J 646 B, nos. 13 & 13 bis.

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(233) For the nomination of May 10, 1415, see Morice, Preuves, II, 919-20. For the duke of Guyenne's nomination as concierge of the Grand Palais on Oct. 8, 1413, see BN, fr.n.a. 7931, fol. 297. For his nomination as captain of the Bastille on April 9, 1415, see Morice, ibid., 902.

(234) The new échevins: Andry d'Espernon, Pierre de Grantrue, and Jean de Louviers, le jeune, "furent mis par l'eleccion de mondit seigneur de Guienne et des bourgois notables...et ce iour firent le serement devant mondit seigneur de Guienne representant la personne du Roy ou Chastel du Louvre." (AN, KK 1009, fol. 1v)

(235) Rymer, IX, 219. The safe-conduct issued by Henry V was for the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Lisieux, the counts of Vendôme and Tancarville, the lords of Ivry, Offémont, Bracquemont, and Roussay, and four royal secretaries: Jean Andry, Gontier Col, Jean de Villebresme, and Etienne de Mauregart. (Ibid.)

(236) Lehoux, III, 512-13.

(237) Gontier Col's report of the embassy to England is published in G. Bessé, Recueil de diverses pièces servant a l'histoire du roy Charles VI, Paris, 1660, pp. 94-111.

(238) Delabarre, "Etat," p. 97 n.b.

(239) BN, Coll. Bourgogne, XXV, fol. 18.

(240) J. Pot, p. 171. The Burgundian ambassadors commissioned by Duke John on May 26, 1415 were Regnier Pot, the lord of Autrey, Guy Armenier, Maître Thierry le Roi, and Jean de Montleon (Montlyon). (Ibid.) Another embassy was sent in mid-June. (Ibid.) It appears that the embassy mentioned by Monstrelet (III, 75-76) was sent in July. Its members were Pot, Autrey, the bishop of Tournai, and a "lawyer from near Dijon." (Ibid., p. 76)

(241) Finot, no. XVIII.

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(242) Finot, no. XVIII.

(243) "...ferra tant sur ce que mondit seigneur de Bourgoingne en deverra estre content par raison." (Finot, no. XVIII, p. 215)

(244) It is unclear whether Monstrelet (III, 75-76) refers to the embassy of June or to the one that took place in July.

(245) Monstrelet, III, 70 & 76. The duke of Guyenne's mistress was Girarde Cassinel, daughter of a royal chamberlain. See Appendix IV under Cassinel. In her honor, when leaving on the military expedition of 1414, Louis had displayed a standard on which appeared, in gold, a "K" (for "Kassinel"), a swan ("cigne"), and an "L" (for "Loys"), which produced "Cassinel" when read all together. (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 275)

(246) J. Pot, p. 178 (with reference to BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LXV, fol. 104). For the duke of Guyenne's negative attitude about his wife, see RSD, V, 588.

(247) RSD, V, 698-700.

(248) RSD, V, 700.

(249) Lehoux, III, 387. See also Monstrelet, III, 72-75; and Wylie, I, 490-92. Juvenal des Ursins (pp. 288-89) describes a heated exchange between Henry V and the archbishop of Bourges which was, he claims, responsible for the breaking-off of the negotiations in London.

(250) Wylie, I, 444.

(251) Vaughan, John, p. 204. For the names of the royal ambassadors, see Petit, Itineraires, p. 420. Note that the document included by Juvenal des Ursins in his chronicle (p. 306) gives the erroneous date of July 1 for Duke John's oath.

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(252) Vaughan, John, p. 204. Vaughan says that the separate document which was drawn up by apostolic notaries was "secret."

(253) Monstrelet, III, 82. The date is confirmed by an eye-witness, one of Henry V's chaplains, who wrote the Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed. F. Taylor and J.S. Roskell, Oxford, 1975, p. 22. According to a Norman priest, captured by the English, who made a deposition in the court case against Jean Fusoris in 1416, "quiquidam Anglici" disembarked on August 12, 1415. This is quoted by Lehoux (III, 367 n.4), who rashly concludes that Aug. 12 must be the date Henry V himself came ashore. For more discussion of the date, see Wylie, II, 16 n.10.

(254) RSD, V, 534.

(255) BN, ms. fr. 26040, no. 4971.

(256) Gesta Henrici, p. 32. The captain of Harfleur was Lyonnet de Bracquemont. His muster, dated Harfleur, August 10, 1415, bears the names of eleven écuyers. (BN, Coll. Clairambault, XXI, no. 1480) The lord of Gaucourt appears to have taken over the command when he arrived on Aug. 13. (Gesta Henrici, p. 32)

(257) BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 725. During the expedition to Arras in 1414, the soldiers of the royal army had worn the Armagnac stripe instead of the traditional white cross. (Monstrelet, II, 466-67) Also on Aug. 28, 1415, Charles VI ordered the provost of Paris to publish the summons of the arrière-ban in the provostship of Paris. (Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Livre vert vieil premier, fols. 53-54v) This royal order was published "au Chastelet de Paris et es places et carefours accoustumez a faire cris et publicacions a Paris par moy Guillaume Paris cler criminel dudit Chastelet le vendredi avant disner" (Aug. 30). (Ibid., fol. 54v)

(256) AD Nord, B 659, no. 15304, pp. 1-2 (15th century copy); published in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXXXVIII; and Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 300-01.

(259) AD Nord, B 659, no. 15304, pp. 2-3; published in

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Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 301-02.

(260) AD Nord, B 659, no. 15304, p. 11; published in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCC; and Juvenal des Ursins, p. 307.

(261) BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 726.

(262) Journal d'un bourgeois, pp. 61-62.

(263) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 292.

(264) AM Mantes, BB 2, fols. 95-95v.

(265) The duke of Guyenne arrived in Vernon by Sept. 13, 1415. (BN, ms. fr. 26040, nos. 4974 & 4980)

(266) BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 132.

(267) For the receiving of the Oriflamme on Sept. 10, 1415, see RSD, V, 538-40. Charles VI dined in Argenteuil and supped and slept in Saint-Germain-en-Laye on Sept. 11. (BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 127) He left that place for Poissy on Sept. 16 (ibid., p. 134) and dined in Poissy and supped and slept in Meulan on Sept. 17 (ibid., p. 109). He was in Mantes on Sept. 19. (Ibid., p. 132)

(268) BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 115. The duke of Guyenne was evidently still in Vernon on Sept. 20, for he ordered the royal council to meet there on that day (but he did not attend the meeting). (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 727)

(269) Shortly before Sept. 13, 1415, the lord of Gaucourt had sent a man named Lescot secretly from Harfleur to Rouen to explain the garrison's situation to the constable d'Albret and ask for help. (BN, ms. fr. 26040, no. 4974) The constable sent Lescot on to Vernon to speak with the duke of Guyenne. (Ibid., no. 4980)

(270) Monstrelet, III, 90.

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(271) Gesta Henrici, pp. 48-50. In the face of the testimony of this eye-witness account, Lehoux (III, 388 n.2) should not have been so quick to choose the date of the surrender of Harfleur given by the anonymous burgess of Paris: Sept. 14. (Journal d'un bourgeois, p. 62) Lehoux supported her choice by saying that the letter of Henry V to the duke of Guyenne was dated Sept. 16 "a notre ville de Harflieu," but the original of this letter is damaged, and the date has been questioned by Wylie (II, 62 n.1). Furthermore, it was still being said in Rouen on Sept. 17 that the enemies of King Charles were "tenans siege devant Harefleu." (BN, ms. fr. 26040, no. 4977) Note, also, that both Monstrelet (III, 85) and Juvenal des Ursins (p. 295) give the date of Sept. 22 for the surrender. The Monk of Saint-Denis (V, 540) dates the final capitulation Sept. 18.

(272) Wylie, II, 56.

(273) Among the notable persons who died from the epidemic at the siege of Harfleur were Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. (Gesta Henrici, pp. 44 & 50)

(274) Gesta Henrici, pp. 54-56.

(275) Gesta Henrici, p. 56. For the text of Henry V's challenge to the duke of Guyenne, see Rymer, IX, 313.

(276) Wylie, II, 74-76.

(277) Gesta Henrici, p. 58. For the numbers of Englishmen who died at Harfleur or were sent home after the siege, see Wylie, II, 66.

(278) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 297. Juvenal's date of Oct. 7 is confirmed by the king's household accounts, for on that day Charles VI dined in Mantes and supped and slept in Vernon. (BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 115) The king was still in Vernon on Oct. 9 (BN, P.O. 1522, Heuse, no. 71) and was in Rouen on Oct. 12 (BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 115).

(279) BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 115.

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(280) AN, KK 243, fol. 46v.

(281) Wylie, II, 104.

(282) Lehoux, III, 389 n.8.

(283) Petit, Itinéraires, pp. 421-22.

(284) Gesta Henrici, p. 60.

(285) Gesta Henrici, p. 62.

(286) Wylie, II, 112. The count of Alençon had been made a duke by Charles VI on Jan. 1, 1415. (See Appendix IV under Alençon)

(287) Wylie, II, 117-18.

(288) Le Fevre de Saint-Rémy, I, 236-37.

(289) Gesta Henrici, pp. 80 ff.

(290) For eye-witness accounts of the battle of Agincourt, see Gesta Henrici, pp. 80-92; and Le Fevre de Saint-Remy, I, 246-59. See also Wylie, II, chapter 34; and C. Hibbert, Agincourt, London, 1964. Of particular interest is the discussion in J. Keegan, The Face of Battle, New York, 1976, pp. 79-116.

(291) Le Fevre de Saint-Rémy, I, 268. After the battle of Agincourt, 5,800 bodies were buried in three trenches near the forest of Tramecourt. (Wylie, II, 224-25)

(292) G. Bacquet, Azincourt, Bellegarde, 1977, p. 67. For the most complete list of the dead, see ibid., pp. 76-81.

(293) Monstrelet, III, 120-21.

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(294) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 313.

(295) Blanchard, IV, p. xxii.

(296) G.A. Knowlson, Jean V, duc de Bretagne et l'Angleterre (1399-1442), Cambridge & Rennes, 1964, pp. 83-84. On Jan. 28, 1414, Henry V had announced publicly that the duke of Brittany was one of his allies. (Ibid., p. 85)

(297) Wylie, II, 248.

(298) Wylie, II, 249-50 (with reference to Tito Livio). For Livio's association with the duke of Gloucester, see ibid., p. 193.

(299) Ordonnances, XII, 254.

(300) For examples of nominations made by the king after Oct. 29, 1415 and signed only "Par le Roy," see BN, ms. fr. 21405, p. 76 (Nov. 11, 1415) and BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 112 (Nov. 15, 1415).

(301) On Nov. 4, 1415, the duke of Guyenne named Jean d'Angennes captain of Touques (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, pp. 109-10) and on Nov. 7 he named Hervy Philippes captain of Montlhéry (ibid., p. 117). For the positions that these two persons held in Louis' household, see Appendix IV under Angennes and Philippes.

(302) AD Nord, B 659, no. 15304, p. 10; published in Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 306-07 with the correct date; and in Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCLXXXXIX with the incorrect date of Sept. 4, 1415.

(303) AD Nord, B 659, no. 15304, p. 11; published in Juvenal des Ursins, p. 307; and Plancher, Preuves, III, no. CCC.

(304) BN, Coll. Bourgogne, XXV, fol. 18.

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(305) Vaughan, John, p. 208.

(306) Ordonnances, X, 249-50; and Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 318-19.

(307) Ordonnances, X, 250; and Juvenal des Ursins, p. 317.

(308) For the itinerary of the duke of Burgundy in Nov. 1415, see Petit, Itinéraires, p. 422.

(309) Paris, Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Livre vert vieil premier, fols. 55-55v; published in Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 319-20.

(310) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 422.

(311) For Henry V's rough crossing from Calais to Dover in Nov. 1415, see Wylie, II, 253-55.

(312) Charles VI was in Rouen on Nov. 22, 1415 (BN, ms. fr. 6748, p. 119), in Pont-de-l'Arche on Nov. 23 (ibid., p. 136), in Louviers on Nov. 24 (ibid., p. 133), in Vernon on Nov. 25 (ibid., p. 119), in Mantes (Nov. 26) (ibid., p. 111), in Meulan on Nov. 27 (ibid., p. 136), in Poissy and Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Nov. 28) (ibid., p. 111), in Saint-Cloud on Nov. 29 (BN, ms. fr. 23271, p. 419), and in Paris on Nov. 29 (J. Vieillard, "Lettres originales de Charles VI conservées aux archives de la couronne d'Aragon à Barcelone," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XCVII, 360).

(313) RSD, V, 582.

(314) RSD, V, 582. On Nov. 27, 1415, the duke of Guyenne was in Ecouen. (BN, Coll. Clairambault, DCCLXXXII, p. 111)

(315) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 321.

(316) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 423.

(317) Monstrelet, III, 127. According to Monstrelet

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(ibid.), the duchess of Guyenne also returned to Paris at this time and resided with the queen in the Hôtel d'Orléans. If this is correct, she did not stay long, for she was said to be in Marcoussis a few weeks later when the duke of Guyenne died. (J. Pot, p. 178 (with reference to BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LXV, fol. 104)

(318) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 321.

(319) Paris, Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Livre vert vieil premier, fol. 63. The letter of Dec. 2, 1415 was published throughout the city of Paris on Dec. 16. (Ibid.)

(320) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 321.

(321) Baye, II, 226.

(322) Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 321-22.

(323) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 322.

(324) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 322.

(325) RSD, V, 584.

(326) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 322.

(327) RSD, V, 586. Brachet (p. 57 n.2) cautions that the illness described in the Middle Ages as "profluvium ventris" was diarrhea and not dysentery, which was called "dysenteria." Stressing the fact that the duke of Guyenne had spit up blood in 1413, Brachet theorizes (p. 57) that Louis' diarrhea and fever in 1415 were the "diarrhée colliquative" and "fièvre hectique" of a consumptive.

(328) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 322. The king of Sicily arrived in his city of Angers on Dec. 20, 1415. (AN, KK 243, fol. 46v)

(329) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 323. During the session of the

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grand conseil on Dec. 10, 1415, it was decided to set at 30 francs per "muid" the surtax on salt, which had been ordered to help collect the funds necessary to recover Harfleur from the English garrison that was still ensconced there. (BN, ms. fr. 25709, no. 732)

(330) Petit, Itinéraires, p. 423.

(331) AN, P 2298, pp. 415-20.

(332) BN, Coll. Bourgogne, LXV, fol. 104 (from the sixth account of Jean de Noident). The ambassadors listed are the lords of Autrey (Jean de Vergy), Arlay (Jean de Chalon, prince of Orange), Saint-Georges (Guillaume de Vienne), La Roche (Regnier Pot), and Toulongeon; Jean de Luxembourg; Eustache de Laistre; and Jacques "Lambar" (Lambert ?).

(333) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 323. The four other ambassadors named here are the lords of Chalon and Vergy, Jean de Rosay, and Jean Chousat.

(334) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 324.

(335) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 324.

(336) According to the Chronique des Cordeliers (Monstrelet, VI, 230), the death of the duke of Guyenne was kept secret for four days "affin que ceulx de Paris n'eussent nulle souspechon sur ceulx qui estoient entour luy." This is unlikely, however, for the prince's death was evidently known to members of the Parlement on the day it occurred. (Baye, II, 231)

(337) Baye, II, 233; and Juvenal des Ursins, p. 324. The duke of Guyenne's tomb was opened on May 6, 1699. Inside his leaden coffin was another, made of wood, and when this one was opened, nothing was found inside but ashes. (Proces verbal de ce qui s'est trouve tant dans le sanctuaire que dessous et autour du grand autel de l'eglise de Paris, Paris, 1701 (BN call number: Lj.9 465), p. 14)

(338) Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 324-25.

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(339) For the duchess of Guyenne's presence in Lagny-sur-Marne on Jan. 9, 1416, see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1589, fol. 98. According to Juvenal des Ursins (p. 325), she had arrived there on Jan. 5. For her departure on Jan. 10, see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1588, fol. 208.

(340) See the letter of Charles VII of March 9, 1425 in AN, X.1a 8604, fols. 80v-81.

(341) Juvenal des Ursins, p. 325.

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EPILOGUE

Soon after the death of the duke of Guyenne, the royal family became completely victimized by the Armagnacs. The duke of Berry died in 1416, and the duke of Guyenne's successor as dauphin, John, duke of Touraine, died in 1417. The next dauphin, the fourteen-year-old Prince Charles, husband of Marie of Anjou, the king of Sicily's daughter, was no more than a mouthpiece for his Armagnac in-laws. Queen Isabeau's efforts to pursue a strictly royal policy caused the Armagnacs to lure the king into ordering her exile to Tours in 1417, and because the duke of Burgundy came to save her from her jailers, she was at last forced to become a Burgundian. The march on Paris directed by John the Fearless in 1418 resulted in a massacre of the Armagnacs and the flight of the dauphin, who was carried out of the city at night in the arms of an Armagnac. Henceforth, the government was involved in a civil war in which Charles VI was opposed by his own son and heir, but both of them were now merely puppets of the Burgundians and Armagnacs. These rival factions became more determined than ever to wage their war of hatred to the bitter end, and the destruction caused by the fighting opened the way for Henry V to return from England, conquer the kingdom of France, marry Princess Catherine, and sire the only man ever to be crowned king of England in London and king of France in Paris: Henry VI.

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In hindsight, it is clear that the death of the duke of Guyenne was a disaster for France. Several of the chroniclers, when recording his death, took the opportunity to insult him and defame his character, but it is not difficult to see that these individuals all had their own axes to grind. The partisans of the Armagnacs disliked the duke of Guyenne because he would not allow the Armagnacs to control Paris after the flight of the Cabochiens and because he had no interest in avenging the murder of Louis of Orleans. The partisans of the Burgundians could not forgive the prince for his firm resistance to the attempts of John the Fearless to dominate the government and for his refusal to permit Duke John to return to court after the downfall of the Cabochiens.

It is impossible to say how well the duke of Guyenne's political maneuvers would have succeeded if he had lived, for Charles VI, although mentally ill and clearly unfit to rule, continued to reign as king. Charles' inability to function well with any consistency caused him often to ignore his own regulations, cancel beneficial ordinances, and underwrite decisions that were not favorable to the crown, but the duke of Guyenne, by the time of his death, had managed to gain complete control of the royal finances, direct the negotiations with John the Fearless as he pleased, and obtain for himself the post of captain-general of the frontiers, which put him in command of all military affairs. In the face of the strength of the Burgundian and

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Armagnac parties, the young prince had found it necessary to surround himself with an enormous entourage, chosen, as much as possible, from among people who had no ties with the two rival factions. It was a great financial burden to support these individuals and to buy their loyalty, but the duke of Guyenne understood how imperative it was to form a separate political party, whose allegiance would be only to him and, through him, to the crown.

The chronicler Monk of Saint-Denis, probably the most impartial of the duke of Guyenne's critics, disapproved of Louis' lifestyle: the late hours, the interest in music pursued with a few companions in solitude, his temper, and his wariness of people.[1] The duke of Guyenne was young, and he was clearly endowed with a certain amount of the rebelliousness of youth. Nevertheless, he accepted the heavy burden of supporting a monarchy on the verge of collapse, and although he was the constant prey of self-serving traitors, he succeeded during the last years of his short life in preventing his king from being used as a pawn by persons who were driven by an unbridled lust for power and revenge, persons who had no thought for the kingdom of France.

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NOTES

(1) RSD, V, 586-88. The Monk also claims that the duke of Guyenne was not interested in military exploits. It is difficult to understand exactly what he means by this, however, since he himself described the young prince's enthusiasm on his first military campaign. Louis also took part in military games. He was taught to joust by his chamberlain Regnault d'Angennes (BN, ms. fr. 32511, fols. 21v-22), and he is known to have jousted at the tournament given on Feb. 10, 1415 in honor of the English ambassadors (Mirot, "Paix d'Arras," no. V).

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APPENDIX I

THE FINANCES OF THE DUKE OF GUYENNE

There is today scant information concerning the finances of the duke of Guyenne. None of his original accounts are extant, and except for scattered documents, the only sources that remain are: (1) extracts made before 1713 by Du Fourny from the accounts of François de Nerly, the duke of Guyenne's trésorier général, (BN, ms. fr. 32,511, fols. 3-27); (2) an original register, compiled after Louis' death, containing the debts which remained from the accounts of his chambre aux deniers (AN, KK 228); (3) extracts taken from the accounts of Aubert le Fevre, receveur général du Dauphiné, for the years 1410-1415 (BN, ms. fr. 22,365, pp. 7-20).

Although these sources provide valuable information, they are all lamentably incomplete. The extracts from the accounts of the Dauphiné contain no sums, and in six out of seven instances, the extracts made by Du Fourny equal, in total, about only a quarter or a third of the "recepte totale" of the individual accounts from which they were taken (see Table I, p. 448). The third important source, the register of debts, must be used with caution. First, it should be noted that these "debts" were financial obligations to be paid with money obtained from the sale of the deceased duke of Guyenne's estate; they were not debts that remained after

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the estate was settled.

In his study of the duke of Guyenne's finances, Maurice Rey implies that since money from the war tax was used to discharge part of the debts of Louis' chambre aux deniers, these debts could not have been paid in full by the prince's estate alone.[1] Rey's premise is that the entire estate was sold and that the money from the sale was used exclusively to pay as many of the duke of Guyenne's debts as possible. It is known, however, that Louis' entire estate was not sold, for the duke of Berry received two "tableaux d'or," a large diamond, and two large pearls, which the young prince had left to him in his testament.[2] Furthermore, it is known that on January 18, 1416, Charles VI ordered the sale of thirty-five objects of gold or gold plate and a number of precious stones, all from the duke of Guyenne's estate, with the specification that the money made from this sale was to be used to pay both the expenses of certain embassies and the wages of the men-at-arms who were stationed at the frontiers or in Paris.[3]

Another indication that the prince's estate was, in fact, able to cover his debts can be found in the duke of Burgundy's request that his daughter Margaret, Louis' widow, be given half of his movables, as was customary.[4] Duke John would not have made this request if it had seemed possible that Louis' estate could not satisfy his debts, for Margaret would then have been responsible for them. At this time, it was usual for a widow to renounce her claim to her rightful

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portion of her husband's estate if he died deeply in debt. This she would do by going in person, or by sending a deputy, to place her belt, purse, and keys on her husband's coffin at his burial ceremony.[5] Margaret did not renounce her claim, but the government refused to satisfy her and appropriated for the king's use what should have been hers.[6]

These facts show that there is no reason to stress the debts of the duke of Guyenne as Maurice Rey wishes to do. Rey marvels at the total sum of the debts of the prince's chambre aux deniers, which amounted to about 77,000 livres tournois for the period from May 1, 1405 through December 23, 1415,[7] and he concludes that this sum represented a large debt.[8] This interpretation is intertwined with his notion that Louis was a spendthrift who died "sans avoir rien fait de grand."[9] There is an important factor here, however, which Rey ignores: it was normal for princes of Louis' time to live on credit in order to increase their cash flow and thus augment their resources to a maximum. It was only when they died that their day of reckoning came. Louis had more reason than some to live in this manner, for he was attempting to build up a political party which would be free of Burgundian and Armagnac influence. In order to do this, he needed all the money he could get, since the nobles were often prone to serve the highest bidder. Unlike the king, Louis could not always make a political payoff by granting someone a royal office. Instead, he was usually obliged either to enlarge his own household by adding new

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officers or to pay monetary "gifts." This costly procedure and Louis' involvement with several important military expeditions probably account for his increase in spending, and Rey is surely wrong to consider this increase an adequate reason to describe the prince as "oubliant toute mesure."[10]

The little evidence we possess today does not, in fact, support the idea that Louis was a spendthrift, for few of the entries in the extracts made by Du Fourny concern his personal expenses or items purchased for his personal use (see Table I, p. 448). It is true that Du Fourny could have omitted these things, or they may have appeared in Louis' other accounts. There is evidence, however, which indicates that by 1414, a year before his death, the duke of Guyenne was not well provided with luxury items, at least. In September 1414, Louis was planning to go south to meet the king of the Romans, by whom he wished to be knighted.[11] For this reason, he asked to borrow the king's good wall hangings and bed curtains ("la bonne chambre du Roy"), various items from the duke of Berry, and objects from the queen's chapel. The young prince said that if he could not go "as befits the king's eldest son," he would cancel his trip, and, in the end, this is what he did.[12]

Although it is not possible to speak with conclusiveness about the sources of the duke of Guyenne's income, Maurice Rey treats the amounts that François de Nerly received from the Dauphiné and Guyenne as the total of the prince's

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revenues from those areas and deduces that in all except one account, 15 % or less of the duke of Guyenne's income came from his apanage.[13] Clearly the percentages established by Rey and his remarks about the sources of the prince's income are misleading, for it is known that François de Nerly was not the only financial officer of the duke who received money from the receveur du Dauphiné. Although the extracts from the accounts of the Dauphiné mention no sums, they do record that cash was delivered also to Guillaume Budé, the duke's maître des garnisons des vins, in 1410.[14] These extracts are so brief and incomplete that it would be unwise to assume that Budé was the only other financial officer of the prince to receive money from the Dauphiné. In fact, if the workings of Louis' financial departments followed the haphazard pattern set by those of the king and the queen, all of his financial officers were probably sent money directly from Guyenne or the Dauphiné at one time or another. This hypothesis is supported by further evidence which proves that the prince's various financial departments received sums of cash from sources other than François de Nerly, Louis' trésorier général. In 1412, for example, Jean Piet, the duke of Guyenne's maître de la chambre aux deniers, received 8,000 livres tournois that did not pass through Nerly's hands, and Jean Martin, Budé's successor as Louis' maître des garnisons des vins received, similarly, 1,250 livres tournois.[15]

Since there is no information on the total expenditures

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of the duke of Guyenne's chambre aux deniers, argenterie, écurie, coffres, garnison des vins, or aumônerie; it is not possible to make accurate statements about the prince's finances with no more than the expenditures of his trésorerie as evidence. Nevertheless, Rey uses Nerly's totals as ammunition for an attack on Louis.[16] The largest sum ever received by the duke's trésorier général, however, was 356,535 livres, 16 sous, 8 deniers tournois (for the year from October 1, 1414 through September 30, 1415),[17] and this amount does not seem so extraordinary when one considers the fact that the trésorier général of Louis, duke of Orléans, received 453,158 livres, 19 sous, 10 deniers, oboles tournois for the expenditures of his account for the year from October 1, 1404 through September 30, 1405 and that the receveur général des finances of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, spent 538,645 livres, 16 sous, 2 deniers, oboles tournois on the expenditures of his account for the year from February 1, 1410 through January 31, 1411.[18] The duke of Guyenne certainly had enough cause to spend as much money as these dukes, for, besides trying to build up his own political party, he was involved in 1411, 1412, 1414, and 1415 with large military expeditions, which must have cost him a great deal.

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NOTES

(1) Rey, Finances, p. 324.

(2) Pannier, pp. 71-72.

(3) Pannier, no. 1, pp. 35-42. Note that the text of this document does not imply that these items represented the duke of Guyenne's total collection of golden objects, but Rey (Finances, p. 324) takes it for granted that they did.

(4) Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 324-25.

(5) This custom is described by the chronicler Monstrelet when he mentions the renunciations made by Margaret of Flanders, widow of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in 1404 (I, 89) and by Bonne of Bar, widow of the count of Saint-Pol, in 1415 (III, 68). For additional information, see P. Guilhiermoz, "Le Droit de renonciation de la femme noble lors de la dissolution de la communauté dans l'ancienne coutume de Paris," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XLIV (1883), 489-500.

(6) Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 324-25.

(7) For the periodic totals of the debts of the duke of Guyenne's chambre aux deniers, see the table in Rey, Finances, p. 323.

(8) Rey, Finances, p. 322.

(9) Rey, Finances, p. 325 n.1.

(10) Rey, Finances, p. 292.

(11) Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Auswärtige Staaten, Urkunden Frankreich, Fasz. 6 (transcript supplied by I. Straub).

(12) Note that during the following year, the duke of Guyenne did attempt to outfit himself with several

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valuable joyaux. (See Table I, p. 448; and BN, ms. fr. 32,511, fol. 20)

(13) Rey, Finances, pp. 294-97. See also M. Rey, "Les Finances domaniales en Dauphine d'après les comptes des trésoriers généraux à la fin du XIVe siècle et pendant les premières années du XVe siècle," Le Moyen Age, LV (1949), 72-74.

(14) BN, ms. fr. 22,365, p. 10.

(15) AN, K 57 B, no. 18.

(16) Rey, Finances, p. 292.

(17) BN, ms. fr. 32,511, fol. 19.

(18) For the information on Louis of Orléans, see AN, KK 267, fol. 35v, and for the information on John the Fearless, see AD Côte-d'Or, B 1560, fol. 336.

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TABLE I

The expenditures of the duke of Guyenne appearing in Du Fourny's extracts from the accounts of the duke's trésorerie: BN, fr. 32,511, fols. 3-27

Categories of Expenses	Account # 1 3/26/1409 through 9/30/1410	Account # 2 10/1/1410 through 12/31/1411	Account # 3 1/1/1412 through 9/30/1412	Account # 4-4b 10/1/1412 through 9/30/1413	Account # 5 10/1/1413 through 9/30/1414	Account # 6 10/1/1414 through 9/30/1415	Account # 7 10/1/1415 through 12/18/1415
Pensions & gages	18,200 l.t.	20,450 l.t.	19,150 l.t.	26,824 l.t.	20,675 l.t.	29,825 l.t.	3,461 l.t.
Dons in place of pensions	x	x	100 l.t.	75 l.t.	1,000 l.t.	500 l.t.	x
Dons d'argent	1,610 l.t.	7,189 l.t.	c. 9,000 l.t.	14,646 l.t.	8,309 l.t.	c. 49,239 l.t.	5,793 l.t.
Dons (not monetary)	2,192 l.t.	5,181 l.t.	6,348 l.t.	c. 2,827 l.t.	5,107 l.t.	c. 19,722 l.t.	c. 2,330 l.t.
Dons & achats for war	x	x	c. 8,320 l.t.	x	3,940 l.t.	c. 61945 l.t.	3,956 l.t.
Livrées de vêtements	338 l.t.	300 l.t.	300 l.t.	x	1,016 l.t.	375 l.t.	840 l.t.
Lodging of officers	x	x	x	x	x	31 l.t.	x
Embassies and trips	2,224 l.t.	c. 1,343 l.t.	560 l.t.	1,164 l.t.	2,625 l.t.	8,253 l.t.	1,360 l.t.
Office/secretarial expenses	21 l.t.	443 l.t.	127 l.t.	46 l.t.	30 l.t.	4 l.t.	40 l.t.
Repayment of loans	x	x	x	1,113 l.t.	c. 855 l.t.	8,457 l.t.	1,584 l.t.
Achats: real estate, rentes	4,000 l.t.	500 l.t.	x	x	x	x	x
Purchase of offices	x	x	x	x	x	2,000 l.t.	x
Joyaux (for own use)	1,125 l.t.	850 l.t.	191 l.t.	x	3,600 l.t.	c. 28,415 l.t.	2,786 l.t.
Vaisselle (for self/hôtel)	3,797 l.t.	753 l.t.	3,000 l.t.	357 l.t.	210 l.t.	244 l.t.	x
Tapisserie	c. 5,523 l.t.	x	2,200 l.t.	4,840 l.t.	x	x	x
Books	350 l.t.	x	x	100 l.t.	300 l.t.	x	x
Musicians & instruments	x	x	x	x	225 l.t.	100 l.t.	x
Theatricals	x	x	x	x	x	330 l.t.	x
Military games	x	x	x	x	x	513 l.t.	x
Construction work	x	x	903 l.t.	x	x	c. 305 l.t.	x
Horses & items for stables	x	1,012 l.t.	853 l.t.	x	x	x	113 l.t.
Alms	x	x	500 l.t.	500 l.t.	500 l.t.	500 l.t.	83 l.t.
Rentes owed	1,350 l.t.	x	x	x	x	x	x
Other	x	128 l.t.	c. 89 l.t.	x	10 l.t.	1,215 l.t.	x
TOTALS (approximate)	40,732 l.t.	38,156 l.t.	51,441 l.t.	52,692 l.t.	50,404 l.t.	157,173 l.t.	22,346 l.t.
Recepte (totals to nearest l.t.)	118,191 l.t.	132,030 l.t.	156,679 l.t.	216,799 l.t.	219,501 l.t.	356,536 l.t.	103,027 l.t.

l.t. : livres tournois

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APPENDIX II

THE ROLE OF THE PARLEMENT DE PARIS IN THE RATIFICATION AND REGISTRATION OF ROYAL ACTS

The extent of the authority of the Parlement de Paris during the reign of Charles VI has neither been fully explored nor adequately explained.[1] Many historians have ignored the role of the Parlement in the ratification of royal acts, and, in certain cases, the mistaken idea that it was necessary for the Parlement to publish and register all important ordinances to give them the force of law has resulted in the misinterpretation of a number of significant royal acts.[2]

At the time of Charles VI, the legal rights of the Parlement were not firmly established in all areas, and this led to controversy. The most notable conflict was a long-lasting dispute between the Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes, which began because the Parlement considered itself the highest court of appeal.[3] The king was obliged to intervene, and on June 25, 1407, he decreed that the Parlement would not be allowed to receive any appeals concerning the financial matters dealt with in the Chambre des Comptes.[4] Persons who wished to contest the judgments of the Chambre were commanded to appeal directly to the crown. This ordinance did not, however, end the dispute.

The Parlement was also involved with the Chambre des

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Comptes in another important area, for the two institutions divided the responsibilities of guarding the royal domain.[5] The duty of the Parlement was to defend the domain against alienations or sales.[6] The concept of the Parlement as protector of the domain was strengthened by certain adjurations made by Charles VI himself. The king's mental illness often provided officials or members of his family with the opportunity to take advantage of moments when his memory was impaired by extorting privileges from him that were detrimental to the monarchy. King Charles was at times aware of this circumstance and ordered grants to be ignored if they contradicted dispositions he had already made, and this served to increase the prestige of the Parlement.

Whereas evidence indicates that originally alienations of the royal domain could be made without consulting the Parlement if the Chambre des Comptes agreed,[7] as a result of Charles VI's precautionary measures, this rule was no longer steadfast. A case that illustrates this point is the royal grant of lands to Pierre of Navarre, the king's first cousin. Pierre and his elder brother Charles had not inherited any lands in France after the death of their father, King Charles the Bad of Navarre in 1387 because all of that king's French property had been confiscated after his plans to poison Charles V were discovered in 1378.[8] Charles VI was especially fond of Pierre, who had spent much of his life at the French court. By 1375 Pierre had been given the county of Mortain in Normandy by Charles the Bad,[9]

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and on May 31, 1401, Charles VI returned it to him, establishing it again as a county.[10] On May 31, 1407, the king raised Mortain to the rank of a comté-pairie.[11] This grant was "verified" and registered in the royal Chambre des comptes, but Pierre was unable to obtain a copy of the document.[12] For this reason, in a council attended by the cardinal of Bar, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the duke of Berry, and other notables, including members of the Parlement and the Chambre des comptes, King Charles issued a letter in March 1409, repeating the grant and ordering the Parlement, the Chambre des comptes, the exchequer of Normandy, and a number of royal officials to allow Pierre full use of his rights.[13] On the following May 3, however, the Parlement decided to refuse to endorse the king's letter.[14] The refusal of the Parlement seems odd at first because there was an historical precedent for Charles VI's grant: Philip VI had elevated Mortain to the rank of comté-pairie in 1336 for Philip of Évreux, Pierre's grandfather.[15]

It appears that the decision made by the Parlement in 1409 was motivated by a royal ordinance of February 28, 1402 in which the king had undertaken to fulfill that part of his coronation oath which obliged him to refrain from alienating any of the royal domain and to reunite whatever chanced to become alienated.[16] Acknowledging that in his youth he had inadvertantly alienated certain lordships and revenues, King Charles ordered in this letter the cancellation of any

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alienations except those already made in favor of the queen, the royal children, the royal uncles and their children, and Pierre of Navarre. The gages and rentes paid to royal officers from the revenues of the domain were not to be affected by this document, and provision was made for the enlargement of the apanage of the duke of Orléans, which had been judged insufficient. To give his ordinance the "force and vigor of perpetual law," the king swore with his hand on the Gospels to do nothing to the contrary. He also compelled those present: several princes of the blood, the constable, the chancellor, members of the Great Council, and councillors from the Parlement, the Chambre des comptes, and the treasury to swear in his presence to "suffer nothing to be done to the contrary" of the dispositions set forth. King Charles commanded that the ordinance be "solemnly" published and read aloud in all the accustomed places throughout the kingdom.[17]

Because of the oath taken in 1402, the Parlement could not, in all good conscience, countenance the elevation of Mortain to a comté-pairie in 1407 and 1409. It is curious to note that the members of the Chambre des comptes, who had also sworn before the king, went ahead and "verified" and registered the grant of 1407 apparently without protest. The king could have forced the endorsement and registration of the grant to Pierre of Navarre by sending the Parlement "lettres de jussion" or, if that failed, by going in person to the Parlement and reissuing the grant during a "lit de

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justice."[18] Charles VI does not appear to have wished to flaunt his disregard for his own oath in such a public manner, however, and, thus, Mortain never enjoyed the rank of comté-pairie while in the posession of Pierre of Navarre.

On another occasion, the Parlement did see fit to disregard its oath of 1402. On June 9, 1404, Charles VI formed the duché-pairie of Nemours for Charles the Noble, king of Navarre, and the Parlement offered no objection and registered the grant on the following June 27.[19] In this case, the Parlement had good reason to consider the grant beneficial to the monarchy because, in return, the king of Navarre renounced his claim to all French lands formerly owned by his father and agreed to cede Cherbourg to the crown. Cherbourg was a strategically located Norman port, which Charles the Bad had given to England in return for military aid against Henry of Trastamare.[20] After confiscating the Navarrese holdings in France, Charles V had tried to take Cherbourg by force, but his efforts had been futile. Although they were originally supposed to hold the port for only three years,[21] the English did not return Cherbourg to the house of Navarre until 1393.[22] The acquisition of the port by Charles VI in June 1404 was an act of great significance because at that time France was in the process of negotiating an alliance with Wales against England,[23] and it was imperative to prevent the English from having easy access to Normandy.

Although the Parlement never accepted the elevation of

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Pierre of Navarre's county of Mortain to the rank of comté-pairie, it did not oppose a royal letter dated November 6, 1410, which allowed Pierre to hold certain lands in Champagne "en pairie."[24] The acquiescence of the Parlement in this case can be explained by the fact that these lands were part of the duché-pairie of Nemours owned by Charles of Navarre, who had given them to Pierre on November 3, 1410.[25] Since the lands were already held "en pairie," Charles VI was not alienating more rights of the royal domain by allowing Pierre to hold them in the same manner.

After the death of Pierre of Navarre in 1412, Mortain returned to the crown, and both the Parlement and the Chambre des comptes vehemently protested against the gift of the county to the queen's brother Louis, duke of Bavaria in 1413. This new alienation was disguised by the fact that the king had granted Mortain to the duke of Guyenne on March 4, 1413.[26] Since the duke of Guyenne was heir to the throne, a grant in his favor did not seem like an alienation. Then, having obtained a letter of permission from the king which was also dated March 4, Louis of Guyenne gave Mortain to the duke of Bavaria on the following April 2.[27] The result was a court case in the Parlement, during which the grant was called illegal because the king could not make alienations without "very great solemnity" and both letters of March 4 had been signed only "Par le Roy" followed by a secretary's signature with no mention of the presence of "any lords or

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councillors."[28] It is known that the king was suffering from his "accustomed illness" on March 4,[29] and so it seems that the duke of Guyenne, who had not sworn the oath of 1402, took advantage of a moment when the king was not rational to engineer the transfer of Mortain to his uncle. The young prince was probably encouraged to do this by the queen and by Louis of Bavaria himself.[30]

Among other examples that could be cited to show the power of the Parlement in matters concerning the royal domain is its decision of May 3, 1409 not to ratify ("enteriner") the king's gift to the duke of Berry of 600 livres de rente on lands which, because they had been confiscated, were considered part of the royal domain.[31]

As guardian of the royal domain, the Parlement was also concerned with the nominations of the royal bailiffs and seneschals. The persons named to these offices brought their royal letters of nomination to the Parlement and requested ratification ("enterinement").[32] If someone had a counter-claim to the office in question, as was often the case, this person would then ask that the new nomination not be ratified until his objections were heard.[33] Contested cases of this nature were judged by the Parlement, and the procureur du roi au Parlement or, in the absence of this officer, the avocat du roi represented the king's interest during the proceedings.[34] There were times when the king ordered the ratification of a nomination without allowing the Parlement to debate the matter, and, in these cases, the

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greffier du Parlement wrote on the back of the document a special notation to that effect.[35] Among the other officers whose nominations were ratified in the Parlement were the maîtres des requetes;[36] the grand chambrier de France,[37] the grand bouteiller de France,[38] the grand panetier de France;[39] and the provost of Paris.[40]

The refusal to ratify letters issued by the king was apt to bring about the intervention of the dukes. Nevertheless, taking pride in being commonly called the "fountain of justice"[41] and jealously guarding the "rights and honor of the king,"[42] the Parlement did not hesitate to send occasional messages to the dukes or the royal council, requesting them not to "impede justice."[43]

When royal letters that were ratified by the Parlement concerned more important matters than the nomination of officials or the granting of pardons,[44] they were also apt to be registered. The procedure for registration was the copying of the letter into a special register, which was stored in the Parlement, where the practice of keeping a single volume for the registration of royal ordinances was begun around 1350.[45] The first volume of registrations, ending with an entry made on November 13, 1415, can be found in the Archives Nationales with the call number X.1a 8602. The second volume, X.1a 8603, was called the "Livre Croisé," and it contains letters registered between 1415 or 1416 and 1427. An examination of the contents of these two manuscripts shows that although there was a tendency to

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register certain types of ordinances, not all ordinances of those types were necessarily included.

Because of the interest of the Parlement in the royal domain, for example, one would expect to find in the registers royal letters concerning the apanages granted to members of the royal family, yet only about half of those documents were in fact registered. Of twelve known ordinances of Charles VI concerning the apanage of Louis of Orleans, only two appear in X.1a 8602.[46] The donation of the duchy of Guyenne to the dauphin Louis, dated January 14, 1401, was registered in the Parlement as was the ordinance of December 25, 1410, which allowed him to hold all his lands "en pairie."[47] In contrast, the Parlement registered only four of the seven known ordinances concerning the apanage of the dauphin's younger brother John, duke of Touraine.[48]

The fact that certain grants were not registered does not mean that they had been invalidated. In the case of Louis of Orléans, we know that he actually was in possession of all the lands granted to him, regardless of whether or not the grants had been registered. A pertinent example outside the category of apanages is the reform ordinance of October 20, 1409, which, though it concerned the entire kingdom, was not registered in the Parlement, the Chambre des comptes, or the Chancellerie.[49] Nevertheless, the ordinance was sent around the country and was, therefore, executed.[50]

Details from the journal of the greffier of the Parlement

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shed some light on the different means the Parlement used to ratify a letter. On July 1, 1402, the count of Joigny and several knights brought to the Parlement a letter in which the king named the duke of Burgundy "souverain gouverneur des aides en Languedoil."[51] When Joigny and his companions requested the "publication" of the document, they were told, after some deliberation, that the letter would be read in public on a day when cases were pleaded, "as was the custom with such letters." On the document itself, the greffier would write: "Publicata et lecta tali die, etc.," and then the letter would be registered in the "livre des ordonnances." If the duke did not wish to wait until Monday, which was the next time cases would be pleaded, the letter could be read aloud at the window by the premier huissier, but, in that case, the greffier would not write "Publicata" on the back of the document, and the letter would not be registered. The count and the knights returned to the duke with this information, and the duke opted for publication with registration.[52] Duke Philip may have felt more comfortable with this decision because he was to share his new office with Louis of Orléans, whose letter of nomination had been registered in the Parlement several months earlier.[53]

In cases which might provoke controversy, registration was a way of arming oneself against the opposition. It is surely for this reason that registration became more prevalent during the tumultuous reign of Charles VI. During

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the sixteen-year reign of Charles V, the "Wise," 32 letters of the king were registered by the Parlement, an average of 2 per year. From the accession of Charles VI in 1380 until his first psychotic episode in 1392, 17 royal letters were registered, an average of 1.4 per year. From the onset of the king's mental illness until the murder of Louis of Orléans in 1407, 61 royal letters were registered, an average of 3.8 per year. The average more than doubled as the Burgundian-Orléanist conflict turned into civil war, for from the beginning of 1408 until the government came under English domination in 1420, 109 royal letters were registered, an average of 8.6 per year.

Not only was there no firm policy of registration in the Parlement, but there was also, upon occasion, a great lapse of time between the date a letter was issued and the date it was registered. This does not necessarily mean that the letter in question was not executed until the date it was registered. The royal letter of May 11, 1403, which announced that on that day the members of the Parlement had sworn an oath of obedience to the king in the presence of his chancellor, was not registered until the following July 24.[54] It is obvious that in spite of this, the oath was effective from the moment it was sworn on May 11. The grant of the duchy of Guyenne to the dauphin Louis, dated January 14, 1401, and the donation of the duchy of Touraine to Prince John, dated July 12, 1401, were not "read," "published," and registered in the Parlement until January

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29, 1405, three years after the princes were emancipated and paid homage for their duchies.[55] The royal letter of October 3, 1411, which declared Duke Charles of Orléans and his "accomplices" rebels was not registered until January 1, 1414 when the war against them was long over.[56]

These examples show that registration dates must be used cautiously by historians, especially when attempting to explain the views of the Parlement towards a particular document. In order to ascertain the attitude of the Parlement, it is often more fruitful to examine the formulas used by the greffier in the notice he was accustomed to write on the back of original letters when they were published or registered. In 1401, for example, after deliberating whether or not to ratify a letter of pardon on which the king had written a line in his own hand ordering the ratification, the Parlement decided that the greffier would write on the back of the document "Lecta in curia, presente procuratore regio et non contradicente, tali die, etc." and "nothing more."[57] The Parlement appears to have felt that although it was possible to reject a royal letter issued in the king's presence,[58] it was not possible to reject one in which he had expressed his wish by writing a few words with his own hand. Nevertheless, the Parlement wanted its disapproval to be obvious in spite of its acquiescence and found a way to express this in the notice of ratification.

The matter of registration by the Parlement becomes more

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complex when one considers the fact that registration did not necessarily prevent the Parlement from later seeking to invalidate the ordinance registered. A case in point is the king's cancellation of all grants of "wages for life" paid to those councillors of the Parlement who had not served twenty years or more. This ordinance, dated February 3, 1406, was read and registered in the Parlement on the following February 13.[59] On February 17, however, we find the Parlement deliberating on the contents of the ordinance and finally deciding that the letter itself should be torn up and the contents amended.[60] The chancellor, who appears to have arrived at the Parlement at the end of the discussion, agreed to see that the document was "corrected and rewritten," yet the original remained inscribed in the "livre des ordonnances" as if it had received the sanction of the Parlement.

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(1) The classic work on the early history of the Parlement de Paris was written by F. Aubert: Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'origine à Francois 1er, Paris, 1894. For a recent general discussion of the Parlement in the Middle Ages, see F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge, Paris, 1958, II, chapters X-XII. For remarks on the Parlement during the reign of Charles VI, see J.H. Shennan, The Parlement of Paris, Ithaca, 1968, pp. 161-64.

(2) For Nordberg's mistaken ideas about the registration of acts, see his Les ducs et la royaute, pp. 58-59 & 74. Nordberg used the idea that registration was essential as the basis for his unique interpretation of certain ordinances of great import issued by Charles VI in 1403 and 1406, but since it can be proven that he misunderstood the role of the Parlement, his account of the history of those years must be discarded. For a brief statement that the registration of acts by the Parlement was never considered obligatory, see Aubert, I, 357.

(3) Lot and Fawtier, II, 445.

(4) Ordonnances, IX, 243-44.

(5) H. Jassemin, La Chambre des comptes de Paris au XVe siècle, Paris, 1933, pp. 179-82.

(6) Lot and Fawtier, II, 435. In matters concerning the royal domain, the Parlement protected the king's "droits seigneuriaux," and the Chambre des Comptes sought to prevent the "diminution des droits utiles" of the king. (Jassemin, p. 182)

(7) Jassemin, p. 183.

(8) Delachenal, Charles V, V, 224.

(9) Delachenal, Charles V, V, 183 nn.3 & 4.

(10) H. Sauvage, "Documents relatifs à la donation du comté-pairie de Mortain à Pierre de Navarre par Charles

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VI," Mélanges Publiés par la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, V (1898), 243-47.

(11) Sauvage, Mélanges, V, 229. A comté-pairie was a county which held the rank of a peerage. This gave its possessor various privileges, some of which were judicial. (See Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire universel, s.v. pairie)

(12) This fact is mentioned in the king's letter of March 1409. (AN, JJ 163, no. 228; published by Sauvage, Mélanges, V, 325-28) The letter of 1407 was also copied into a register of the Chancellerie. (AN, JJ 156, no. 125)

(13) AN, JJ 163, no. 228.

(14) The decision of the Parlement, but no reason for it, is mentioned by the greffier du Parlement in his journal of the sessions of the private council of the civil court. (Baye, I, 267-68)

(15) Anselme, III, 103.

(16) Ordonnances, VIII, 484-86.

(17) The ordininace of Feb. 28, 1402 was brought to the Parlement on the following April 17 by Jean de Sains, the royal secretary who had signed it, (Baye, I, 32-33) and was read, published, and registered there on that day (Ordonnances, VIII, 486; and H. Stein, Inventaire analytique des ordonnances enregistrées au Parlement de Paris jusqu'à la mort de Louis XII, Paris, 1908, p. 12).

(18) See Shennan, p. 161.

(19) Stein, p. 14. The grant of June 9, 1404 is published in Ordonnances, IX, 11-13.

(20) Delachenal, Charles V, V, 211 n.3.

(21) Delachenal, Charles V, V, 211 n.3.

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(22) E. Privat, "Charles III de Navarre," Positions des thèses de l'école des chartes, 1898, p. 120.

(23) Lehoux, III, 17.

(24) This grant to Pierre of Navarre was registered in the Parlement on Feb. 26, 1411. (Stein, p. 17)

(25) AN, JJ 165, no. 1.

(26) AN, J 369 B, no. 20.

(27) AN, J 369 B, no. 20.

(28) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, p. 141 n.539. For the formulas used in the signatures of the letters of March 4, 1413, see AN, J 369 B, nos. 19 bis & 20.

(29) Baye, II, 104-05.

(30) Straub, Herzog Ludwig, pp. 141 & 143.

(31) Baye, I, 267.

(32) For examples, see Baye, II, 97 & 201.

(33) For examples, see Baye, II, 5, 139, & 143.

(34) Baye, II, 9.

(35) Baye, II, 148.

(36) Baye, II, 138.

(37) Baye, II, 146-47.

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(38) Baye, II, 147.

(39) Baye, II, 151.

(40) Baye, II, 194.

(41) Baye, I, 151.

(42) Baye, I, 170.

(43) Baye, I, 170.

(44) For the right of the Parlement to ratify royal letters of pardon, see Baye, I, 169 n.1.

(45) E. Boutaric, "Notice sur les archives du Parlement de Paris," in Actes du Parlement de Paris, ed. E. Boutaric, I, Paris, 1863, p. cxl.

(46) At least eight of the other royal letters concerning the apanage of Louis of Orleans are known to have been registered in either the Chancellerie or the Chambre des comptes. (See the sources given in Ordonnances, VII, 467 & 471; VIII, 448; IX, 1, 696 & 700; and Jarry, Vie, pp. 93, 125-26, 219)

(47) For the donation of 1401, see AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 186v, and for the grant of 1410, see ibid., fol. 232v.

(48) The following are the known ordinances concerning the apanage of John, duke of Touraine: July 12, 1401, donation of the duchy of Touraine (AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 188v; published in Ordonnances, VIII, 450-52), July 12, 1401, donation of the duchy of Berry to be transferred to John after the death of the present duke (AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 187v; published in Ordonnances, VIII, 452-54), April 15, 1407, donation of Mortagne (AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 209v), Dec. 17, 1408, donation of the castellany of Cambrai (Saint-Genois, Monuments, I, 230), March 1413, donation of the county of Ponthieu (ibid., pp. 231-32), May 24, 1414 provision for John to hold Touraine only until he receives the duchy of Berry (AN, X.1a 8602, fol. 293v; published in Ordonnances, X, 209-10), June 16, 1416, transfer of the duchy of Berry

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to John (BN, Coll. Dupuy, CXLVIII, fols. 198-200; ref. supplied by E.A.R. Brown).

(49) Ordonnances, IX, 468 note a.

(50) Ordonnances, IX, 468 note a.

(51) Baye, I, 37. The nomination is published in Ordonnances, VIII, 518-19.

(52) Baye, I, 38. The letter in question was copied into the register X.1a 8602 on July 3, 1402. (Stein, pp. 12-13)

(53) The nomination of Louis of Orleans (published in Ordonnances, VIII, 494-96) was registered in the Parlement on April 21, 1402. (Stein, p. 12)

(54) Stein, p. 13.

(55) Ordonnances, VIII, 420 note d.

(56) Stein, p. 20.

(57) Baye, I, 8.

(58) See, for example, the discussion above concerning the king's permission for the duke of Guyenne to transfer Mortain to the duke of Bavaria.

(59) Ordonnances, IX, 108.

(60) Baye, I, 150-53.

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APPENDIX III

LISTE PAR CATÉGORIES DES OFFICIERS PRINCIPAUX DU DUC DE GUYENNE

Gouverneurs du Dauphiné
(pendant la majorité du duc de Guyenne)
Pot, Regnier (du 8 janv. 1410 au 26 juillet 1414)
Angennes, Jehan d' (du 26 juillet 1414 au 18 déc. 1415)

Chanceliers
Nielles, Jehan de (de nov. 1409 à mars 1413)
Vailly, Jehan de (du 16 mars 1413 au 11 mai 1413)
Nielles, Jehan de (du 11 mai 1413 au 13 août 1413)
Jouvenel, Jehan (du 13 août 1413 au 13 janv. 1415)
Gouge, Martin (du 13 janv. 1415 au 18 dec. 1415)

Grands Chambellans
(?) Croy, Jehan sgr. de
Riviere, Charles de la (Dampmartin, comte de)
Vienne, Guillaume de (Saint Georges, sgr. de)

Chambellans
Ailly, Raoul d'
Angennes, Jehan d' (La Loupe, sgr. de la)
Angennes, Regnault d' (Rambouillet, sgr. de)
Barres, Pierre des
Bauchien, Charles de
(?) Bauffremont, le sgr. de
Boissay, Colart de (Colin) (Colinet)
Boissay, Jehan de
Bonnay, Jehan de
Bracquemont, Guillaume dit Braquet sgr. de
Brimeu, David de (Ligny, sgr. de)
(?) Chasteauvillain, Bernart de (Thil, sgr. du)
Chastel, Tanneguy du
Chastillon, Jacques de
(?) Chaumont, Guillaume de (Quitry, sgr. de)
(?) Chepoy, Loys sgr. de
Cocoz, Jehan, dit Gossequin ("Mess. Gosquin")
Coich, Herve le
Coudray, Jehan du, dit le Galois (Couldray) (Coldroy)
Croy, Jehan sgr. de
(?) Dauphin, Guichart (Jaligny, sgr. de)
Gamaches, Guillaume sgr. de
Hangest, Aubert de
(?) Harcourt, Jehan comte de
Ivry, Charles d'
Ivry, Jehan d'
(?) Lannoy, Hue de

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(?) Le Mercier, Charles (Nouvion, sgr. de)
Lignieres, Philippe sgr. de (Linieres)
(?) Longroy, Jacques sgr. de
(?) Maintenon, Jehan sgr. de
Martel, Guillaume (Bacqueville, sgr. de)
Martel, Jehan
Mauny, Olivier de
Melun, Jehan de (Antoing, sgr. d')
(?) Melun, Jehan de (Borde, sgr. de la)
Montagu, Charles sgr. de
Montauban, Bertran de
Montauban, Guillaume sgr. de
(?) Montmorin, Godefroy sgr. de
Neelle, Guy de (Nesle) (Offemont, sgr. d')
Pelletot, Robert de
Rambures, David sgr. de
(?) Recourt, Jehan de (Lens, chastellain de)
Riviere, Jacques de la (Auneau, sgr. d')
Rochefoucault, Guy sgr. de la
Rocheguyon, Guy sgr. de la (Roche)
Roussay, Jehan sgr. de (Rossay)
Sacquainville, Jehan de, dit Sacquet (Blaru, sgr. de)
Sacquainville, Jehan de, dit Sacquet (Trait, sgr. du)
Saint Pierre, Jehan de (Eu, sénéchal d')
Saint Sauflieu, Charles de
(?) Saint Sauflieu, Jehan sgr. de
Soissons, Thibault de (Moreuil, sgr. de)
Soyecourt, Charles de (Saucourt) (Moy, sgr. de)
Thury, Girart de
(?) Tremoille, Georges, sgr. de la
Trie, Loys de (Saumont, sgr. de)
Villiers, Charles de
Werchin, Jehan de (Hainaut, senechal du)

Maîtres d'Hôtel

Boissay, Robert sgr. de (grand mtre.)
Brimeu, David de (Humbercourt, sgr. de)
Cassinel, Raoul (Cassignel)
Coudray, Jehan du, dit le Galois (Couldray) (Coldroy)
Lambert, Jacques
Marcoignet, Enguerran de
Mesnil, Bertran du
Montanglaust, Jehan de (Montanglant)
Nourroy, Guillaume de (Norroy)
Pioche, Jehan
Saint Leger, Philibert de (Saint Ligier)

Écuyers d'Honneur

Angennes, Loys d'
Bacqueville, Loys de
Bellegarde, Pierre de
Boissiere, Jehan de la

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Bretigny, Loys de
Cintre, Regnault de, dit le Chat (Sintre)
Cluys, Plotart de ("Plotart")
Coignet, Guillaume (Coingnet)
Estouteville, Charlot d'
Garde, Pierre de la
Giresmes, Regnault de, dit Cordelier
Lespeire, Bartholemy de
Marcoignet, Charlot de
Martel, Loys
Montanglaust, Jacques de (Montanglant)
Neillac, Jehan de (Neyllac)
Ortenburg, Jehan d' (Nottembert) (Ottemberg)
Rochefoucault, Guyon de la
Rocheguyon, Philipot de la (Rocheguion) (Roche)
Ruilly, Loys de
Saint Sauflieu, Philippe de ("Saint Saulieu")
Scala, Bartolomeo della ("Berthelemy de Lescalle")
Trie, Loys de
Verdun, Estienne de

Écuyers Tranchants
Barres, Perrenet des (Pierre)
Boissay, Colart de (Colin) (Colinet)
Chaussee, Jehan de la (Chauciet)
Havart, Jehan (Hamart)
Mesnil, Bertran du
Mesnil, Guillaume du
Mesnil, Guillot du (dit le Fel)
Mesnil, Simon du
Nantouillet, Jehan de
Pres, Jehan des (de Prez)
Sarnoy, Jehan de (Sarnay) (Cernay) (Sernay)
Thoriers, Simon de (Symon) (Simonnet) (Symonnet)
Turpin, Guy (Guyon)
Viesville, Jacques de la, dit Coppin (Vielzville)

Panetiers
Angennes, Jehan d'
(?) Aunoy, Jehan d'
Baligny, Pierre dit Bordelet de (Ballaigny)
Barres, Michelet des
Beaumont, Pierre de
(?) Bethonval, Regnauldin de
Blosset, Rogerin (Belosset)
Boudart, Denisot
Brucourt, Jehan de
Buigne, Colinet de la (Vigne)
(?) Buigne, Guerin de la
Corteville, Jacotin de
(?) Coudray, le Galois du
(?) Dampmartin, Jehan de

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(?) Eschainvillier, Adam d'
Estouteville, Charlot d'
Haversquerque, Pierre de (Havesquerque)
(?) Hellande, Robert de
Levesque, Pierre de
Montespedon, Jehan de (Montaupedon)
Morainvilliers, Simon de (Symonnet)
(?) Saugny, Pierre de (Chaingny)
Sisse, Guichart de (Sissey) (Cisse) (Cissey)

Échansons

Barres, Perrenet des (Pierre)
Boissay, Charlot de
Bournens, Jehan de, dit Franquelance (Bournant)
Bracquemont, Loys de
Brimeu, Jacotin de
Brucourt, Jehan de
(?) Carville, Jehan de
Folleville, NN de
Fouille, Pierre de
Fremainville, Simon de ("Fromainville")
(?) Fretin, Charlot de
Gamaches, Jehan de
Harville, Jehan de
(?) Hellande, Huguet de
Jouvenel, Denys
Kerhoc, Armuet de (Armel) (Kerhoet) (Arnoul)
Lambert, Jacques
Mesnil, Bertran du
Mondreville, Simon de
Montauban, Jehan de
Neelle, Guy de (Guiot)
Neelle, Raoul de
Noroy, Gilles de (Norroy) (Gilet)
Pelourde, Estienne
Riencourt, Riolet de (Rioulet) (Rincourt)
Sanguin, Guillaume
Sisse, Guichart de (Sissey) (Cisse) (Cissey)
Thibault, Olivier
(?) Torsay, Guillaume de
Torsay, Paonnet de (Pannet)

Écuyers d'Écurie

Angennes, Jehan d'
Aunoy, Denisot d' (Annoy) (Aulnay)
Auxy, Jehan d'
(?) Boissiere, Symonnet de la
Boves, Guillaume dit Sauvage des (Bouves)
Brisay, Aymery de (Esmery)
Chevenon, Jehan de
Dicy, Jehan (de)
Estouteville, Jehannet d' (le jeune)

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(?) Harville, Guillaume de
Jars, Laurent du (Gars)
Kermellec, Yvon de (Carmaret) (Carmaley)
Lisle, Estienne de
Lissac, Henriet de (Lisac) (Lizac)
(?) Montaudier, Pierre de
Nielles, Pierre de (Nyelle)
Ponteaudemer, Robert de (Pontaudemer)
(?) Rambures, Colin de
Saüsse Bernart, Hessart de (Sausebernart) (Saulce Bernard)
Torsay, Robert de
Varennes, Antoine de
Verrat, Pierre le
(?) Villiers, Jehan de

Officiers des Finances

Annart, Robert
Barils, Jehan, dit Mauduit
Blanc, Jehan le
Boirenc, Guillaume (Borenc)
Bonney, Estienne de (Thevenin)
Bouville, Jehan de
Bragelongne, Adam de
Bude, Guillaume
Buffe, Estienne (Thevenin)
Buignet, Estienne
Chapelle, Michelet de la
Fevre, Aubert le
Fontenay, Jehan de (Fontenoy)
Fontenay, Pierre de
Haye, Jehan de la, dit Picquet
Japuye, Jehan
Marichon, Jehan (Merichon)
Martin, Jehan
Mormont, Pierre
Nerly, Francois de
Noident, Jehan de
Petit, Estienne
Petit, Jehan
Piet, Jehan (Johan) (Johannin)
Piet, Martin
Porte, Estienne de la
Poupart, Jehan
Renart, Colin
Sarnoy, Jehan de (Sarnay) (Sernay) (Cernay)
Vitry, Gilet de

Secrétaires

Bailleul, Pierre de (Baillel)
Baillon, Geoffroy (Wallon)
Berthier, Philipot
Bongre, Estienne

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Camus, Henry
Castel, Jehan de
Chasteignier, Jehan
Cloye, Jacques de
Courcy, Richart de
Derian, Martin
Gobert, Pierre, dit de Sens
Grasset, Estienne
Hue, Jehan
Luce, Guillaume de
Mauregart, Estienne de
Milet, Jehan (Millet)
Monnart, Simon (Mennart) (Monast) (Simonnet)
Montreuil, Jehan de
Picart, Jehan le
Rinel, Jehan de (Raynel) (Rivelle)
Saint Omer, Pierre de
Toste, Richart
Troncon, Jehan (Trocon)
Veau, Gilles le ("Gilles Veau")
Vigne, Jacques de la

Médecins

Abbeville, Geuffroy d' (physicien)
Cadart, Jehan (physicien)
Cardonnel, Guillaume (physicien)
Charron, Michel le (chirurgien)
Conte, Jehan le (chirurgien)
Mons, Pierre des (chirurgien)
Sacquespee, Jacques (physicien)

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APPENDIX IV

DICTIONNAIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE DES OFFICIERS DU DUC DE GUYENNE

INTRODUCTION

The biographical information given in the following Dictionnaire was arranged in a format conducive to computer analysis, and thus, names have been reversed so that both place names which constitute part of a title and surnames appear first. The form year/month/day is used for dates, and all dates from January until Easter have been transposed into 'new style.' The entries are written in a telegraphic form, and the niceties of punctuation and style have been ignored, since, for computer purposes, it was more helpful to restrict the space allotted to each fact. Variation in the spelling of names has been noted in many instances. Quotation marks around a single name indicate that this was the full name used in the document cited. Otherwise, the name given as a variant was used with the second name of the person in question. The sources for variants are indicated by one or more asterisks, which refer to a manuscript or published work that is cited further on in the entry and has the corresponding number of asterisks attached to it. Asterisks are also used after a given fact to refer to a source appearing elsewhere in the same entry. When multiple dates appear with the mention of an office, the references for each date are separated by commas if the dates have different sources. Multiple references to a single date are

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joined by ampersands. Thus, under: Bauchien, Charles de, the source BN fr. 32511 fol. 6 refers to the date 1411; fols. 7, 7v, 8, 8v, and 9 refer to 1412; and fol. 11v refers to 1413. Similarly, under: Bongré, Estienne, the Ordonnances reference is the source for the date 1411; AN J 734 is the source for 1413; Clairambault is the source for 1414; and AN X.1a 8602 refers to 1415. Note that to simplify matters, Louis, duke of Orléans, brother of Charles VI, is called "Louis d'Orléans" even in entries which refer to a time before he actually owned the duchy of Orléans. For the same purpose, the duke of Guyenne is always referred to as the "duc de Guyenne."

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ABRÉVIATIONS

AD - Archives départementales
AM - Archives municipales
AN - Archives nationales
BEC - Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes
BL - British Library
BM - Bibliothèque municipale
BN - Bibliothèque nationale
CNRS - Centre national de la recherche scientifique: Équipe de l'humanisme (fichier)
P.O. - Collection des pièces originales à la BN

arr. - arrondissement
aud. - audit
av. - avant
c. - canton
cat. - la référence fut prise du catalogue et non pas du document même
ch.-l. - chef-lieu
chie. - châtellenie
chlr. - chevalier
chlr. bach. - chevalier bachelier
cne. - commune
cons. - conseiller
ct. - comte
d. - deniers
devs. - devers
dud. - dudit
env. - environ
fichier - la référence fut prise d'un fichier et non pas du document même
fr. - francs
JSP - Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne
l.p. - livres parisis
l.t. - livres tournois
lad. - ladite
laq. - laquelle
led. - ledit
led. j. - ledit jour
leq. - lequel
Msgr. - Monseigneur
mtre. - maître
NN - nom inconnu
n.s. - nouveau style
Phe.-le-H. - Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne
pnt. - présent
ref. - référence
ref. CB - détail fourni par Mlle. Carla Bozzolo
ref. TS - détail fourni par Dr. Theodor Straub
ref. YG - détail fourni par M. Yann Grandeau

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s. - sous
s.d. - sans date
s.l. - sans lieu
sgr. - seigneur
sgrie. - seigneurie
v.s. - vieux style

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DICTIONNAIRE BIOGRAPHIQUE DES OFFICIERS DU DUC DE GUYENNE

Abbe, Nicolas l'
1414-1415: mtre. des oeuvres de charpenterie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)

Abbeville, Geuffroy d'. mtre.
1408: phisicien et astrologien du duc de Guyenne (Wickersheimer: Simon de Pharès, p. 238)

Aigny, Pierre d' (Perrin *)
1414-1415: valet des nappes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474 & 477v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 7853 p. 1137 *)
autres du nom:
Aigny, Jehan d'
mort av. 1432/9/6
1402: Sainte Chapelle, chanoine de la;
et mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du roi
1418: controleur de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1140 et n.2)

Ailly, Baudouin d' (Baugois *)
tué a Azincourt 1415/10/25
Amiens, vidame d'. (Somme: ch.-l. du dépt.)
1403/8: chambellan du roi
et général réformateur sur la police
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 132v)
1405/7/10: retenu cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne à 500 l. de pension par an outre ses gages
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 24 fol. 5v)
1406/11/27: conseiller et chambellan du roi
et maréchal de l'armée du roi
(AN P 15 no. 5349: hommage pour Raineval et Pierrepont)
1408/11-12: accompagna le duc de Bourgogne à Paris
(Beauvillé, IV, p. 92 et 93)
1410/4/8-1410/5/29: au service du duc de Bourgogne pendant led. temps pour leq. il recoit 208 fr.
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fols. 239-v)
1410/12/2: cons. & chambellan du roi; led. jour assigné 1000 l.t. de pension par an pour assister aux conseils (BN Coll. Clairambault 218 no. 47)
1411/2/8: conseiller du duc de Guyenne
ledit jour au conseil du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 27-v)
1411/3/26: conseiller du roi à 1000 l.t. de pension par an (BN P.O. 17 Ailly no. 24 *)
1411/4/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 229-30)

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1411/5: denoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme son ennemi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 118)
épousa: 1387 Raineval, Jehanne dame de
(Raineval: Somme); morte 1412
(Ruvigny III, p. 22)
enfants: 2 dont: Ailly, Raoul d' (voir ci-dessous)
fils de:
Ailly, Robert sgr. d'
mort av. 1384
Ailly-le-Haut-Clocher, sgr. de
(Somme: arr. Abbeville: ch.-l.)
épousa:
A. Breve en Flandres, la damoiselle de
(BN P.O. 17 Ailly no. 234)
B. Picquigny, Marguerite de
Picquigny, dame de (Somme: arr. Amiens, ch.-l.)
Amiens, vidamesse d'; morte av. 1398
enfants de A.: 2 dont: Ailly, Robert sgr. d'
enfants de B.: 7 dont: Ailly, Baudouin d' (voir ci-dessus)
(Ruvigny II, p. 545-6)

Ailly, Raoul d'
né vers 1390-2 (Ruvigny, III, p. 535-6)
mort 1454/12 (Beauvillé, III, p. 239 & 297)
Raineval, sgr de (des 1412) (Somme)
Amiens, vidame d' (des 1415/10/25)
(Somme: ch.-l. du dépt.)
1411/5/4: part de Pierrepont pour aller devers son
père qui est au service du duc de Bourgogne à Paris
(Beauvillé, IV, p. 102)
1412/5: fait chevalier à la bataille de Saint Rémy par le
comte de Saint Pol (Beauvillé, III, p. 535-6)
1412/12/22: chambellan du roi
et chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(Beauvillé, IV, p. 103) & (Ruvigny, III, p. 536)
1413/2/2 : chambellan du roi; fait homage
au roi de la terre à la Broye, mouvant du comté de
Ponthieu (AN P 15 no. 5389), et des seigneuries de
Pierrepont et de Raineval (AN P 15 no. 5390)
1417: accompagne le duc de Bourgogne qui marche sur Paris
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 259)
épousa (contrat 1413/11/30): Bethune, Jacqueline de
(Duchesne: Hist. Maison Béthune, p. 250)
laquelle testa 1442/4/21 (Beauvillé, III, p. 258)
fils de: Ailly, Baudouin d' (voir ci-dessus)

Allemant, Thierry l' (Lalement *)
1412: page du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne
36 écus pour aider à payer sa rançon "quant il fut pris
luy estant au service de ": Bourbon, Jehan duc de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 10)
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fol. 69 *)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Allemant, Thierry l' (Dedric *) (Thiedric **) (Dredrich ***)
1417/8: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6829)
1419/9/10: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3387 ***)
1419/9: apporta les nouvelles du meurtre du duc de Bourgogne à son fils le comte de Charollais
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1177 **)
échanson de Phe.-le-Bon duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 230 *)
autres du nom:
Alemant, Ame l'
1402/10/2: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
Alement, Aubert l'
1380/10: chevaucheur du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes p. 42)
Alemant, Geoffroy l'
1414/12: écuyer de l'hostel du duc d'Orléans pnt. avec le duc à Montargis pour la venue de la duch. de Bretagne devers la reine (BN P.O. 2157 Orléans no. 494)
Alemant, Henry l'
1400: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166)
1414: chlr. chambellan du roi pendant l'expédition d'Arras; pnt. au siège de Soissons
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, II, p. 116-7, ref.:
(AN JJ 167 p. 611)

Alencon, Jehan comte d'
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 113 n. 1)
Alençon, comte d' (à partir de 1404)
le roi érige le comté en duché 1415/1/1
(Ordonnances, X, p. 228-9)
1408/6/4: traité d'alliance entre led. J. et Bretagne, Jehan duc de; en forme de lre. dud. duc de B.
(Blanchard, V, no. 1033)
1408/10/2: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; retenu led. j. à toutes les revenues des aides de sa terre pour son "estat et pencion" (Cagny: Chron., p. 42-3)
1408/10: tient gens d'armes "en la compaignie et soubz le gouvernement" du roi pour lesq. le roi lui donne (1408/11/2) 1125 l.t. (quittance 1408/11/21 *)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 4 no. 16 *)
1410/1/14: traité d'alliance entre led. J. et Clermont, Jehan comte de
(AN P 1359.1 no. 611 (signature d'Alençon))
1411/1/28: traité d'alliance entre led. J. et Orléans, Charles duc d'
(AN K 57 A no. 1.e (signature d'Alençon))
1413/11/30: Normandie, gouverneur de; nommé led.

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jour par le roi (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 245)
1415/5/24: Normandie, capit. général pour le roi sur le fait de la guerre par tout le pays de; retenu led. j. à 800 hommes d'armes et 400 h. de trait et à 1000 l.t. par mois pour "l'estat de sa personne"
(BN Coll. Clairambault 4 no. 17)

Amiens, l'évêque de (voir Chevenon, Bernart de)

Amilaville, Jaquet d'
1412-1413: clerc et secrétaire de Gillet de Vitry
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
1414-1415: clerc des offices du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Andry, Jehannot
1413/12: valet de sommiers du duc de Guyenne reçoit lres. de rémission du roi pour avoir tué un valet des charretiers dudit duc: Maqueline, Perrin
(AN JJ 167 p. 343-4)
autres du nom:
Andry, Jehannin
1418: sommelier de l'échansonnerie d'Anne & Agnes de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 2154)
Andry, Jehan
1392: cons. du roi au Parlememnt
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nc. 435 n.1)
Andry, Jehan
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 435)
Andry, Jehan
1422: portier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Ch. VI, p. 704) &
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 440)

Anfroy, Henriet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Angennes, Jehan d'
decapité 1417 à Rouen par ordre de Henri V après le siège de Cherbourg
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 424)
Loupe, seigneur de la(1414)
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 145)
1402/5: panetier du roi

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(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 423)
1408: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 41)
1410: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 95)
1412: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413: (chambellan) du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 58 & 67v)
1413/4/28: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21) & (Baye: Journal, II, p. 108-9)
1414/3/19: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Clairambault 64 no. 136)
1414/7/24: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Agny lez Arras
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 69-70)
1414/7/26: Dauphiné, gouverneur du; nommé ledit jour
par le duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 131)
1414/11: fait son entrée à Romans comme gouv. du Dauphiné
(Giraud: Mystere, p. 740 n.3)
1415: envoyé au concile de Constance par le duc de
Guyenne (BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 147)
1415/11/1: Iouqueville, capit. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 424)
1415/11/4: Iouques, capit. de
nommé ledit jour au lieu de:
Rocheguyon, le siegneur de la (BN fr. 20684 p. 58)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 43v, 50v, 108)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 7, 8, 9v, 10, 11, 12v, 15, 15v,
16v, 17 deux fois, 20, 23, 24, 26)
épousa selon Anselme: Courtremblay, Jehanne de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 423-4)
Jehanne était femme de Jehan d'Angennes,chlr., sgr. de
Ponssay (Poncé-sur-le-Loir *) en 1409
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 161),
(Clément: Soc. Vendômois, t. 38, p. 108 *);
et veuve dudit Jehan en 1427
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p.424), ainsi non pas
la femme de Jeh. sgr. de la Loupe car celui-ci fut fiancé
en 1415 avec une damoiselle de Montagu
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 145)
1415/2 : quittance de 4,500 l.t. à lui donnés par
lettres du roi de 1415/1/22 pour son mariage
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 424)
enfants: Jehan, héritier de son père
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 424)
fils de: Angennes, Regnault d' (voir ci-dessous)

Angennes, Jehan d'
filiation avec la famille de Regnault d'Angennes inconnue
1411: écuyer, panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 98)
1412: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne

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pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1413: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 53 & 61)
1414/8: 1er écuyer du corps et mtre. de
l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 134)
1414/10/1-1415/2/20: épousa NN
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 146) & (BN fr. 32511 fol. 20v)
1415/2/20: 1er écuyer du corps du duc de Guyenne,
remplacé ledit jour (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
1415: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 38 & 47)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 9v, 10, 15, 16v, 20 deux fois)

Angennes, Loys d'
tué à Verneuil 1424
(Moutié: Soc. Archeol. Rambouillet, t. 1, p. 239)
1412 & 1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52 & 68)
1414: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v & 17)
1415/10-12: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 20 & 22v)
fils de: Angennes, Regnault d' (voir ci-dessous)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 423)

Angennes, Regnault d'
testa 1415 (Moutié: Soc. Arch. Rambouillet, t.1, p. 238)
mais vivait toujours 1417/6/14 (Ordonnances, X, p. 417)
Rambouillet, sgr. de;
acheta lad. sgrie. 1384/5/12 de: Bernier, Guill.
(Lorin: Soc. Archéol. Rambouillet, t. 19, p. 289)
lad. sgrie. est tenue de: Craon, Jehan de
à cause de sa terre: Essarts, les.
(Moutié: Not. Histor. Rambouillet, p. 7-8)
Loupe, sgr. de la
acheta lad. sgrie. de: Melun, Jehan de
1383/7/30: fait hommage de lad. sgrie. à:
Chartres, l'évêque de.
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V, p. 247)
1380: 1er valet tranchant du Dauphin (futur Ch. VI)
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 19)
1383: 1er valet tranchant du roi
(Marquis: Soc. Archéol. Eure-et-Loir, t. 10, p. 156)
1397: Louvre, capitaine du
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 24)
1398/7: 1er valet tranchant du roi
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 36)
1399/5/24: chlr., cons. & chambellan du roi

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(BN Coll. Clairambault 4 no. 152)
1408/5: cons. & chambellan du roi
et cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 93)
1408/10/1-1409/9/30: conseiller de la reine et
chambellan "ayant la garde du corps" du duc de Guyenne
à 500 l.t. de pension (pour l'office de cons. seulement
semble-t-il) (AN KK 48 fol. 22v)
1409-1410: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
à 1000 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
1410/2/26: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177 (cat.))
1410/3/4: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 6-7)
1410/3/27: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 143-v)
1410/4/4: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325-9v)
1410/5/3: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 196-7)
1410/5/6: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 78-9)
1410/5/7: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 7-8v)
1410/5/8: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 138-v)
1410/5/18: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 148-v)
1410/5/23: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 83-v)
1410/5/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 29v)
1410/6/3: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 13v)
1410/6/5: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177 (cat.))
1410/6/6: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 191-2)
1410/7/5: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN K 57 no. 3)
1410/9/2: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 25v)
1410/11/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 16v)
1410/12/21: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 20v)
1411: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
à 1000 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411/2/8: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 27v)
1411/4/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 229-30)

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1411/6/24: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 55v-56)
1411/6/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 165)
1411/9/18: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 57-v)
1412/2/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Vincennes
(AN J 369 B no. 17)
1412/5/12: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Melun
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 90-1)
1412/6: grand chevalier tranchant de France
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 108)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412/10/27: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 170-v)
1413/5/22: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Rel. St. Denis, V, 45) & (Baye: Journal, II, p. 110 & 113)
1413/9/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN K 58 no. 4)
1414/7/24: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Agny lez Arras
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 69-70)
1414/11/27: Louvre, concierge du
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 138)
1414/12/26: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177 (cat.))
1415: reçoit 200 l.t. du duc de Guyenne pour lui
avoir enseigné à jouster (BN fr. 32511 fols. 21v-22)
1415/3/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Melun
(BN Coll. Doat 212 fols. 145-7v)
1415/5: Louvre, capitaine du. remplacé par:
Montauban, Bertrand de
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes nos. 149 & 152)
1415: Louvre, capit. du. reçoit 2000 l.t. du
duc de Guyenne en recompensé dud. office car le roi l'a
donné audit duc pour en "joir" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21)
1415/5/19 pentecôte: grand chlr. tranchant de France
tranche devant le roi ledit jour en l'hostel Saint Pol
(BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 148) & (BN fr. 6748 p. 20)
1413/10, 1414, 1415, 1416/5/2:
cons. & chambellan du roi à 500 l.t. de pension par an
(AN KK 47 fol. 16)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyennne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 4 deux fois, 5, 6, 9v, 11v, 12
deux fois, 16v deux fois, 20, 20v, 21 deux fois, 21v, 26v)
épousa: Angelliers, Anne d'. (Auxerrois)
(Anselme: Hist. Geneal. France, II, p. 422)
1383/6/3: le roi lui donne 4,000 l. en accroissement de
son mariage (Moutie: Not. Histor. Rambouillet, p. 10)
enfants: Jehan (voir ci-dessus), Loys (voir ci-dessus),
et une fille (NN) (BN fr. 32511 fol.)
fils de: Angennes, Robert d'

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Annart, Robert
1412-1413: receveur des aides pour la guerre de Saintonge; pour le duc de Guyenne; remplacé pendant led. temps (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)

Anthoine (Anthoine la trompette *)
(Anthoine trompette **)
1410: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(Vandenbroeck: Ext. Reg. Tournai, I, p. 83)
1412: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v & 51 *)
1413: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68 *)
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v **)
Anthoine était probablement son nom de famille car il avait un frère appellé aussi Anthoine (voir ci-dessous). Noter que le duc avait 2 trompettes qui portaient Anthoine comme prénom (voir Blanc; Crapelicque)

Anthoine frere d'Anthoine la trompette
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v & 51)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 102)

Anthony sergent d'armes (Antonin *)
1414-1415: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)
1415: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v *)

Antoing, Msgr. d' (voir Melun, Jehan de)

Argent, Jehan d' (voir Durgent)

Argueil, Henriet d'
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes"
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Arode, Huguenin (Arrode *) (Huguelin **)
1388: brodeur & valet de chambre de la reine
(Vallet de Viriville: Bib. Isabeau, p. 16 *; ref.:
(AN KK 19 fol. 70v (voir aussi fol. 107v))
1393, 1398: brodeur & valet de chambre de la reine
(Vallet de Viriville: Bib. Is., p. 18* (AN KK 41 fol. 19),

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22 * (AN KK 41 fol. 219v))
1405-1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 3v)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6 **)
1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11)
1410,1411,1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 26 *, 31 *, 57v *)

autres du nom:

Arode, Guillaume d'
1414/10: orfèvre & bourgeois de Paris
(BN P.O. 103 Arode no. 2)

Arsonval, Jehan d'
né à Arsonval (dioc. de Langres)
testa 1416/8/23-24 (BN fr. 4332 fols. 18-21v)
mort 1416/8/27 (Bazin: Hist. Evs. Ch.-sur-S., II, p. 1-2)
1407-1408: confesseur & mtre. d'école du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 154v)
1408/10/1-1409/9/30: confesseur & mtre. d'école
du duc de Guyenne à 200 l. de pension par an
(Godefroy, p. 788)
1411: confesseur & mtre. d'école du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411, 1412, 1413: cons. & confesseur
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5v, 9v, 11v)
1413/5/11: sur la liste de ceux que les Cabochiens
voulait emprisonner; ensuite au cours du mois emprisonné
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 110 & 304)
1413 a 1416: Chalon-sur-Saône, évêque de
(Bazin: Hist. Evs. Ch.-sur-S., II, p. 1-2)
1413/12/11: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 64-5)
1414, 1415: cons. & confesseur du duc
de Guyenne à 500 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 15, 19v)
Tours, chanoine de
Chartres, chanoine de
Sainte Chapelle, chanoine de la
(Bazin: Hist. Evs. Ch.-sur-S., II, p. 1-2)
autres mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 4, 5, 7, 7v, 8v, 12, 17)
manuscrits qui lui appartenaient: (BN fr. 174, 542, 16403)

son frère: Arsonval, Henry d'; mort av. 1416/8/23
laissant une veuve, Marquerite, et une fille qui fut
probablement Marguerite (femme de: Milet, Jehan. mtre.
(sec. du roi)), la nièce dont J. parla dans son testament
(BN fr. 4332 fols. 18v & 19v)

Artois, Charles d'
Eu, comte d'

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1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 51v)

Aubelet
1414-1415: portier du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v)
autres du nom:
Aubelet, Regnault
1387, 1389: clerc d'échansonnerie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Ch. VI, p. 711, 720)

Aubertin, Nicolas
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Aubertin, Nicolas
1418, 1419: clerc du receveur général des finances du roi (Gorremont, Pierre de)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 428, 1442)
1419: clerc des offices du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 896)

Aubry, Jehannin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 109)
autres du nom:
Aubry, Gaultier
1422: valet de lévriers du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 436)
Aubry, Jacques
1415: notaire au Chastellet
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)

Audry, Jehannot (voir Andry)

Aunoy, Colin d'
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)
1414-1415: sert de l'eau du duc de Guyenne
(fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)

Aunoy, Denisot d' (Annoy *) (Aulnay **)
1390: panetier du roi qui lui donne vaisselle pour ses noces (BN P.O. 143 Aunoy no. 36 (avec sceau))
1395/3/16: Crevecoeur, capitaine de (Seine-et-Marne) nommé ledit jour par le roi
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 97v **)
1408/5: panetier du roi et

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écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy no. 41)
1410, 1413: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 25v *, 66v)
1412: écuyer d'écurie du duc d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6210 fol 84 (ref. CB))
1415: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
écuyer de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 76v)
il porte les mêmes armoiries (voir sceaux) que
les trois suivants:

Aunoy, Guillaume d'
Fourqueux, sgr. de (1360/4)
(AN J 622 no. 6 (cat.))
lad. sgrie. appartint en 1368 à: Poupart, André
(AN J 622 no. 6 bis (cat.))
1380/4: secrétaire de Charles V
(AN J 622 no. 6 (cat.))
1383/11: secrétaire du roi
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy no. 22)
autres mentions:
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy nos. 23 (signe),
33 (avec sceau), et al.)

Aunoy, Hutin d'
1379: secrétaire de Charles V
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy no. 19 (avec sceau))

Aunoy, Jehan d'
1415/10/13, 1415/11/13: monstre et reveue
Chaumont, écuyer & bailli de
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy nos. 46, 49)
autres mentions:
(BN P.O. 143 Aunoy nos. 45 (avec sceau), 51)
Moranvillé se trompe en disant qu'il fut fils de:
Aunoy, Robert dit le Galois d'. Orville, sgr. d'
car les armoiries de Robert sont selon Anselme:
écu à un chef avec un franc quartier à dextre, qui
est un écu chargé d'une croix avec quelques petites
pièces (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 883);
Moranvillé donne les memes armoiries pour Robert mais
avec plus de détails heraldiques
(Moranvillé: Songe, p. 96)

Aunoy, Jehan d'
1407: de la panetarie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 7v)
peut-être celui du même nom mentionné ci-dessus

autres du nom:

Aunoy, Jehan d'
1411/7: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols. 112v-113)
selon Anselme ce Jehan fut le frère de:
Aunoy, Robert dit le galois d'

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(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 883)

Aunoy, Jehan d'
1411/5: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols. 146v)

Austerîche, Jehan d'. mtre. (Dautriche *)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)
1419/7/5: secrétaire de la reine; retenu ledit jour argentier de Catherine de France
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 683 *)

Auxy, Jehan d'
1412/6-7: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fols. 114
(voir aussi AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1412/10: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 114)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 56v & 66v, 91)
peut-être le Jeh. tué à Azincourt (1415) qui fut frère de:

Auxy, Philippe d'
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(BN P.O. 150 Auxi no. 9)
Dompierre, sgr. de (1403)
(BN P.O. 150 Auxi no. 4 (avec sceau))
1407/6/30: chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 150 Auxi no. 8)
1411, 1413: Ponthieu, sénéchal de
(AN JJ 166 fols. 219v-220)
1414/5/7: Amiens, bailli d'
(AM Amiens: BB 2 fol. 42v)
1414/5/9: Sens, bailli de
(BN Coll. Clairambault 8 no. 135)

frère de: Auxy, Catherine d'. femme de:
Rambures, David sgr. de (BN P.O. 150 Auxi no. 9)

autres du nom:

Auxy, Jehan d'
1418: Dammartin, capitaine de
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 421)

Auxy, Jehan sgr. d'
1423/7: fait chlr. (Monstrelet, IV, p. 159)

Avelme, Perrin
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Avelme, Thomas
1413, 1414-1415: de la paneterie

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du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 61, 74)

Avril
1414-1415: poursuivant d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)

Azenieres, Lyonnet d' (Ausinieres *)
1410/3/4: Grenoble, chastellain de; et
Gregniaudan, bailli de; nommé ledit jour
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 6-7)
1413/5/28: resigna lesd. offices
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 61-v *)
autres du nom:
Asenieres, Lionete d'
1376: damoiselle de la duch. de Bourbon
(Huillard-Bréholles: Titres, I, no. 3333)
Asnieres, Drouet d'
1403: écuyer & chambellan du duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 494 Braquemont nos. 38 & 40)
1415: membre de l'ordre de chirie. du duc de Bourbon
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 370)

Bacqueville, Loys de
1412: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Martel, Loys

Bacqueville, Msgr. de (voir Martel, Guillaume)

Baffart, Robert
natif du diocèse de Lisieux
1407: clerc de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
quand il est anobli (BN lat. 18345 fol. 1012)

Bailleul, Pierre de. mtre. (Baillel *)
1413/9/25: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(AN K 58 no. 4 *)
1414/7/24: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe lres. dudit duc à Agny lez Arras
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 69-70)
1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 68 & 104) (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 237)

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Baillon, Geoffroy (Gauffroy *) (Wallon **)
natif de la Basse Marche
(Journal Parisien: Soc. Paris, t. 44, p. 170)
1412/6/27: decapité devant Bourges, où il avait accompagné l'armée royale, pour trahison
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 670) & (Monstrelet, II, p. 276)
1411: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 35 * & **)
1412: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)

Baligny, Pierre dit Bordelet de (Ballaigny *)
(Baligny, Bordellet de **) (Bordelet, Pierre ***)
mort av. 1415/7/2 (AN X.1c 110 A no. 7 *)
1411 : panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1412-1413: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12 ***)
1412: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 38 ** & 47 **)

Baliny, Anzelin, dit Fizalis
1411: 1er barbier & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 7853 p. 1145) (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)

Bapezas, Pierre (Pappesaz, Perrenet *) ("Bappesat" **)
1404: clerc de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(Pannier: Joyaux (tirage à part), p. 64)
1406, 1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v *, 11 **)
1407-1408: 1er clerc [de la chapelle] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 155)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 5, 8v)

Bar, Edouard duc de
1413, 1414-1415: aux frais du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 71, 104)
1410/1/8: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN J 360 no. 3)
1410/7/5: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN P.O. 2612 Salignac no. 235v)
1412/2/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Vincennes
(AN J 369 B no. 17)
1413/4/2: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN J 369 B no. 20)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 13, 22, 26)

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Barbare, Jehannin
1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 66, 90)

Barbier, Andriet (le Barbier *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 50v, 58 * & 69, 107)

Barbier, Colinet
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 82)
autres du nom:
Barbier, Guillaume
1388: fourrier du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. xii)
1398: fourrier du duc de Berry (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 150)
1416: panetier du duc de Berry (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)

Barbier, Jaquet le
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 104v)
autres du nom:
Barbier, Richart le. mtre.
1419: de l'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
1420: valet de chambre du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 4850)

Baril, Colin
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 96)

Barils, Jehan, dit Mauduit
1412-1413: receveur des aides pour la guerre de Saintonge; pour le duc de Guyenne; commis pendant led. temps au lieu de: Annart, Robert (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1413-1414, 1414-1415: receveur des aides pour la guerre de Saintonge; pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 15, 19)

Barjon, Robert de
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42v & 51)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de

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Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58v & 68v, 107)
1414-1415, 1415: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17, 26v)

Barnier, Nicolas
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Barre, Nicolle de la (Nicolas *)
1413/10-1414: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)
1414: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17, 24, 26)
1415/8: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du duc de Guyenne (Ordonnances, X, p. 241 *)
autres du nom:
Barre, Jehan de la
1408, 1409, 1410, 1411/12/9: receveur général de toutes finances de Languedoc & Guyenne (Dupont-Ferrier: Études, I, p. 280 **)
1413/9/27: trésorier des guerres et receveur général de toutes finances de Languedoc & Guyenne; retenu aux dits offices led. jour par le roi (**)
1418/1/27: receveur general du Dauphiné; nommé led. jour (**)
Barre, Cudart de la. mtre.
1413/10-1414: secrétaire du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 15)

Barres, Guiot des
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 58 & 67v, 102)
autres du nom:
Barres, Guiot des
1411: écuyer, vivant avec sa femme:
Mornay, Philiberte de
(Batiffol: Jouvenel, p. 185 n. 1)
mort av. 1420/11/8 laissant un fils:
Barres, Guyot des
(BN P.O. 203 Barres en Gâtinais no. 4)

Barres, Jehanne des
1398: ayant "la garde du corps" du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 45 fol. 26v)
1402: "damoiselle du corps" du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 45 fol. 155)
1406-1407: ayant "la garde du corps" du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fols. 49-v)

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peut-être le même personnage que:
Martel, Jehanne de . femme de:
Barres, Pierre des (voir ci-dessous)

Barres, Michelet des
1407, 1408, 1412: panetier du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 7v, 15v, 38 & 47)
1412/6-7: panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1412: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)

Barres, Pierre des
1406/3: conseiller du roi et chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32364 fol 98-v, réf.: Cairambault 10)
1412/6-7: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
mort av. 1412/11/25 laissant veuve:
Martel, Jehanne de
Haultefueille, dame de
et un fils: Barres, Charles des (écuyer en 1412)
(AN X.1c 104 nos. 194 & 195)
fils de:
Barres, Jehan des
Boisrobin, sgr. du (Bois Roserien)
Sercy, sgr. de
cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-Hardi) (BN fr. 32364 fol. 7)
épousa: Sallieres, Marguerite de
enfants outre led. Pierre:
1. Barres, Isabeau des
laquelle épousa: Varennes, Anthoine de (voir)
(BN fr. 32364 fol 7-v)
1409: damoiselle de la duch. d'Orléans
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 206, réf.: BN P.O. 2875 Travercin 2)
1413/5/22: arrêtée par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Baye, II, p. 114)
1413/10-1414: damoiselle d'honneur de la duchesse de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15v)
2. Barres, Thibaut des
Auxonne, capitaine d'
(BN fr. 32364 fols. 7-v)
les armoiries de cette famille selon un sceau abîmé:
une fasce ou bande qui partage l'écu de droite à gauche
(BN fr. 32364 fol. 92)

Barres, Perrenet des(Pierre *)
1405: 1er valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(Lehoux: Jean de Berry, III, p. 54 n. 2 *)
1407: échanson du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fol. 8)
probablement le même personnage que:
Barres, Perrinet des
1396/10: accompagna Isabelle de France à Calais par ordre du roi (BN fr. 20684 p. 481)
fils de: Barres, Pierre des
autres du nom:
Barres, Perreau des
fils du Thibaut mentionné ci-dessus
1411: écuyer accompagnant en un voyage la duchesse de Bourgogne (BN fr. 32364 fol. 107)
Barres, Pierre des
1376/12: Saint Aubin (en partie), écuyer & sgr. de à cause de sa femme: Lespanel, Marie de ladite sgrie. est mouvant du château de Nogent (AD Aube: E * 2886 (cat.))
1389/12/20: rend aveu au roi à cause de sadite femme de plusieurs heritages mouvants de Nogent-sur-Seine (AN P 206 no. 126)

Barrois, Arnoulet
1413, 1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 61, 73)
autres du nom:
Barrois, Bernard
1422: pasticier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)

Barroiz, Hervy le
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Bauchien, Charles de
Lambercourt, sgr. de
Hainceville, sgr. de
né 1390 (Grandeau: Dames, p. 180)
1409: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 23v)
1411, 1412, 1413: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 7 & 7v & 8 & 8v & 9v, 11v)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 31, 34v, 42, 50v, 68)
épousa: Cantepie, Jehanne dame de
laquelle épousa en 2e noces: Montcavrel, David de
(duquel elle était veuve en 1421)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 152)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Bauchien, Alips de; épousa av. 1417:

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Bournel, Hue
Thiembronne, sgr de
chambellan du roi
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 152)
fils de:
Bauchien, Robinet de
1389: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 215 Bauchien no. 6)
mort entre 1390/5 et 1391/7/6
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5876 (Menant XII) fols. 30v-31) &
(BN P.O. 390 Boischien no. 3)
epousa 1389/1/25(* p. 178):
Fastavarin, Katherine de
morte av. 1401/5/9 (* p. 181)
1385: accompagna Isabeau de Bavière d'Allemagne en France
(Grandeau: Dames (*), p. 178)
1387: damoiselle de la reine (* p. 178)
1389-1392: dame d'honneur de la reine (* p. 178)
veuve en 1ère noces de: Campremy, Jehan dit Morel de
qu'elle avait épousé 1388/1/22(* p. 178)
elle épousa en 3ème noces 1393/1/28 :
Ortenburg, Etzel II von (* p. 180)

Baudier, Jehan le, dit le Camus
1414-1415: chevaucheur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres du nom:
Camus, le
1416: porte chappe du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. ix)

Baudry, Jehan
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82)

Bauffremont, Msgr. de
1408: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 17v)
sur cette famille voir:
(BN fr. 32843) et (BN fr.n.a. 15808)

Baugis, Denisot de
1413: chasublier & valet de chambre
du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 57v)
1413: chasublier & valet de chambre
du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. ix)
1413/10-1414: valet de chambre & garde des
pavillons du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)
1414-1415: reçoit "gaiges des tentes" du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 103v)

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peut-être le même personnage que:
Baugis, Denisot de
clerc d'office du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
autres du nom:
Baugis, Guillaume de
1396/3 n.s.?: chasublier demourant a Paris
(Grandeau: Enfants, p. 836 n., ref.: KK 41 fol. 118)

Baviere, Loys duc "en"
frère de la reine, oncle du duc de Guyenne
1410/5/6: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 78-9)
1410/5/23: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 83-v)
1410/6/23: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 508-9)
1411/4/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 229-30)
1411/6/24: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 55v-56)
1413/3/13: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 60)
1413/4/21: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Devillers: Cartul., III, p. 586-8)
1413/9/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223fols. 271-2)
1414/3/19: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Clairambault 64 no. 135)
1414/7/24: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à
Agny lez Arras (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 69-70)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 5, 7, 7v, 10, 11, 15, 15v,
17v, 19, 19v, 20, 21v, 22, 22v, 25)
mentions dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fols. 52, 57v, 67v)

Bazin, Simon, dit Fassion (Facien, Simonnet *)
(Bassin **)
1414-1415: ménestrel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474v ** & 479v)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v *)
autres du nom:
Facion, Jehan, l'aisne ("Facien l'aisne" *)
1416: ménestrel du roi
(Verdon: Isabeau, p. 230, réf.: AN KK 49 fol. 5v)
1422: roi des ménestrels du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704 *)
Facion, Jehan, le jeune ("Facien le jeune" **)
1416: ménestrel du roi
(Verdon: Isabeau, p. 230, réf.: AN KK 49 fol. 5v)

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1422: menestrier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704 **)

Beaugendre, Colin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)

Beaugendre, Jehan
enfant de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469)
autres du nom:
Beaugendre, Jehan
1418/8/31: Paris, macier & clerc de matines de ND de
(Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand: Paris, p. 361)
Beaugendre, Colin
1389: aide de garderobe du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 718)

Beaumeteau, Girart de
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 90)

Beaumont, messire Alain de
1408: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 17v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Beaumont, Alain de
1394, 1403: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6210 nos. 189, 206)
1396: reçoit 500 fr. de pension par an du duc
d'Orléans (BN fr. 6210 no. 193)
1396: Sablé, capit. de; à 300 fr. par an
(BN fr. 6210 no. 192)
ses armoiries:
écu à trois pièces: deux, puis un
(BN fr. 6210 no. 204)
led. A. avait 2 fils en 1403:
Beaumont, Alain de & Beaumont, Regnaut de

Beaumont, Pierre de
1415/8/13: panetier du duc de Guyenne
ledit jour nommé: Albon en Dauphiné, chastellain de
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 164-v)

Beausou
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
1414-5: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne

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travaillait avec Petit Colin et avait un aide
(AN KK 228 fol. 109)

Beque, Aubertin le
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)

Bele, Guillaume du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Belle, Guillaume du
1412/6-7: écuyer d'honneur du roi pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 867)

Belin, Guillaume (Guillemin *)
1414-1415: aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
1414-1415: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107v *)
autres du nom:
Belin, Arnoul
1404/5/10: Bourges, trésorier de la Sainte Chapelle de;
nommé led. jour par le duc de Berry (Lehoux, III, p. 15)
Belin, Jehan
1422: de l'hostel du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Belin, Thomas
1419: messager de la chambre des comptes du roi
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 4004)

Belle Ferme, Jehan
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96v)

Bellegarde, Pierre de
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
probablement le même personnage que:
Bellegarde
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel
du duc de Guyenne mentionné sous Fourrière où les
écuyers d'honneur sont toujours mentionnés
(AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 58v & 66v, 102v)

Bellegarde, Richart de
1413: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 61v)

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peut-être de la même famille que:
Mainemaires, Richart de . dit Bellegarde
1400: panetier de Louis d'Orléans
(Jarry: Vie L. d'Orl., p. 239 n. 2)

Bellenoe, Hemon de
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 72v)

Beloche, Michelet
1412/6-7: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413/10-1414: fruitier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1415/4/24: fruitier du duc de Guyenne
il est noble (AN Z.1A 6 fols. 19v-20 & 26v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 66 & 90)

Beloisel, Jehan le
1411/8/30: garde du séjour du duc de Guyenne et
Buisson Hamcrote en la forêt de Lyons, sergent & garde du
nommé aud. office de sergent & garde led. jour par le roi
(BN P.O. 284 Beloisel no. 2)

Belon la gentilfemme (voir Gentilfemme)

Bergier, Guillemin le
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Bernard, Simon
1414-1415, 1415: 1er chapellain
du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 19v & 23v & 24, 25)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 107v sans nom de famille)

Bernart, Jamet
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (quand on lui doit
de l'argent "pour voictures" *)
(AN KK 228 fols. 46v, 49v *)
autres du nom:
Bernart, Thibault
1422/7: queux du roi
(Douet d'Arcq, Choix, I, p. 432)

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Bernier, Colart
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 52)
autres du nom:
Bernier, Pierre
1413: prestre & chapellain de la duch.
de Guyenne (AN X.1c 105 A no. 139)
chapellain du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Delabarre: État, p. 93)
1420: chapellain de la duch. de Guyenne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1281)

Berry, Jehan de
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Bertaing, Jehan de
1413/10-1414: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)

Berthier, Philipot
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 41v)
1413/10-1414: clerc d'office de la reine
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414-1415: clerc d'office du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
1414-1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)

Bethonval, Reginauldin de
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 47)

Beuve, Perrin
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 54v, 89)

Billart, Jehan("Billart" *)
1413: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 53 *, 61)
autres du nom:
Billart, Thevenin
1392: souffleur de cuisine du roi
(Pichon: Taillevent, p. 270)

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Bille, Jehan
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)

Billee, Guillaume
1406: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
1405-1406, 1407: de la fourrière du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 3v, 11)

Bille Sen Va
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)

Blanc, Anthoine, dit Millan
(Blanc, Anthoine le *)
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)
1422: trompette du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705 *)

Blanc, Jehan le
1403/2/1: argentier de la reine;
date d'ouverture du 1er compte dud. J.
(Rey: Finances, p. 240)
1406: argentier du duc de Guyenne; nommé aud. an
(Rey: Finances, p. 283 & 286, ref.: AN KK 43 fols. 18-v)
1410-1411, 1412: argentier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 5 & 6, 7 & 9)
1412-1413: argentier du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne
500 fr. pour bons services "des lors que mondit sgr. fu
ne ou assez tost apres" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
av. 1418: argentier de Marie d'Anjou
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 59)
av. 1425/2: ses biens confisqués donnés à la reine
(Longnon: Paris, p. 149 & 280)

Blanche, Guillemin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Blaru, Msgr. de (voir Sacquainville, Jehan de)

Blesy, Perrenet de
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57)

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autres du nom:
Blesy, Alexandre de
1412: dans l'armée du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
1418: Haulterive, capitaine de
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 383)

Blosset, Rogerin (Belosset *)
1414-1415: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 22, 23)
mention dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fol. 72v *)
peut-être celui du même nom qui fut parmi les ôtages
donnés par Harfleur à Henry V 1415/9
(Hellot: Siege, p. 25 n. 33)
peut-être celui du même nom qui fut:
1437: écuyer d'écurie de Charles VII
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 5)
peut-être le fils de:
Blosset, Roger
Galarde, sgr. de la . (1385)
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 47)
1375: valet tranchant du roi Charles V
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 47)
1382: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 47)
1398/2: vivant (BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 2)
armoiries: (BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 48 (dessein))
autres du nom:
Blosset, Colart
1418/1/18: Saint Pierre, sgr. de ;chlr.
et Liucourt, capitaine de
frère de Guillaume (voir ci-dessous)
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 49)
Blosset, Guillaume, dit le Borgne
Saint Pierre en Caux, sgr. de (1430)
(Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 29, p. 336 n. 2)
frère de Colart (voir ci-dessus)
mêmes armoiries que Roger mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 50)
1418/6/21: échanson du roi
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 49)
1430/10: chlr. chambellan de Charles VII
(BN P.O. 373 Blosset no. 49)

Bochet, Gilet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)

Boileaue, Jehan (Boyleaue *)
1413/1-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 53v)

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1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 102 *)
autres du nom:
Boileau, Hugues. mtre.
1384: Sainte Chapelle, trésorier de la
(Fawtier: Docs. Finan., II, p. 135)

Boirenc, Guillaume (Borenc *)
1410-1411: receveur des aides pour la guerre de: Rochelle, la; pour le duc de Guyenne; commis pendant led. temps (BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411-1412, 1412-1413, 1413-1414, 1414-1415, 1415: receveur des aides pour la guerre de: Rochelle, la; pour le duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 7, 11 *, 15, 19, 25)

Bois, Jehan du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne quand il reçoit "gaiges des tentes" ainsi probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 107)
autres du nom:
Bois, Jehan du. l'aisne
1422: valet de porte du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)
Bois, Jehan du
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 405 & p. 163 n.)
Bois, Jehan du
1422: huissier de salle du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)
Bois, Jehan du
1422: garde harnois du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)
Bois, Jehan du
1398: de la garderobe du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 152)
Bois, Jehan du
1417: mtre. d'hostel du comte de Charollais
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 2e fasc., no. 9699)
Bois, Jehan du. mtre.
1403: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi
(BN P.O. 388 Bois en Normandie 8508 no. 46)
1408: secrétaire du roi et greffier criminel au Parlement; anobli par le roi
(BN lat. 18345 p. 177, ref.: AN JJ 163 no. 201)
Bois, Jehan du. mtre.
1419/11, 1420: chirurgien & valet de chambre de Philippe le Bon
(Mollat: Comptes, I, nos. 1190, 1369 & 1370)

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Boisgault, Robin (Boisgaut *)
1414-1415: aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 471, 474 *)

Boissard, Jehan, dit Verdelet ("Verdelet" *)
(Verdelet, Jehan **)
1414-1415: ménestrel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v *)
1416: ménestrel du roi
(Verdon: Isabeau, p. 230, réf.: AN KK 49 fol. 5v)
autres mentions: (Longnon: Paris, p. 151 n. 3 **)

Boissay, Charlot de
1405/9: écuyer d'honneur du roi
à 100 fr. par an (BN Coll. Clairambault 16 no. 151)
1408: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 50)
1411: écuyer d'honneur du roi; pnt. aux joustes
de la Pentecôte (BN fr. 21809 no. 26)
1411: accompagne le duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1412/6-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1412: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8v & 9v)
1413/10-1414, 1414, 1414-1415: 1er échanson
du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v deux fois, 19v, 20 & 22)
1414/11-12: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne
pendant le voyage dud. duc a Bourges & Mehun-sur-Yèvre
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
1415/4/25: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne et
Roucy, capitaine de ("soubz Msgr. de Guienne")
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 57)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 47v, 53v, 61v, 75v)
filiation avec les autres membres de la famille: inconnue
peut-être le même personnage que:
Boissel, Charles de
tué a Azincourt 1415/10/25
laissa une seule fille héritière, Isabelle, qui épousa:
Aubeville, Jehan sgr. d'; chlr.; leq. vivait à Paris
1427/1434 (Sauval, III, p. 577)

Boissay, Colart de (Colin *) (Colinet **)
1405/10: écuyer d'honneur du roi
à 100 fr. de pension par an
(BN Coll. Clairambault 16 no. 153 *)

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1409-1410, 1412, 1414: valet tranchant
du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 (**) fols. 4, 9v 2 fois, 15v & 16v 2 fois)
1410/11: Lyons, capitaine du chastel de
(Eure)
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 45)
remplacé audit office 1413/5/18
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 82)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1413/4/28: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 108-9) (ne donne pas le nom de
Colart mais dit que "les enfans du sgr. de Boissay"
furent emprisonnés)
1414/5/2: chlr. chambellan du roi et
Bort, verdier de la forêt de
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 55)
1414/11/20: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 46)
1415/4/4: Bort, verdier de la forêt de &
Pont de l'Arche, vicomte du; remplacé ledit jour
(BN fr. 20684 p. 55)
1415/5/12: Longueville-la-Giffart, capit. de
ledit office donné led. jour par le roi au duc de Guyenne
car le duc a fait exposer au roi: "auquel office tenir...
icelui Colart n'est pas prouffitable pour nous pour le
present" (BN P.O. 1607 Kermellec no. 2)
1416: vivant (BN P.O. 393 Boissay no. 60)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 47, 53, 61, 104)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 20, 21v)
épousa (1414/3 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15v)):
Nantouillet, Katherine de (BN P.O. 393 Boissay no. 60)
fils de:
Boissay, Robert sgr. de
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 60)

Boissay, Jehan de
mort av. 1416 (BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 60)
1399/12: chlr. chambellan du roi et
Lyons, capitaine du chastel de (Eure)
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 44)
1405/9/4: chambellan du roi à
200 fr. de pension par an
(BN Coll. Clairambault 16 no. 150 (avec sceau))
1411: chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne
reçoit 200 fr. du roi pour les joustes de la pentecôte
(BN fr. 21809 nos. 23 & 25)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412/6: Neufchastel, capit. du chastel de
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 51)
1413: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris

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(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21) (Baye: Journal, II, p. 108-9)
1413/11/20: Rouen, lieut. du duc de Guyenne au chastel de (BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 53)
1413/12/16: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 236-7)
1413, 1414-1415: chambellan du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58 & 67v, 101v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 7, 8, 9v, 10, 11, 15)
(AN KK 228 fols. 42, 43v, 50v)
épousa: Jouy, Catherine de
à sa mort led. J. laissa un fils mineur:
Boissay, Laurens de
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 74-5)
fils aîné de: Boissay, Robert sgr. de
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 60)
autres du nom:
Boissay, Jehan de. mtre.
mort 1412/4/3 (Béziers, I, p. 69)
1399/2/13:cons. & mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi (BN Coll. Clairambault 16 no. 139)
1408/6/9: Paris, demande à être reçu chanoine de ND de (AN LL 110 p. 88)
1408/9-12: Bayeux, évêque de; élu pendant led. temps (BN fr. 20684 p. 23)
fils de: Boissay, Jehan sgr. de & Elbeuf, Catherine d' (Béziers, I, p. 69)
frère de: Boissay, Robert sgr. de
(AN X.1a 9807 fol. 17)
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 74-5)

Boissay, Robert sgr. de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 118)
armoiries: lion rampant
(BN Coll. Clairamb. 16 nos. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147)
Boissay, sgr. de (1ère mention 1407/6/30)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 16 no. 142)
Mesnieres, sgr de (1ère mention 1407)
(Robillard de Beaurepaire: Soc. Libre Eure, 3e série, t. 8, p. 475)
1384: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Fawtier: Docs. Finan., II, p. 114)
1388/10/8: chlr. dont la monstre & reveue reçues à Corensich en Allemagne dans l'armée du roi
(BN fr. 25766 no. 486)
1389/9/11: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 29)
1399/4/6 n.s.?: cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi et grand mtre. d'hostel du dauphin Charles
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 35)
1401, 1405: cons., chambellan et mtre. d'hostel du roi à 1800 fr. de pension par an
(BN Coll. Clairambault 16 nos. 143, 145)

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1404: Dieppe, capit. de
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 43)
1406: grand mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(Rey: Finances, p. 283, réf.: AN KK 46 fol. 1290 (sic))
1407, 1415: Dieppe, capit. de
(BN Coll. Clairambault 16 nos. 142, 154 & 155)
1410/3/4: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 6-7)
1410/4/4: cons. du duc de Guyenne
au conseil du duc de Guyenne a Paris
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
1412/6: 1er mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 276)
1412/6-7: maréchal de l'armée du roi
pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 641)
1413/5: emprisonné par les Cabochiens avec ses deux fils
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 45, 131)
1413/8/5: Vincennes, concierge & garde de; nommé
led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 402)
1414/7: maréchal de l'armée du roi (un de deux)
au siege de Bapaume pendant l'expédition d'Arras
(Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, I, p. 170)
épousa: Calleville, Roberge de
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 74-5)
enfants sans aucun doute:
1. Boissay, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Boissay, Colart de (voir ci-dessus)
(BN P.O. 393 Boissay 8675 no. 60)
fils de: Boissay, Jehan sgr. de

Boissiere, Jehan de la
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
1415: Louvre, lieut. du capit. du; écuyer
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Boissiere, Symonnet de la
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57)
autres du nom:
Boissiere, Guillaume de la
Perrigny, sgr. de (1403); écuyer
(BN P.O. 2236 Perigny no. 7)
le fils dudit Guillaume:
Boissiere, Guillaume de la, le jeune
(dit le Petit Perrigney *)
1403/9: échanson de Louis d'Orléans qui lui
donne 50 l.t. pour l'accompagner en Lombardie
(BN P.O. 2236 Perigny no. 7 *)
Boissiere, Thibaut sgr. de la
1391/10/22: Amiens, bailli d'; nommé led. jour

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au lieu de: Bove, Gobert de la
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 94)

Bolier, Jehan (voir Boulier)

Bonachier, Colichon
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

Bon Denier, Jehan
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 48, 62, 82)

Bongre, Estienne. mtre.
1405: Saint Pierre de Lille, chanoine de (Tits-Dieuaide: Lettres Benoît XIII, II, nos 457, 458)
1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 11v)
1411, 1413, 1414, 1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 603),
(AN J 734 no. 16),
(BN Coll. Clairambault 64 no. 136),
(AN X.1a 8602 fols. 301-2v)
1415/11/6: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne à Rouen (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 100-1)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 9v, 16, 17, 19v, 21, 23v, 24, 26v)

Bonharnois
aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Bonnay, Jehan de
1403: échanson de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 407 Bonnay no. 3)
1414-1415: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1414-1418, 1422/6/28: Toulouse, sénéchal de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 482-3)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 17 no. 57)
1420: cons. & chambellan du dauphin Charles (BN P.O. 407 Bonnay no. 12)
mort 1438-1439

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épousa: Montesquieu, Jehanne de
(Dupont-Ferrier, GR, V, p. 482-3)
autres du nom:

Bonnay, Philippe de
1403: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 407 Bonnay no. 6)
1412/6-7: chambellan du roi pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 866)
1415/12/27: Mâcon, bailli de; et
Lyon, sénéchal de; nommé ledit jour au lieu de:
Bonnay, Robert de (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 579)

Bonnay, Robert de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 116)
Montier Salon, sgr. de (1414); Menetou-Salon:
(Cher: arr. Bourges, c. Saint Martin-d'Auxigny) (*)
1403: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 407 Bonnay no. 6)
1409: cons. du duc d'Orléans a
30 l.t. de gages par mois (BN fr. 6210 no. 257)
1409, 1410: chambellan du duc d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6210 nos. 258, 259)
1412/5/6: accordé ledit jour par le duc de Berry
une pension de 100 l.t. par mois (AN KK 250 fol. 15)
1413/9/27: Mâcon, bailli de; et
Lyon, sénéchal de; nommé ledit jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 579)
1414/7/12: chambellan du roi et
Mascon, bailli de; un de ceux qui font saisie
au nom du roi du comté de Nevers led. jour
(Marolles: Inv. Nevers, col. 65-6 *)

Bonney, Estienne de (Thevenin *)
1412, 1413: clerc & secrétaire du trésorier
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 9 *, 12v)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: controleur de
l'argenterie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 17v, 23v)
1415: clerc & procureur du trésorier
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25 *)

Borde, Msgr. de la (voir Melun, Jehan de)

Bordelet, Pierre (voir Baligny)

Boscheron, Guillaume le
1415: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

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Boscheron, Guillemin
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel
du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 69, 105v)

Boscheron, Rolet
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73v)

Boucher, Jehan
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)
autres du nom:
Boucher, Jehan
chapellain du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Delabarre: État, p. 93)
Boucher, Arnoul
mort 1408/7 (Rey: Domaine, p. 294 n. 8)
1390-1399: trésorier des querres
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 195)
1407-1408: général des finances des aides
(Rey: Domaine, p. 294)
épousa: Gentien, Jehanne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 266)
avait deux fils qui vivaient en 1421:
Boucher, Pierre & Boucher, Bureau
(Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand: Paris, p. 351-2)

Boudart, Denisot
panetier du roi & du duc de Guyenne
membre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(Bib. Vienne: Ms. 51 fol. 45 (ref. CB))
peut-être le même personnage que:
Boudart, Denisot
1387, 1389: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 709-10, 718)
1400: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166)
autres du nom:
Boudart, Jehan
1389: panetier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 719)
1400: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166)
Boudart, Mahiet (Mathieu *)
1389: huissier d'armes du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 718 *)
1413: 1er huissier d'armes du roi
(BN P.O. 440 Boudart no. 19)
Boudart, Mathieu
1383, 1387: 1er panetier du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 226)

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(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'honneur du roi
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 867)

Boudeville, Jehan de
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)

Boulenger, Colin le
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 60 & 71v)

Boulier, Jehan (Boullier *) (Bolier **)
1407: apothicaire du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11 *)
1412: apothicaire & valet de chambre
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1414-1415: apothicaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 475 **)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 35, 42 *, 50v *, 58 *)

Bourdon, messire Loys
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
a gages (AN KK 228 fol. 104v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Bosredon, Loys de
exécuté en 1417 (Monstrelet, III, p. 175)
1408/9/8: 1er écuyer [d'écurie ?] de la reine
(Tardieu: Bosredon, p. 72)
1411/10/9: signe déclaration de Saint Ouen contre le
duc de Bourgogne (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 345)
1411: défend Étampes pour le duc de Berry contre le
duc de Bourgogne (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 583)
1412/6-7 délivré de prison après le siège de Bourges;
on l'avait mené à Lille après la reddition d'Étampes
(Monstrelet, II, p. 224 & 292)
1414/2/4: un des commandeurs de l'arrière-garde
du duc de Guyenne quand led. duc parcourut Paris en armes
(Monstrelet, II, p. 429)
1414/11/7: chlr. chambellan du duc de Berry
Berry, sénéchal de; Auvergne, maréchal d'
fait hommage au duc de Berry de la baronnie d'Hermant
(laquelle il avait achetée en 1408 *)
(Huillard-Bréholles: Titres, II, no. 4989)
(Tardieu: Bosredon, p. 72 *)
1415: chambellan du duc d'Orléans
1415/10/25: pnt. à Azincourt (*)

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(Monstrelet, III, p. 124)
(Tardieu: Bosredon, p. 73, 74 *)

Bourdon, Pierre
1410: chevaucheur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 4)
autres du nom:
Bourdon, Jehannin (Bordon *)
1383, 1387, 1389: clerc de fruiterie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 229)
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721 *)
Bourdon, Laurenz
1383: notaire du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 208)
1381, 1387, 1389: contrerolleur de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 183)
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710, 718)
Bourdon, Regnault
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 402 & p. 163 n.)

Bourgogne, Philippe de
Nevers, comte de
fils de: Bourgogne, Philippe-le-Hardi, duc de
1412, 1413: "aux frais" du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 42v & 51, 57v)

Bourgoignon, Jehan le
1410/10: valet de fruit du duc de Guyenne
(AN J 382 no. 19.1)

Bourgois, Jehan
1411: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(AN X.1c 101 B nos. 325 & 327)

Bournens, Jehan de, dit Franquelance (Bournant *)
1402, 1403: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fols. 252, 163)
1412/6-7: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 53v)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
1418: écuyer d'écurie de la reine
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 70)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 45v, 47v, 75v)

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(BN fr. 32511 fols. 9 & 23v)
membre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
armoiries: d'argent au lion de sable lampassé muselé et armé de gueules (BN fr. 5233 fol. 78)
épousa: Blanchet, Jehanne
(Le Clert: Ann. Aube, t. 74, p. 82 *)

Bourriz, Philippot de
1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 67, 95v)

Boursier, Alexandre le
mort 1430 (Rey: Domaine, p. 290 n.)
1401/1: receveur général des aides
(Moranvillé: Songe (*), p. 163, réf.: AN KK 27 fol. 134)
1402/10/30: anobli (* p. 163, réf.: AN JJ 157 fol. 139)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413:
receveur général des aides
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5, 7, 11)
1412/11/12: mtre. de la chambre des comptes du roi nommé led. jour au lieu de feu: Dussy, Jacques de
(Rey: Finances, p. 519 n.5)
1413/2: attaqué par l'Université de Paris dans leurs Remonstrances faites au roi
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 759, 761)
1413/2/13: receveur général des aides; déstitué led. jour
(* p. 164)
1414-1415: cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi & du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415/10-12: cons. en la chambre des comptes du roi et mtre. lay en la chambre des comptes du duc de Guyenne; de nouvel retenu mtre. lay
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
1417: général commissaire sur le fait de toutes finances (* p. 164)
1418: ses biens confisqués par les Bourguignons (* p. 164)
1423: mtre. de la chambre des comptes de Charles VII (* p. 165)
épousa av. 1402/10/30: Fortiere, Nicolle la (* p. 163)
enfants:
Boursier, Jehan le
1458: demourant à Beaucaire (Sauval, III, p. 358)
1460: esc., mtre. d'hostel du roi de Sicile
(Sauval, III, p. 361)
neveu dud. A.: Cloye, Jacques de (voir ci-dessous)
autres du nom:
Boursier, Perrin le
1407-1408, 1422/7: sommelier du materas du roi
(AN KK 29 fol. 41); (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 442)

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Bout, Guillemin le
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Boutdon, Robin du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Bouves, Jehan de
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges des tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 103v)

Bouville, Jehan de
1414-1415: contrerolleur [de la chambre aux deniers ?] du duc de Guyenne
(bm AN KK 228 fol. 112)
autres du nom:
Bouville, Pierre ("Pierre Boiville" *)
mort 1387/9/21
receveur du bailliage de la Montagne pour le duc de Berry
(Marchal-Verdoodt: Table, p. 67 *)
1385: mtre. de la chambre des comptes à Dijon du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 80)

Boves, Guillaume dit Sauvage des (Bouves *)
mort av. 1415/11/7 [tué à Azincourt ?]
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 399)
1392, 1398: panetier du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 11736),
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 263)
1397, 1401: écuyer tranchant du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fols. 262, 291)
1410, 1412, 1415: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 9v & 10, 22 & 26)
1411: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Dourdan & Étampes
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22) & (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1415/4/12: Saint Germain en Laye, capit. de nommé ledit jour par le duc de Guyenne
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 399)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol 95v *) (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
épousa av. 1398: Fontenay, Jehanne de
(AD Aube: E 510 (cat.))

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autres du nom:

Boves, Jehan des
écuyer tranchant du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-H.)
(Delabarre: État, p. 57)

Boves, Pierre des
1387, 1389, 1390: panetier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710, 718)
(BN fr. 5350 p. 60 (cat))

Bracquemont, Guillaume dit Braquet sgr; de
Bracquemont, sgr de (à partir de 1402)
(Seine-Maritime: arr. & c. Dieppe)
(Beauvillé, IV, p. 87) & (BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 47)
1389-1390: chlr. chambellan du roi
accompagne le roi au voyage de Languedoc
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 14)
1390: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 16)
1402/11/19: Luxembourg, lieutenant général du
duc d'Orléans au duché de; nommé ledit jour
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 47)
1403: maréchal du duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 24)
1411/10: envoyé avec d'autres nobles une lettre de défi
au duc de Bourgogne (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 493)
1413: [chambellan] du duc d'Orléans
à 1000 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 6210 no. 350)
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du roi &
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 21 & 23)
1415/4-5: ambassadeur duroi envoyé avec d'autres
devers les Anglais (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 507)
1415/5: cons. & chambellan des
ducs d'Orléans et de Guyenne (BN fr. 6210 no. 356)
1415/8: à la défense de Harfleur contre les Anglais
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 539)
mention dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)

épousa av. 1384: Campremy, Marie de; veuve de:
Clermont, Jehan de, sgr. de Tartigny & Paillart

enfants:
1. Bracquemont, Louis de (voir ci-dessous)
2. Bracquemont, Braquet le jeune de
3. Bracquemont, Guillaume de, sgr. de Campremy
peut-être identique avec Braquet le jeune
4. Bracquemont, Marie de; épousa:
a. (1396 *) Argies, Louis d', sgr de Bethencourt
b. (1410/8/5 contrat **) Marck, Evrard de la,
leq. E. était: Aremberg, sgr. d'
5. Bracquemont, Robine de; épousa:
Becquencourt, Jehan de
6. Bracquemont, Marguerite de; épousa:
Tyrel, Jehan, sgr. de Poix & Mareuil
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 818-819)

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(Lapierre: Trav. Acad. Reims, t. 140, p. 279 **, 285 *)
fils de: Bracquemont, Regnault sgr de
frère dud. Guillaume:
Bracquemont, Robinet de
1393: chlr. chambellan du roi & du duc d'Orléans (BN fr. 6210 no. 336)
1402: cons. & chambellan du roi (AN P 266.1 no. 214)
1406: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à 500 l.t. de pension par an (BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 67)
1413/3/30: chambellan du roi (AN X.1c 105 A no. 203)
autre frère dud. Guillaume:
Bracquemont, Lyonnel de
mort av. 1416/6/14 [tué à Azincourt ? son nom n'est pas donné par Monstrelet]
(BN P.O. 759 Chomery no. 32)
Traversain, sgr. de (1408)
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 60)
1398: panetier de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6210 no. 341)
1403: écuyer; chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 38)
1406: Harfleur, capit. de
(AN JJ 161 no. 17 (cat.))
1407/2-11: fait chlr. (BN P.O. Bracquemont nos. 74 & 77)
1409: chlr. chambellan du duc d'Orléans à 30 fr. de gages par mois
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont no. 103)
1413/7/15: cons. & chambellan du duc d'Orléans
(BN fr. 26039 no. 4770)
1415/8/10: Harfleur, capitaine de; sa monstre reçue aud. lieu led. jour
(BN Coll. Clairambault 21, 1460 (fichier))

Bracquemont, Loys de
né 1391-1392, filleul de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 967 Dampmartin no. 26)
tué 1424 à Verneuil
Sedan, sgr. de (à partir de 1410)
(Lapierre: Trav. Acad. Reims, t. 140, p. 287)
1410: de l'hostel du duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 494 Bracquemont nos. 112 & 114 (pièce signée))
1411: de l'hostel du duc d'Orléans pendant le voyage du duc "oultre la riviere de Seine"
(BN fr. 6211 no. 116)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 61, 76)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1422/8: chambellan du dauphin Charles
(Chartier, III, p. 307)

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fils de: Bracquemont, Guillaume sgr. de (voir)

Bragelongne, Adam de
1406: receveur général des finances de la reine
(BN P.O. 490 Bragelongne no. 3)
1407: mtre. des garnisons des vins de la reine
(AN KK 47 fol. 3)
1408/12/14: fait aveu au roi de la terre de
Jouy-en-Gastinois
relevant du chastel de Courtenay,
(Quantin: Bull. Soc. Yonne, 3e sér., t. 7, p. 57,
ref.: AN P 132.1)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415:
mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 15 & 16 & 17v, 19 & 21v & 23,
25 & 25v)
son fils:
Bragelongne, Guillaume de
1415: escolier estudiant a Paris en la faculté
des arts (BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)

Brague, Blanchet
testa 1420 (Hozier: AG, III, 1ere partie, Bracque)
Saint Maurice-sur-Aveyron, sgr. de
(Loiret: arr. Montargis, c. Châtillon-Coligny)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 259)
Courcelles-le-Roi, sgr. de (1409)
laq. sgrie. est tenue du duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 75 *)
et lui est venue de sa mere: Courcy, Jehanne de
(BN fr. 31915 fol. 22)
1409: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du roi (*)
1409, 1410: Yèvre-le-Chastel, capit. de,
pour le duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque nos. 76, 77 & 78 & 79)
1410/6/19: général cons. sur le fait de la
finances des aides; nommé ledit jour
(BN P.O. Bracque no. 80)
1410/9/14: mtre. d'hostel du roi qui lui
donne 200 fr. pour être "en nre. compaignie en l'armee
que nous faisons pntemt." (BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 82)
1410-1411: général cons. sur le fait des aides
à 600 l.p. de gages par an (BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 83)
1412: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 619)
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 43v)
1415, 1418/10: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 87)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 120)
1418/10/7: commissaire & général gouv. de
toutes les finances du roi; nommé led. jour

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(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 120)
1418/10, 1419: chambellan du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 1290, 1024-5)
1419/8: cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3822)
épousa: Chastillon, Jehanne de
enfants: seul enfant connu: Braque, Jehanne; épousa:
a. (1405/5/7 contrat **): Courtenay, Pierre de Champignelles, sgr. de
1405: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 323 **)
b. Saligny, Lourdin de
(Hozier: AG, III, 1ère partie, Braque)
seul enfant connu de:
Braque, Jehan
mort entre 1408/4/23 et 1411/12/23
(BN P.O. 1184 Fontaines no. 16),
(BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 206)
vers 1374: mtre. d'hostel de Charles V
(BN fr. 31915 fol. 22v)
1387, 1390: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque nos. 36, 53)
1393: mtre. d'hostel du roi & de Louis d'Orléans (BN fr. 6210 no. 325)
1396: cons. & mtre. d'hostel de Louis d'Orléans à 500 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 6210 no. 328)
1407/12: cons. & "gouverneur" de l'hostel du duc d'Orléans (BN fr. 6210 no. 332)
1408: cons. de la duch. d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 62)
épousa: Courcy, Jehanne de

Bray, Francois de
1414-1415, 1415: clerc de la chambre des comptes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 20v, 25v)
clerc & auditeur des comptes (sans gages) du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471v)
autres du nom:
Bray, Estienne de
1386: clerc & auditeur des comptes du roi
pour les renseignements sur lui après cette date il faut vérifier si on l'a confondu avec Estienne le jeune
(Roy: Le Chesnoy, p. 56 n. 5)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 263)
Bray, Estienne de, la jeune
1418/8/29: mtre. qui prêta serment au duc de Bourgogne
(Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand: Paris, p. 377)
Bray, Guy de
mort av. 1415/5 (AN J 194 no. 56 (cat.))
1399: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 586)
1400 v.s.?: secrétaire & mtre. des comptes

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du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 80)

Bray, Jehan de
1419: écuyer, page du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1224)

Bray, Milet de
1418: sommelier de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 982)
1422: clerc d'offices du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 443) &
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)

Bray, Mahiet de
1410-1411: chevaucheur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)

Bretagne, Arthur de
Richemont, comte de
frère du duc de Bretagne
1413, 1414-1415: "aux frais" du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 68v, 101v)
1413/9/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN K 58 no. 4)
1413/12/11: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 64-5)
1415/4/12: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne (s.l.)
(BN fr. 23271 p. 418)
1415/5/10: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne (s.l.)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 106)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 19, 19v, 20, 22v deux fois)

Bretagne, Charles de
frère du comte de Penthièvre
1414-1415: "aux frais" du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Bretagne, Gilles de
frère du duc de Bretagne
1410/11/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 16v)
1411, 1412: "aux frais" du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 34v, 42)
mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
conservateur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(Bib. Vienne: Ms. 51 fol. 4v (ref. CB))

Bretigny, Loys de
Saint Philibert, sgr. de

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(Seine-et-Oise: fief sis à Brétigny-sur-Orge)
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 173, réf.: Clairambault 834 p. 1452)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du
duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 52, 58v, 101v)
1413/10-1414, 1415: écuyer d'honneur du
duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v, 26v)
la suivante est probablement sa soeur:

Bretigny, Marguerite de
1408, 1410: damoiselle de la csse. de Charollais
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 173 *)
1412: damoiselle de la duch. de Guyenne (*)
1412-1413: [damoiselle] de la duch.
de Guyenne et de la csse. de Charollais (****)
1446/5/1: Saint Philibert, dame de
fait hommage led. jour à: Paris, l'évêque de
des fiefs de Saint Philibert & Voisin; tous les
deux sis à Brétigny
ce doc. donne le vrai nom de son second mari:
Tourelle, Raoul de la, dit Rigaut (Tournelle)
Fontaines, sgr. de (1446)
(Bertrandy-Lacabane: Brétigny-sur-Orge, p. 18, 157, réf.:
(AD Seine-et-Oise: E 2445)
épousa A.: Mesnil, Guillaume du (voir)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v) ****)
épousa B. (av. 1416/9/16) (**):

Fontaines, Rigaut de
(Dupont-Ferrier: Études, I, p. 258 **,ref.:
(AN Z.1a 6 fol. 259v)
1411/6-7: au service de Philippe d'Orléans pendant un
voyage (BN fr. 26038 nos. 4484, 4477)
1417: Étampes, capitaine d'
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 276)
1421: fait chlr. avant la bataille de Mons en Vimeu
(Fénin, p. 487-8)
leq. était fils de:

Fontaines, Jehan de
(Vuilhorgne: Soc. Acad. Oise, t. 19 (***), p. 456)
armoiries: d'argent à 5 tourelles de sable à la bordure
de même (*** p. 477 n. 1)
Fontaines Lavagon, sgr. de
(Fontaine-Lavaganne: Oise: arr. Beauvais,
c. Marseilles-le-Petit)
(*** p. 455)
Auchy la Montagne, sgr de (en partie)
(Oise: arr. Clermont, c. Crevecoeur) (*** p. 455)
Songeons, sgr. de (en partie)
(Oise: arr. Beauvais, ch.-l.) (*** p. 455)
1395: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à 500 fr.
de pension (BN fr. 6211 no. 114)
1402/12/5: cons. & chambellan du roi et
Asti en Italie, gouverneur d'; à Asti led. jour
(BN P.O. 1184 Fontaines no. 3)
1406: cons. & chambellan du roi
(Leblond: Soc. Acad. Oise, t. 21, p. 722)

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1410: chambellan du duc d'Orléans (*** p. 455)

Breton, Denisot le
1413/3/12: clerc des offices du duc de Guyenne et mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du roi; nommé mtre. led. jour (BN fr. 20691 p. 862)
il y'avait au moins 2 personnages de ce nom; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé distingue le receveur des aides de celui qui fut changeur sans donner de véritables preuves
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98 p. 268)
autres du nom
(dont plusieurs pourraient etre le même personnage):
Breton, Denisot le
1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413: changeur (et bourgeois de Paris *) (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5v, 8, 11v *)
1413/5/31: changeur & bourgeois de Paris
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 59)
1423/3: vivant à Paris (Favier: Contrib., p. 252 no. 53)
Breton, Denisot le
1413/10/1-1414/9/30, 1415/8: receveur des aides à Paris (Ordonnances, X, p. 242)
1414-1415: receveur des aides à Paris
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
Breton, Denisot le
1409: sommelier de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Rey: Finances, p. 60)
Breton, Denisot le
1410/1: clerc de Michaut de Laillier (* general commissaire sur le fait des aides)
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 131v)
(Rey: Domaine, p. 306-7 *)
Breton, Denis le
1418/11: clerc de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 982)
Breton, Denis le
1421: demourant à Paris dans le quartier de Ste. Avoie avec sa mère qui est veuve: Bretonne, Guiote la
(Favier: Contrib., p. 187 no. 932)
1423: demourant à Paris dans le quartier de Ste. Avoie
(Favier: Contrib., p. 260 no. 383)
autres du nom:
Breton, Alain le
1387, 1389: valet de palefrois & coursiers du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 722)
Breton, Guillaume le. mtre.
1421: cons. clerc en la chambre des enquêtes du Parlement (Favier: Contrib. p. 79)
Breton, Jaquet le
1387, 1389: saussier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721)
Breton, Perrin le
1398: de la chaudière du duc de Berry

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(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 152)

Breton, Simon le. mtre.
1375: conseiller du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 11)

Breton, Yvonnet le
1387, 1389: sommelier de la chambre du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710, 718)

Breton, le
1387, 1389: chevaucheur du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722)

Bricourt, Jehan de (voir Brucourt)

Brie, Colinet de
1413/1-6, 1413/6-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 56, 69)
1414-1415, 1415: écuyer, sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 23v, 26v)

autres du nom:

Brie, Jehan de
1411: huissier d'armes du roi pris au Pont de Saint Cloud et rançonné
1414: pris par les Armagnacs en son hostel de Gouvieux et rançonné
1415: alla contre les Anglais "au voyage de Blangis" [près d'Azincourt] où il demeura mort ou pris; sa femme s'appelle veuve en 1418: Brie, Symonne de
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 119)

Brimeu, Archambaut de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Brimeu, David de
mort 1448 (Épig. Pas-de-Calais, VIII, 2e ptie., p. 897)
funerailles: voir (AD Nord: B 2000 & B 1652)
Ligny-sur-Canche, sgr de;
acheta lad. sgrie. 1415/8/3 pour 2300 fr. de:
Montbertaut, Pierre de
(Paravicini: Brimeu, p. 63 n. 115)
1405, 1406: échanson du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 22 nos. 96 & 97, 98)
1408/11: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(Paravicini: Brimeu, p. 63 n. 118, ref.:
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1556 fols. 11-v; &
(AD Nord: B 2011 no. 60959)
1409: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 23v)
1409, 1411, 1413 *: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu nos. 3, 6)

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1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415, 1415:
chambellan du duc de Guyenne
à 300 l.t. de pension par an en 1413/10-1414 ** et à
1000 l.t. de pension par an en 1414-1415 ***
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 8 & 9, 11 & 12v *, 15** & 15v,
19v *** & 20, 21 deux fois & 22v & 25v)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413/8/10: Grand Palais, concierge du; nommé led.
jour (Archives Police: Livre Vert Vieil 1er, fols. 139-42)
1413/10/8: Grand Palais, concierge du; déchargé &
led. office donné au duc de Guyenne ledit jour
(BN fr. 20684 p. 48)
1413/11/22: général cons. sur le fait des aides
nommé ledit jour par le roi (BN fr. 20684 p. 49)
1414/1/12: parmi ceux chassés de l'hostel du duc de
Guyenne par la reine (Monstrelet, II, p. 420-1)
1414/1/21: Grand Palais, concierge du; remplacé
led. jour par: Jouvenel, Jehan
(BN fr. 23271 p. 417)
1415/1: accusé d'etre complice des Parisiens qui
complotaient contre les Armagnacs et congédié par le duc
de Guyenne à la requête desd. Armagnacs (Cousinot, p. 154)
1415/5/10: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne (s.l.)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 106)
1415/5/13: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN P.O. 1607 Kermellec no. 2)
1415/5/24: chambellan du roi & du duc de
Guyenne & Grand Palais, concierge du; recoit gages pour
le terme de l'Ascension "derrenierement passe"
comme concierge (BN Coll. Clairambault 22 no. 101)
1416/1-: procès au Parlement entre lui et:
Jouvenel, Jehan; au sujet de la conciergerie du Palais
(AN X.1a 4791 fols. 21v, 22v-23, 24v, 25v, etc.)
1419/11/21: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1395)
1422/1/24: chambellan du roi & du duc de
Bourgogne; led. j. le roi lui donna le chastel & sgrie.
de Bruyères; confisques sur: Voisines, Thomas de
(BN fr.n.a. 7378 fol. 730, ref.: AN JJ 171 no. 489)
1426: cons. & chambellan du duc de
Bourgogne (Phe.-le-B) (BN fr. 31903 fol. 6v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 50v, 58, 68, 107v)
exemplaires de sa signature:
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu nos. 8 & 10)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 22 nos. 96-8, 101)

épousa:
A. av. 1409/10/30: Montagu, Marquerite de
fille du grand mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu no. 3)
B. 1415/6/9: Montauban, Marie de
1413-1415: damoiselle de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 209)

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si on a mal lu son nom au XVIIIe s. elle est
celle que l'on appelle:
Montmor, Marie de; femme dud. D. en 1422
(Ordonnances, XI, p. 154-6)
(AN KK 47 fol. 12)
C. Chastillon, Jehanne de; fille de:
Chastillon, NN de; sgr. de Dampierre
(Épig. Pas-de-Calais, VIII, 2e ptie., p. 787)
enfants: les seuls connus (du 3e lit):
1. Brimeu, Isabeau de
Ligny, dame de; épousa:
Chamigny, Edme de; sgr. de Tanlay & Ravieres
(Creuzet: Mem. Soc. Corbeil, t. 6, p. 52)
2. Brimeu, Jehanne de; mineure en 1450
(La Gorgue-Rosny, I, p. 265)
cousin dud. David du même nom:
Brimeu, David de
mort 1426
(Épig. Pas-de-Calais, VIII, 2e ptie., p. 897, ref.:
(AD Nord: B 1474 & B 1936)
Humbercourt, sgr de; (Somme: arr. Doullens)
fief (à lui venu de sa mere *) & mouvant de Lucheux
(en 1374 Lucheux appartenait a: Saint Pol, le comte de)
(Lefèvre: Mem. Soc. Picardie, t. 29, p. 179, 182 *)
1401: écuyer, sgr. de Humbercourt
(La Gorgue-Rosny, I, p. 265)
1405/5: dans l'armée du comte de Saint Pol, pris par
les Anglais devant Mercq et mis à "excessive raencon"
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu no. 4)
1409: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu no. 4)
1410/9/24: chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 519 Brimeu no. 5 (pièce signée))
1411: cons. & chambellan du duc de
Bourgogne & maréchal des gens de l'hostel du duc
de Bourgogne; & Hesdin, bailli de
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 24 fol. 26)
1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de
Bourgogne & Hesdin, bailli et chastellain de
(AD Nord: B 1906)
1415/11/1: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
led. j. le duc ordonne l'enregistrement de la lettre par
laq. il le retint aud. office au lieu de: Pioche, Jehan
(Paravicini: Brimeu, p. 70 n. 166, ref.:
(AN fonds Merode-Westerloo La. 1286 no. 2)
1415/12/3: cons. & chambellan du roi
Crotoy, capit. de: (Somme: arr. Abbeville); nommé
capitaine led. jour par le roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 555) &
(BN fr. 23271 p. 420)
1415/12/11(**) ou 14: Amiens, bailli d'; nommé
led. jour par le roi (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 fol. 111,
117 **) (BN fr. 21405 p. 67, 71) (BN fr. 23171 p. 420)
1415/12/16: Beauquesne, capit de

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(Somme: arr. Doullens); nommé led. jour par le roi
(BN fr. 20684 p. 63)
1415/12/19: Amiens, bailli d'; prêta serment
led. jour au Parlement comme bailli
(AN X.1a 4791 fol. 17v)
1426: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
(Phe.-le-B.) (BN fr. 31903 fols. 6v)
epousa:
A. ou B. (?) Vienne, NN fille du sgr. de
(Lefèvre: Mém. Soc. Picardie, t. 29 p. 182)
A. ou B. (?) av. 1401 Sorru, Marie de
(La Gorgue-Rosny, I, p. 265) & (BN fr. 31903 fol. 4)
C. 1415 (1416 ****) Mailly, Marie de
(La Gorgue-Rosny, I, p. 265)
(Lefèvre: Mém. Soc. Picardie, t. 29, p. 182 ****)

Brimeu, Jacotin de
1411: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fols. 98v)
1414: envoyé avec des gens d'armes et son frere:
Brimeu, Athis de; pour aider la ville assiégée d'Arras
1414/8: pris avec son frere par l'armée du roi
(Monstrelet, III, p. 29-30)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)
1415: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne reçoit
200 l.t. dudit duc pour aider à payer sa rançon aux
Anglais (BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
1420: écuyer au service du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1293)
mention dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Briquet, Guerin
1405-1406, 1406: de l'hostel du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 3v, 6v)
peut-etre le meme personnage que:
Briquet, Guerin
1380: crochetier demourant à Paris qui vend
"crochez bastars" pour tendre les chambres du roi (*)
1401: vend "crochietz bastars" pour tendre les chambres
de la reine (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 85 *, 156-7)

Brisay, Aymery de (Esmery *)
1412: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412/6-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57 *)

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Brode, Guillaume
1414-1415: héraut du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
autres du nom:
Brode, Jehan, dit Guyenne
1418/8: héraut qui porte lettres du roi, de la reine et du duc de Bourgogne au Dauphin
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 165)

Brucourt, Jehan de
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73)
1415: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres du nom:
Brucourt, Jehan de (Breucourt)
1369: mtre. d'hostel de la reine de Navarre
(BN P.O. 533 Brucourt no. 5)
1376: Valognes, verdier de; il est écuyer & reçoit 50 l. de rente à vie pour bons services faits à la feue reine de Navarre (BN P.O. 533 Brucourt no. 6)
1377/11/2: fait hommage au roi du fief entier de Brucourt en la vicomté d'Auge
(AN P 263.1 no. 11)
1378: mtre. d'hostel de Pierre de Navarre
(BN P.O. 533 Brucourt no. 7)
peut-être celui du même nom mort av. 1398/1
(BN P. O. 533 Brucourt no. 16)

Brullart, Jehan ("Brulart" *)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
1409-1410, 1412: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 8v)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
autres du nom:
Broullart, Jehan
1413/10-1414: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fols. 27 & 148)

Brumaire, Colin de (Brumen *)
aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
1414-1415: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)

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Bude, Guillaume. mtre.
1388/7/10: clerc & notaire du roi et
mtre. des garnisons des vins du roi,
de la reine & du duc de Touraine (Louis d'Orléans);
nommé mtre. led. jour
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 76v)
1390: clerc, notaire du roi &
mtre. des garnisons des vins du roi & de la reine
(BN P.O. 547 Budé no. 3)
1399/9: mtre. des garnisons des vins
du roi, de la reine & du dauphin Charles;
anobli 1399/9/16-30
(AN JJ 157 fol. 92, no. 143); il paye au trésor
1400/4/29 20 l.p. pour ses lres. d'anoblissement
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fol. 205v)
1400/1/14 v.s.?: mtre. des garnisons des vins
du duc de Guyenne; nommé led. jour
(BN fr. 2836 fol. 94, réf.: Mémorial G (entre fols. 86-94))
1410, 1411: mtre. des garnisons des vins
du roi & du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 547 Budé no. 12), (AN P 128 no. 241)
1413/2: attaqué par l'Université dans leurs Remonstrances
faites au roi (Rel Saint Denis, IV, p. 749)
mtre. des requêtes de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 93)
mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5, 7)
autres mentions:
(AN P 128 no. 276)
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5876 (Menant XII), fol. 47)
(AD Yonne: G 2345)
mort sans enfants 1429 (BN P.O. 547 Bude no. 218)
fils de:
Bude, Jehan. mtre.
secrétaire de Charles V
(BN P.O. 547 Bude no. 218)
frère dud. Guillaume:
Bude, Jehan. mtre.
1399/9: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi
anobli 1399/9/16-30 (AN JJ 157 fols. 92-v, no. 144);
il paye au trésor 1400/4/29 20 l.p. pour lesd. lres.
d'anoblissement
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fol. 205v)
épousa: Laubigeois, Isabelle; fille de:
Laubigeois, Jehan; grenetier d'Auxerre,
& Porcher, Jehanne
(Petit: Bull. Soc. Yonne, 3e sér., t. 19, p. 438)

Buffe, Estienne (Thevenin *)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413:
receveur de Germaines pour le duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3 *, 5 *, 7, 11)

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Buigne, Colinet de la (Vigne *)
1406, 1407, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 4v, 7v, 32v, 38 & 47, 61, 73)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1410-1411: panetier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1412-1413, 1414-1415, 1415: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 12, 22, 26)
1413/3/27: Mortaing, vicomte de; le don dud. office confirmé led. jour par le duc de Guyenne (AN J 734 no. 16 *)
1415: [1er] panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
probablement le même personnage que:
Buigne, Nicolas de la
Rosny, sgr. de
1416: panetier du roi et mtre. des Eaux & Forêts de Normandie (BN P.O. 552 la Buigne nos. 4 & 6)
led. Nicolas est peut-être le même que le suivant:
Buigne, Colin de la (Colinet *)
1419, 1420: écuyer d'écurie du roi (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1251 n. 2 *)
1420, 1431, 1434: écuyer d'écurie du dauphin Charles (BN P.O. 552 la Buigne nos. 5 & 7, 10, 8)
autres du nom:
Buigne, Gace de la
1351: 1er chapellain du roi Jean (BN P.O. 552 la Buigne no. 2)
1380/2: 1er chapellain de Charles V (BN P.O. 552 la Buigne no. 3 (avec sceau))
1384: chapellain du roi (Fawtier: Docs. Fin., II, p. 110 où son nom est donné fautivement comme la Brigue)
porte les mêmes armoiries que le Nicolas susdit
frère dudit Gace:
Buigne, Pierre de la
1374: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne une haquenée grise (Petit: Phe.-le-H., p. 299)

Buigne, Guerin de la
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 73v)

Buignet, Estienne
1413/8: argentier du duc de Guyenne; nommé audit mois (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415: argentier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 15 & 16v, 19 & 21v, 25 & 27)
valet de chambre du roi et secrétaire de la

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"cour d'amour" (BN fr. 5233 fol. 97)

Buisson, Aymeri du
1412: Limoges, garde des sceaux du bailliage de, pour le duc de Guyenne (BN P.C. 554 Buisson (fichier))

Buisson, Philipot du
aide de la garderobe du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 70v)
autres du nom:
Buisson, Lorin du
1380-1381, 1383: sommelier des espices du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 25, 205)
1387, 1389: sommelier de la chambre du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710, 718)

Buscher, Violette
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 83v)

Cadart, Jehan. mtre.
1412/5/8: mtre. en arts & licencié en médecine led. jour le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 25 fr. pour avoir "une queue de vin a faire sa feste de la science de medecine" (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 96v)
1412: [phisicien] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 52v)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415: phisicien du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17, 22v, 26v)
1414/11-12: mandé devers le duc de Guyenne à Mehun-sur-Yèvre (BN fr. 32511 fols. 24)
1420/1: cons. & 1er phisicien du dauphin Charles (BN P.O. 566 Cadart no. 2)
1426/12: 1er phisicien de Charles VII à 400 l.t. de pension par an (BN P.O. 566 Cadart no. 3)
mentions dans le registre des debtes ou son nom est rayé: (AN KK 228 fols. 58, 60, 67v, 71v)
épousa la veuve de:
Clarcy, Jehan de
1409: brodeur & valet de chambre du roi (Bayle, p. 59-63)
seul enfant connu dudit Cadart:
Cadart, Pierre (Bayle, p. 59-63)

Cambelas, Mousque de (Cambebas *) ("Mousque" **)
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474v, 479v *)

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1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 108 **)

Camus, Henry. mtre.
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)
1409/1/19: secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne; à Tours avec la famille royale
(BN P.O. 582 Camus no. 2)
1410/5/25: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 86v)
1410/11/15: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 16v)
1411/4/14: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 230)
1411/6/24: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 56)
1411/9/18: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 57v)
1412/6-7: secretaire du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413/5/28: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 61v)
1413/9/15: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 271-2)
1413/12/11: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 64-5)
1414/12/26: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne,
(AD Isère: B 3177 (cat.))
1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
1418: perd son office à la rentrée des Bourguignons
1423: trésorier & secrétaire du ct. de Richemont (Pocquet du Haut-Jusse: BEC, t. 98, p. 269)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 7, 9, 11v, 12 deux fois, 15, 16, 16v, 17, 19v, 21v, 22v, 24 deux fois, 27)
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v, 57v, 68, 105v)
(AN X.1a 4791 fol. 20)
epousa: Thumery, NN de; soeur de:
Thumery, Regnaut de
changeur & receveur des finances du roi à Paris
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 269)
autres du nom:
Camus, Jehan. mtre.
mort 1419/10/17 a Troyes (Boutiot, II, p. 414)
1419/2: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 230)
Camus, Hebert. mtre.
1421: procureur en Parlement
épousa av. 1421: Boucher, NN; soeur de:
Boucher, Guibert. mtre. (Sauval, III, p. 295)

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Camus, Jehan le (voir Baudier)

Canliers, Guillaume de (voir Cauliers)

Canoine, le
1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 66v)

Carbonnier, Jehan ("Carbonnier" *)
1414-1415: garde des joyaux du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105 *)
autres du nom:
Carbonnier, Jehan
1418: valet de chambre du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1ère ptie., no. 2097)
Carbonnier, Jehan. mtre.
1424: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 197)

Cardinet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
autres du nom:
Cardinet
1416: garde huche du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. X)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Bonhomme, Cardinot
1413: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. X)

Cardonnel, Guillaume. mtre.
1398: phisicien du dauphin Charles
(AN KK 45 fol. 3)
1400: 1er phisicien du dauphin Charles à
300 fr. de pension par an
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fol. 208)
1402: phisicien du duc de Guyenne et
Paris, chanoine de ND de; reçu comme chanoine aud. an
(AN LL 241 fol. 73)
1403: phisicien du duc de Guyenne à
300 fr. de pension par an outre ses gages ordinaires de
8 s.p. par jour (Pannier: Joyaux (a part), p. 61 n. 2)
1405-1406, 1407, 1409: phisicien du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 4, 11, 24)
1407: Josas, archidiacre de; nommé par le pape dont il
apporte les lres. au chapitre de ND 1407/7/18;

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il est institué mais la nomination est contestée par:
Orgemont, Nicole d'
(Mirot: Les D'Orgemont, p. 126 n. 3, réf.:
(AN LL 109c p. 684)
1409/1/4 : Josas, archidiacre de, au lieu de:
Orgemont, Nicole. mtre.;
Ce jour led. Nicole s'est désisté du procès
à l'encontre dudit G.C. phisicien du duc de Guyenne
pour cause de l'arcediacré de Jozas et consent que G.
demeure en ses saisines et possession.
(Mirot: Les D'Orgemont, p. 129, ref.:
(AN X.1a 4788 fol. 198)
1412: cons. & mtre. des comptes du duc de Guyenne
et: Josas, archidiacre de (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412-1413: 1er phisicien du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1412-1413: Josas, archidiacre de; et cons. &
mtre. des comptes du duc de Guyenne à 300 l.t. de gages
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1413/10-1414: Josas, archidiacre de; et
cons. & mtre. des comptes du duc de Guyenne
à 300 l.t. de gages et 200 l.t.
de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15)
1413/10-1414: Josas, archidiacre de; et
cons. & auditeur des comptes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)
1414-1415: Josas, archidiacre de; et
cons. & auditeur des comptes du duc de Guyenne à
300 l.t. de gages et 200 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6v, 12v, 21v, 25, 25v)

Carmelet, Yvon de (voir Kermellec)

Carpentras, le ("Carpentras" *)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1422: de la paneterie du roi quand il est
"boulenger du pain de bouche"
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704 *)

Carre, Thevenin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 111)

Carrel, Jehan
1414-1415: valet d'aumosne du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473)

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Carville, Jehan de
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76v)
autres du nom:
Carville, Jehan de
1415: Conches, lieutenant du capit. de
il est écuyer (BN fr.n.a. 7624 fol. 359)
Carville, Morelet de
1415/10/28: Conches, capit. de; nommé led. jour,
et: 1er valet de chambre du roi
(BN fr.n.a. 7624 fol. 356)

Cassinel, Girart (Cassignel *)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107v *)
probablement celui qui fut fils de Raoul (voir ci-dessous)
et qui était mineur quand en son nom Raoul rendit aveu
au duc d'Orléans du chastel de Cuys mouvant du chastel
et de la chastellanie d'Epernay (1414/10/5)
(AN P 182 no. 75)

Cassinel, Raoul (Cassignel *)
mort av. 1427 (BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)
Ver soubz Dampmartin, sgr de
1394/1/22: rend aveu au roi de la sgrie. de Ver
(AN P 146 no. 149)
Cuys (en partie), sgr. de
1394/5/8: rend aveu au duc d'Orléans du chastel de Cuys
(AN P 181.2 no. 48)
Villesavoir, sgr. de (1410)
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 365v)
1394: écuyer, valet tranchant de la reine
(AN P 146 no. 149)
1407: Raoul, chlr., plaida contre: Aubin, Gaucher
pour l'office de mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
vacant par la mort de: Montanglaust, Jehan de.
Anselme a tort en y assignant la date de 1397.
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 41)
1412/6-7: [mtre. d'hostel] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges. Le ms. met les noms de
3 mtres. d'hostel à la fin de la liste des chambellans
sans dire qu'ils étaient mtres. d'hostel.
(AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413/5/22: arrêté par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Journal Parisien, p. 180)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58v & 68, 107v *)
1414: mtre d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1417/3: vivant (BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 367v)

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épousa:
A. 1393/5/3 (contrat): Thorote, Rauline de
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 367v)
B. Luxembourg, Marguerite de; fille de:
Luxembourg, Jehan dit Calus bastart de
enfants du 2e lit:
1. Cassinel, Girart (voir ci-dessus)
2. Cassinel, Jehanne; femme en 1430 de:
Lavieu, Jacques de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II p. 41)
fils de:
Cassinel, Guillaume
Pomponne, sgr de
Romainville, sgr de (1407 **)
Ver soubz Dampmartin, sgr. de
1367, 1371: sergent d'armes de Charles V
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 366v)
(BN P.O. 611 Cassinel no. 2)
1384: chlr. "nuper" huissier d'armes du roi
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142 (erreur de date ?))
1385/9/9: huissier d'armes du roi; esc.
(AN X.1a 34 fol. 139v)
1386/4/7: chlr. (AN X.1a 34 fol. 139v)
1389: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(BN P.O. 611 Cassinel no. 3)
1391, 1397, 1403: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(AN P 146 no. 148)
(AN X.1a 45 fol. 6)
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol 132v)
1407: mtre. d'nostel du roi & de la reine
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 141v **)
épousa:
A. ou B. Pomponne, Marie de
A. ou B. Chastillon, Isabeau de
C. av. 1387/10/23: Boulot, Felice; veuve de:
Blanchet, Jehan. mtre.; secrétaire du roi
enfant de Marie de Pomponne:
1. Cassinel, Jehanne; épousa 1383 (***):
Chastillon, Gaucher de
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 364)
enfants d'Isabeau de Chastillon:
1. Cassinel, Guillaume (voir ci-dessous)
2. Cassinel, Raoul (voir ci-dessus)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 41; VI, p. 116 ***)
Cassinel, Guillaume (Guillemin *)
Pomponne, sgr. de (1394)
(AN J 301 no. 116.1)
1404/10/8: G. fait hommage au roi de la terre de
Pomponne mouvant de Gournay
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 367)
Romainville, sgr. de
son père lui donna la terre de Romainville: 1394/7
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 364v)
ensuite (date inconnue) il bailla son dénombrement de

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lad. terre mouvant de Monjay à: Orgemont, Pierre d';
son père lui donna 5 fiefs sis à Romainville en 1394
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 367)
Jouy, sgr de (1410)
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 365v)
1384: échanson du roi
(BN P.O. 2684 Sempy no. 7)
1407: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 141v)
1405, 1408: chlr. chambellan du roi à
300 fr. de pension par an
(BN Coll. Clairambault 26 nos. 2 & 3),
(BN P.O. 611 Cassinel no. 5)
épousa: 1390/9/2 (contrat):
Jouy, Marie de; fille de: Jouy, Guy sgr. de
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 365)
enfants:
1. Cassinel, Marie; épousa 1407/6/27 (contrat):
Chartres, Jehan de; fils de: Frolais, Huguette de
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 141v)
2. Cassinel, Gerarde
maîtresse du duc de Guyenne en 1414
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, II, p. 42)
viv. en 1453 (BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)
laquelle épousa:
a. Rochefort, Bertrand de, chlr.
leq. était fils de: Montagu, Alienarde de
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)
il est peut-être le même personnage que:
Rochefort, Bertrand de
1420: chlr. chambellan du dauphin Charles
(BN Coll. Clairambault 193 no. 129)
b. av. 1441:
Bohan, Anthoine de
Rochette, écuyer & sgr. de la
leq. était frere de:
Bohan, Loys de, dit de la Rochette
1441: chlr.
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)
1442, 1444: Paris, chlr. du guet de la nuit à; et
Louvre, capitaine du
(BN P.O. 381 Bohan no. 15),
(BN Coll. Clairambault 17 no. 106)
1449: mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII
(BN P.O. 2522 La Rochette no. 7)
1454: mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII et
mtre. enquesteur et général réformateur des Eaux et Forêts
en Normandie et Picardie
(BN P.O. 442 Bouent no. 2 (orig.)) &
(BN P.O. 427 Bouanc no. 8 (copie))
1459: mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII et
Bastille Saint Anthoine, capit. de la
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 377, réf.:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 200)

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3. Cassinel, Catherine; religieuse à Poissy
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v)

Castel, Colin du
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)

Castel, Jehan de
né probablement en 1384
1397(env.): emmené en Angleterre par:
Salisbury, le comte de
1400: revient en France
(Laigle: Livre, p. 29)
de l'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-H.)
(Laigle: Livre, p. 31)
1409/6/19: secrétaire du roi
(AN X.1c 98 B no. 235)
1410/6/19: signe une lettre du roi à Paris
(AN X.1c 100 A no. 28)
1411/6/12: signe une lettre du roi à Paris
(AN KK 1008 fols. 25-7)
1412/5/4: signe une lettre du roi
(AN X.1c 104 no. 118)
1412/9/8: signe une lettre du roi à Melun
(AN X.1c 104 no. 91)
1413/8/10: secrétaire du roi
(AN J 877 no. 5 (signature))
1413/10/30: signe une lettre du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 fol. 89)
1413/12/14: signe une lettre du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 fol. 90v)
1414/2: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(Mazière: Soc. Noyon, t. 12, p. 209-12)
1414/8/5: signe une lettre du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 fols. 105-v)
1418(env.): secrétaire du dauphin Charles
(Laigle: Livre, p. 30 n. 2)
épousa: Page, Jehanne le, dite la Catonne
enfants: 3 (*) dont:
Castel, Jehan (de)
mort 1476/2
Saint Maur des Fossés, abbé de;
chroniqueur de France sous Louis XI
(Quicherat: BEC, t. 2, p. 463)
(Longnon: Paris, p. 338-9 *)
fils de:
Castel, Estienne de
mort av. 1389/6/4
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5866 (Menant II) fols. 29v-30)
notaire & secrétaire de Charles V
(Pinet, p. 14)
notaire & secrétaire de Charles VI

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(Godefroy: Hist. Ch. VI, p. 790)
épousa:
Pisan, Christine de
auteur de poésies et oeuvres philosophiques et politiques
elle dédia son "Livre de la Paix" au duc de Guyenne et
son "Livre des Trois Vertus" à la duchesse de Guyenne
(Pinet, p. 146); elle offrit son "Avision du Coq"
(ouvrage perdu) au duc de Guyenne au carême de 1413
(Solente: Hist. Lit. Fr., XL, p. 409 & n. 2)
1408/6/17: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 100 fr. pour
"plusieurs livres" qu'elle lui avait donnés
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 188)
1412/12/3: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 50 fr. pour
"plusieurs notablez livrez" qu'elle lui avait donnés
"sans en avoir eu aucune remuneracion ou don"
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fols. 31v-32)

Caulaiz, Guillemin de
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 59 & 68v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Cauliers, Guillaume de (voir ci-dessous)

Cauliers, Guillaume de (Guillemin *)
(Caules **) (Caulers ***)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: valet de chambre du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17 * & **, 22)
1414-1415: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v ***)
(AN KK 228 fol. 103)
autres du nom:
Caulers, Jaquet de (Cauliers *) (Canliers **) (Canlers ***)
1381, 1383: sommelier du corps du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 187, 205 *)
1387: 1er sommelier du corps du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes, p. 206 ***)
1389: valet de chambre du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 718 **)
Caulers, Martin de (Canlers ****)
1420/10/31: secrétaire du roi et
receveur des 6,000 fr. payés tous les ans au roi par la
ville de Tournai
(Hocquet: Inv. Arch. Tournai, III, p. 55)
1424: secrétaire de Charles VII
(Hocquet: Inv. Arch. Tournai, III, p. 65)
son frère: Caulers, Jacques de. mtre.
(Sauval, III, p. 292 ****)

Cavelier, Hennequinet (Cuvelier *)
("Hennequinet tailleur" **)
1414-1415: tailleur de robes & valet de

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chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v), (BN fr. 32511 fol. 20 *),
(AN KK 228 fol. 112 **)

Caveron, Quentin
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: Saint Quentin, chanoine de & mtre. des enfants de la chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v, 20)

Celier, Jehan du
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81)

Chabasse, Jehan
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 47v, 53v & 61v, 75v)

Chaburgnez, Jehan
1414-1415: joueur & faiseur d'orgues & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)

Chalon, l'évêque de (voir Arsonval, Jehan d')

Chaluz, Robert de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Chapelle, Michelet de la
1414-1415, 1415 *: clerc du trésorier du duc de Guyenne (* pendant l'expédition de Normandie)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 23v, 26v)
autres du nom:
Chapelle, Jehan de la. mtre.
décapité 1429/4/8 comme complice de ceux qui voulaient livrer Paris à Charles VII
(Longnon: Paris, p. 309 n. 2)
1406: bourgeois de Paris
1424: clerc des comptes de Henry VI
épousa: Bataille, Catherine la
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 272)
Chapelle, Guillemin de la
1398: portier du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 152)
Chapelle, Regnault de la
av. 1379: receveur des aides à Noyon
(Rey: Domaine, p. 113)

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1379, 1388: trésorier de France
(Rey: Domaine, p. 111)

Chapelle, Renaud de la
mort 1382/4
cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi
(Adhémar: Tombeaux, I, no. 896)

Chapelle, Thomas de la. mtre.
1365: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
mort en ou av. 1384
(Delabarre: État, p. 18)

Chappellain, Guillaume le ("Guillaume Chappelain" *)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 66v, 95v *)

autres du nom:

Chapelain, Jehan
1396 ou 1397: écuyer d'écurie du roi quand il venait de faire "aucuns loingtains pellerinages pour le roy" (AM Laon: CC 337 (cat.))

Poligny, Jehan de, dit Chappellain ("Jehan Chappellain" *)
(Puligny **)
1411: de l'hostel du roi
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 237)
1412-1413: échanson du roi
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 39v *)
1413/5/10: garde des coffres du roi; date d'une caution de Philippe Jossequin, garde des joyaux du duc de Bourgogne pour led. J. qui avait déjà été nommé aud. office (BN fr. 20684 p. 659 **)
1413/12/13: banni comme Cabochien
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 369)
1415/10: échanson du duc de Bourgogne et
Talent, capit. de
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1588 fols. 148v-149)
1418/5/29: 1er valet de chambre et garde des coffres du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, II, p. 125-6)
1420/12/27: garde des coffres & joyaux du roi quand le roi lui donne la sgrie. de: Motte-Tilly, la; jadis appartenant a: Essarts, Pierre des
(Longnon: Paris, p. 78 n. 2 **)
1421: écuyer, valet de chambre du roi
(Longnon: Paris, p. 62 n. 1 *, réf.: Sauval, III, p. 289)
1423/1: cons. de Henry VI et
Motte-Tilly, sgr. de la
(Longnon: Paris, p. 78-9)

Chappuellier
1406: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 5v)

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Chardonnay, Jehan, dit Chardon
1403: écuyer d'honneur de Louis d'Orléans qui lui donne de l'argent pour l'accompagner en Lombardie (BN P.O. 679 Chardonnay nos. 2 & 4)
1411/3/30-1411/4/10: Melun, garde du chastel de pendant 12 jours pour la reine
1411/5: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 64v)
mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)

Charpentier, Guillemin
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Charpentier, Nicolle. frere
1414-1415: religieux augustin & confesseur du commun du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)

Charron, Germain le ("Germain Charron" *) ("le Charron" **)
1401: probablement chevaucheur de la reine car il est envoyé porter lres. (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 145)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 34, 41 * & 49v **, 57 & 66v, 96v)

Charron, Guillemin
1414-1415: porteur de cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 80v)

Charron, Michel le. mtre. ("Michel Charron" *)
1405-1406, 1406, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 3v, 6 *, 35 *, 41v * & 42 * & 50v *, 58 * & 67v *, 106 *)
1412-1413: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
1414: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1415: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
1415/10-12: reçoit 100 lt. du duc de Guyenne en accroissement de son mariage (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres du nom:
Charron, Michel le. mtre.
1411: Saint Anthoine, cure de; Compiègne, chanoine de Saint Maurice de (AM Compiègne: CC 9 p. 73-4)

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Charron, Oudinet le
portier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
autres du nom:
Charron, Nicolas le (Colin *)
1403, 1404: changeur & bourgeois de Paris
(BN P.O. 690 le Charron no. 6, 10 *)
Charron, Noel le
1397-1398: veneur du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 303)
Charron, Jehan le. mtre.
mort av. 1402/12/20
procureur au Parlement
empoisonné par sa femme, Ysabelet, et celui qui devint son 2e mari: Bos, Jehan du; lesq. furent exécutés
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 245-6)
Charron, Pierre le
1402: fruitier du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
Charron, Robinet le
1397-1398: espicier demourant à Paris
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 303)

Chartres, l'évêque de (voir Gouge, Martin)

Chartres, le vidame de (voir Vendome)

Chasteauvillain, Bernart de
mort 1452/12/4 ou 1452/12/16
(Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., preuves p. 60; texte p. 78)
Chasteauvillain, sgr. de (a partir de 1439)
(Châteauvillain: Haute-Marne)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 427-8)
Thil, sgr. de (Til, sgr. du *),
(Ty en Auxois, sgr. de **)
(Thil-en-Auxois (lieu detruit): Côte-d'Or: arr. Semur-en-Auxois, c. Précy-ous-Thil, cne. Vic-sous-Thil);
B. posséda lad. sgrie. déjà en 1412
(AD Nord: B 1903 fol. 96v **)
1412/6-7: accompagna le duc de Bourgogne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AD Nord: B 1903 fol. 96v **)
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 59v *, 67v *)
testa 1450 (Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 77)
épousa 1413/10:
Ve, Jehanne de
1413/10: damoiselle du corps de la duch. de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 15v & 16); voir aussi:
(AN KK 48 fol. 122)

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testa 1458 (Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 78)
enfants: 2 (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 428)
fils de:
Chasteauvillain, Jehan sgr. de
Thil, sgr. de; son vrai nom etait: Thil, Jehan de; mais il prit le nom & armes de Chasteauvillain quand il hérita la sgrie. de Chasteauvillain de sa mère (Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 70)
vivant 1411 (Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 70)
épousa: Grancey, Jehanne de; Grancey, dame de
enfants:
1. Chasteauvillain, Guillaume sgr. de
mort 1439 (Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 74-5)
Chasteauvillain, sgr. de (deja en 1413)
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 213)
1405/10-11: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fols. 213)
1413: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 213)
1419: capit. général de tous les gens d'armes du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 801)
lequel épousa:
a. NN; dont il eut
deux filles mortes en 1411
b. Trémoille, Isabeau de la; sans enfants
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 427)
le fils bastart dud. G.:
Chasteauvillain, Bernart bastart de
Courtenoiges, sgr. de (1439)
Villers-Monroyer, sgr. de (1439)
(Duchesne: Hist. Chasteauv., p. 76-7)
2. Chasteauvillain, Bernart sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)
3. Chasteauvillain, Marie de; épousa 1397:
Sarrebruche, Ame de; Commercy, sgr. de
4. Chasteauvillain, Yolande de; épousa:
a. Aumont, Jehan dit Hutin d'
b. Bar, Guy de; Praeles, sgr. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 427)

Chasteignier, Jehan
1413/2: notaire du roi; mentionné dans les Remonstrances presentées au roi par l'Université de Paris (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 757)
1414-1415: notaire & secrétaire du roi
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1414-1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 475)
autres du nom:
Chastenier, Anthoine. mtre.
1411/9/27: secrétaire du roi & esleu sur le fait des aides à Bayeux; nommé esleu ledit jour au lieu d'un partisan du duc d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 708 Châtenier no. 2)

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Chasteignier, Pierre
1414-1415: écuyer du comte de Richemont
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)

Chastel, Tanneguy du
né 1370; mort 1458
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 291)
armoiries: fascé d'or et de gueules de six pièces, la 3e chargée d'une roue (Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 367 n. 23)
1403: voyagea en Aragon avec:
Hainaut, le sénéchal de (Monstrelet, I, p. 77-8)
1404: pris pendant la descente en Angleterre dans laquelle son frère Guillaume fut tué
1406/6/1: reçoit sauf conduit pour rentrer en France
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 373, 374)
1406: fait chlr. par le duc de Bourgogne au siège de Calais (Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 374, réf.:
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 54 fol. 162)
1407/8/21: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 375, réf.:
(BN fr.n.a. 20512 no. 129)
1408/3: en Aragon (BN Coll. Bourgogne 24 fol. 98)
voir aussi (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1554 fol. 80)
1409/7/25: arrive à Pise avec le duc d'Anjou dont il commande l'armée de 500 lances
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 376)
rentre en France avec le duc d'Anjou
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 378)
1412: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413/8/4-10: Paris, prévôt de; pendant 7 jours
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 379); en 1413/8 avant de devenir prévôt led. T. avait la garde de lad. prévôté avec: Montauban, Bertran de
(Juvenal des Ursins, p. 262-3)
1414: maréchal du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16 & 19)
1414/10/22-24: Paris, prévôt de; pendant 3 jours
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 381-2, ref.:
(AN X.1b 4790 fol. 141) & (AN Y 5228 fol. 28)
1414/10/24: Rochelle, gouverneur de la; nommé led. jour (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 104)
1414/11/23: chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne & maréchal du duc de Guyenne à 1200 l.t. de pension par an comme maréchal (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
1415/2/14: Paris, prévôt de; nommé ledit jour
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 382)
1415/10-12: "continuelement occupé" en la garde de Paris
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
1418/7: organisa la fuite du dauphin Charles hors de Paris à la rentrée des Bourguignons

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(Monstrelet, III, p. 264)
1420: cons. & chambellan du dauphin Charles
& maréchal du dauphin Charles
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 796)
1422: grand mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 798)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v), (AN KK 228 fols. 58, 67v, 102)
épousa av. 1420/7:
Vever, Sebille le
Lestoet, dame de
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 796)
fils de: Chastel, Herve sgr. du
frère dud. Tanneguy:
Chastel, Guillaume, sgr. du
tué 1404 pendant la descente en Angleterre
(Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 373)
autre frère dud. Tanneguy:
Chastel, Olivier sgr. du
mort 1455 (*)
1415/11/15: sa monstre reçue a Paris "pour estre et
demourer environ le roy et le duc de Guyenne et aussi a
la garde et seurte de la ville de Paris et par tout
ailleurs ou il plaira au roy"
(BN P.O. 703 Chastel en Bretagne no. 5)
1415: membre de l'ordre de chlrie. du duc de Bourbon
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 370)
1416/2/1: Saintonge, sénéchal de & Rochelle,
gouverneur de la; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 291 *, 302)
autre frère dud. Tanneguy:
Chastel, Herve du (Mirot: REH, t. 99, p. 371 n. 50)

Chastellain, Simon
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)
autres du nom:
Chastellain, Mahiet
1419/5: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de
Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3889)

Chastillon
1412: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 38v & 48v)

Chastillon, Jacques de
1410, 1411, 1412, 1413: de l'hostel du
duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 26v, 31 & 34v, 42 & 51v, 58 & 68)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)

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1413: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
1413/5: s'enfuit de Paris "pour la crainte des emeutes" (Monstrelet, II, p. 361)
appellé "cousin" du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
fils de:

Chastillon, Jacques de
Dampierre, sgr. de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
1391: chambellan du roi (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 554)
1405: Ponthieu, senechal de (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 537)
1408: France, admiral de; nommé au lieu de:
Brebant, Pierre de, dit Clignet (Rel. St. Denis, III, p. 767)
1409/11-12: ambassadeur du roi pour négocier avec les Anglais en Picardie (BN P.O. 708 Chastillon no. 38)
1412/7/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne devant Bourges (AD Isère: B 3585)
1413/11/5: disna à Lille chez le duc de Bourgogne comme ambassadeur du roi (Petit: Itin., p. 403)
1414/1: plaida au Parlement pour l'office de:
France, admiral de; qu'il venait de perdre à:
Brebant, Pierre de, dit Clignet (Baye: Journal, II, p. 162, 188)

Chat, Guillemot le
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 54 & 62, 82v)
peut-être de la même famille que:

Chat, Regnault le (voir Cintre)

autres du nom:

Chat, Jehan le
1377 env.: valet de chambre du duc d'Anjou (Piponnier, p. 39 *; réf.: AN KK 242 fol. 50v)
épousa: Agnes, veuve de:

Derne, Mace
mtre. des oeuvres du duc d'Anjou (*)

Chauderon, Jehan
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

Chauderon, Pierre
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes ou pavillons du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

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autres du nom:
Chauderon, Andry
natif de Dijon
1419/7/15: commis provisoirement mtre. de la chambre aux deniers de la reine
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 675)

Chaumont, Guillaume de
tué à Verneuil 1424/8/17 (*)
(Chaumont-en-Vexin: Oise: arr. Beauvais, ch.-l.)
Quitry, sgr. de
probablement Guitry (Eure: arr. Les Andelys, c. Écos)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)
1415/12/27-1417: Évreux, bailli d'
1417-1422: Sens & Auxerre, bailli & capt. de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 281)
1418: mtre. des Eaux & Forêts; nommé par le dauphin qui lui donna aussi: Chaumont, le comté de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 203 *)
mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
épousa 1408/7/16: Mello, Jehanne de
fils de:
Chaumont, Guillaume de, dit Lionnet
mort av. 1408/7 (BN P.O. 717 Chaumont no. 133)
1401: chambellan du roi
(BN lat.n.a. 2320 no. 156)
épousa: Montagu, Robine de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 885-6)

Chausse, Jehan
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 58)
clerc d'office du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Chausse, Jehan
1414/7/28: banni comme Cabochien
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 368)

Chaussée, Jehan de la (Chauciet *)
1413: écuyer tranchant du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 30v *)
1414-1415: écuyer tranchant du duc de Berry reçoit 50 l.t. du duc de Guyenne pour aller en Italie avec: Marche, le comte de la
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1414-1415: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne

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(BN fr.n.a 9175 fol. 473v)
autres du nom:
Chaussee, Coppin de la
1422/7: valet des chevaux du corps du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 436)

Chepoy, Loys sgr. de (Sepoy *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 119)
(Chepoix: Oise: arr. Clermont, c. Breteuil-sur-Noye)
mineur en 1396/1 v.s.? (Witasse: Cat., p. 74)
1411, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 31v, 108 *)
épousa:
Chaule, Marguerite de
laquelle épousa en 2e noces av. 1416/11/6:
Sisse, Guichart de (voir ci-dessous)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Chepoy, Jehan sgr. de
mineur en 1416
(AN P 15 no. 5410)
fils de:
Chepoy, Jehan sgr. de
mort 1389-1390 pendant le voyage du roi en Languedoc
enterré a Montpellier (BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 16)
épousa: Mercier, Guillemette le
laq. était fille de: Mercier, Jehan le (voir ci-dessous)
enfants:
1. Chepoy, Jehanne de; épousa 1390-1391:
Roussay, Jehan de (voir ci-dessous)
2. Chepoy, Beatrix de; mineure en 1373
3. Chepoy, Loys de (voir ci-dessus)
(Benoist: Not. sur Crouy-sur-Ourcq, p. 10-11)

Cheron, Pierre
1414-1415: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Chevalier, Jehan (Jehannin *)
1413/10-1414: valet de garderobe du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v *)
1414-1415: valet de garderobe du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
1414-1415: sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 107v *)

Chevenon, Bernart de
testa 1420/2/6 (BN Coll. Moreau 1162 fol. 387v)
mort 1420/2/16 (* p. 512)

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1395-1397/3/28: Lavaur, évêque de
(Gams: Series (*), p. 560)
1397/3/27-1398/7/23: Agen, évêque d' (* p. 479)
1398/7/23-1411/3/20: Saintes, évêque de (* p. 624)
1410: cons. du roi & du duc de Guyenne; il fait
un voyage en Guyenne avec d'autres conseillers par ordre
dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v & 4 & 4v & 6v)
1410: cons. du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
1411/3/20-1413/3/29: Amiens, évêque d' (* p. 487)
1411/6/24: conseiller du duc de Guyenne
pnt. au conseil du duc de Guyenne led. jour à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 55v-6)
1413-1420/2/16: Beauvais, évêque de (* p. 512)

Chevenon, Jehan de
Chevenon, sgr. de (1411-1412)
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols. 55v-56)
1406/2/8: écuyer, cons. & chambellan
du duc de Bourgogne à 500 fr. de pension par an
par lres. dud. jour (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols. 55v-56)
1408: pendant l'été le duc de Bourgogne l'envoye à Melun
devers la reine (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 128 n. 7)
1410, 1411: écuyer, cons. & chambellan
du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1562 fols. 58 & 142v)
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols 55v-56 & 75-v)
1410/2/14: écuyer d'écurie du roi qui led. jour
lui donne 250 fr. pour aller "presentement" pardevers:
Foix, le comte de; en compagnie de: Mercier, Jehan
(BN P.O. 745 Chevenon no. 8)
1410/2/14: le duc de Bourgogne ordonne paiement d'un
hanap d'or qu'il a donné audit Jehan
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 142v)
1410/8/5: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 60 fr. "pour aler
pardevers": Bar, le duc de & Lorraine, le duc de
"et en plusieurs autres lieux pour certaines
causes secretes" (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 233)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expedition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 56v & 66v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr.n.a 9175 fol. 470)
peut-être le même que l'un des suivants du même nom:
Chevenon, Jehan de
1390/1/26, 1391/2/25: huissier d'armes du roi
(BN P.O. 745 Chevenon nos. 14, 4)
Chevenon, Jehan de
1390/3/5, 1391/5/11: valet tranchant du roi
(BN P.O. 745 Chevenon nos. 3, 13)
Chevenon, Jehan de
Bigny, sgr. de; écuyer

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épousa 1400: Milly, Guillemette de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 491)
autres du nom:
Chevenon, Guillaume de (Chevanon *) (Chavanon **)
1382, 1384: Vincennes, capit. et garde de la tour et basse cour du bois de
(Fawtier: Docs. Fin., II, p. 123 *, 113 **)
Chevenon, Huquenin de (Chavenon ***)
1378/3/8: valet tranchant de Charles V qui lui donne 100 fr. pour les "despens qu'il lui conviendra faire ou voyage de" Saint Jacques en Galice "où il va presentement pour sa devocion en pelerinage"
(BN P.O. 745 Chevenon no. 2 ***)
1384: valet tranchant du roi
(BN P.O. 745 Chevenon nos. 5 & 6)
1387, 1389: valet tranchant du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 711, 719)

Chevillon, Guerin de
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 71)

Chevillon, Guillaume
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
autres du nom:
Chevillon, Guillaume
1414: Chartres, receveur des aides à
(AN KK 250 fol. 146)

Chevillon, Pierre
1414-1415: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 104v), (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
peut-etre le meme personnage que:
Chevillon, Pierre de
1420: envoyé à Genève acheter draps de soie pour robes pour le roi, la reine & Catherine de France
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1455)

Cigonneau, Jehan ("Cigoigneau" *)
1414: écuyer, valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 104v *)

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Cintre, Reqnault de, dit le Chat (Sintre *)
1415/8/13: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne led. jour nommé: Saint Symphorien "de Auzone", chastellain de (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 132-v)
1418, 1419: Chartres, capit. de; écuyer (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 203)
1419/3/24: panetier du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 175)
1420, 1422: valet tranchant du roi (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 299) (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 703)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26), (AN KK 228 fol. 108 *)
autres du nom:
Cintre, Jehan de (Tintre **)
1371: chlr. chambellan du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. vii **)

Cisse, Guichart de (voir Sisse)

Clerc, Jehan le
1414-1415: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
1415/11/8: 1er sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne et Neufmarché, verdier de la haye du; nommé verdier led. jour (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 120)
autres du nom:
Clerc, Jehan le
mort 1393
Saint Sauveur-en-Puisaye, sgr. de
secrétaire du roi
épousa: Crau, Marie de
enfants: liste incomplète:
1. Clerc, Jehan le (voir ci-dessous)
2. Clerc, Pierre le; Nevers, chanoine de (Caix de Saint Aymour: Soc. Acad. Oise, t. 13, p. 605)
Clerc, Jehan le
fils du Jehan susdit
Motte de Luzarches, sgr. de la
acheta lad. sgrie. en 1421 (Caix de Saint Aymour: Soc. Acad. Oise, t. 13 (*), p. 605)
1411: conseiller du roi au Parlement
1411/11/27: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi prêta serment led. jour pour led. office (* p. 605)
1418/4: cons. du roi & du duc de Bourgogne (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 322)
1419: cons. & mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1005)
1420: 1er mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi (Monstrelet, VI (Chronique Anonyme), p. 291)
1420/11-1425: chancelier de France (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 322 n. 1)

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épousa:
A. 1387: Muette, Agnes la
B. 1415: Apapee, Catherine; morte 1421 sans enfants
(* p. 605-6)
enfants de A.: plusieurs parmi lesq. était le suivant:
1. Clerc, Jehan le

Clerc, Giefroy le
1389: valet de fruiterie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 721)

Clerc, Guillaume le
mort 1421 (*)
1400: conseiller du roi au Parlement
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98 p. 65 *)
1409/10/20: cons. du roi au Parlement et réformateur du royaume; nomme réform. led. jour
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 475)
1410: mtre. des comptes du roi; déstitué dud. office en 1418 (*)
1412/1/1: général cons. sur le fait des aides reçoit étrennes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8)
1412/2/4: cons. sur le fait des aides
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 194v)
1412/10/1: cons. & mtre des comptes du roi à 400 l.p. par an et général cons. sur le fait des aides à 600 l.p. par an par lres. du roi du 1411/12/15; led. G. ne veut prendre desd. 600 l.p. que 200 l.p. à cause de l'autre pension
(Columbia Univ., Montgomery Coll., D 430.6944 L 49)
1419/1/10: l'un des commissaires chargés du gouv. de la police (*)
1419/9/16: l'un des commissaires généraux de toutes les finances; institué led. jour; offrit sa démission 1419/10 (*)
1420: trésorier et gouverneur des finances
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 209)

Clerc, Jaquin le
1383, 1387, 1389: clerc de fruiterie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 229),
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721)

Clerc, Yvonnet le
1419-1420, 1422: valet de porte du roi
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1303),
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)

Clerc, Colin le
1422/7: valet de chaudiere du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 434)

Clermont, l'évêque de (voir Gouge, Martin)

Clichy, Pierre de (Clicy *) (Perrin **)
1392: valet de chambre du dauphin Charles
(AN KK 23 fol. 82 **)

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1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 50v *, 58v * & 67v *, 104 *)
1415: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Cloche, Jehan de la
1396/12/14: valet de chambre de Louis d'Orléans qui l'envoye pntemt. en Turquie devs. les prisonniers de Bajazet; led. J. rentra en France av. 1397/12 (Graves: Pièces, p. 141, 151-2)
1400: receveur des aides a Paris; anobli aud. an (BN lat. 18345 p. 159, ref.: AN JJ 155 no. 17)
1402/3-1409/9: trésorier du roi déchargé dud. office pour peu de temps en 1405 et 1406 (Rey: Domaine, p. 117)
1403/5/31: trésorier de France; il fait amende led. jour au roi et a la chambre des comptes des paroles injurieuses qu'il avait dites en lad. chambre le 18 mai à: Dangeul, Miles. mtre. (BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 130) pour ce qu'il avait dit, voir ibid., fol. 129 et pour la suite, voir ibid., fol. 131v
1407/4/29: trésorier du roi; il garde son office quand le roi décharge led. jour tous les trésoriers sauf deux (BN fr. 2836 fol. 89v, réf.: Mémorial G)
1408/10/24, 1409/1/13: trésorier du roi et Saint Anthoine à Paris, concierge de l'hostel de la conciergerie du chastel (pour le duc de Guyenne) (AN J 382 no. 19.2)
1409/10/7: "nagaires" tresorier du roi et "a pnt." : Saint Anthoine à Paris, concierge de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne assiz en la rue (AN J 382 no. 19.6)
1414: trésorier du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414/10 env.: trésorier du roi; il garde son office quand le roi décharge led. jour tous les trésoriers sauf deux (BN fr. 2836 fol. 124, réf.: Mémorial H fol. 35)

Cloye, Jacques de. mtre.
1403: neveu de: Boursier, Alexandre le; secrétaire du roi (fichier CNRS, réf.: (Vatican: Rot. Suppliques (Benoît XIII) 100 fol. 135)
1406: secretaire du roi (BN P.O. 791 Cloye no. 4)
1410/9/25: secretaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne renonce led. jour à ses pretentions à la bénéfice de: Provins, chanoine de ND du Val de; en faveur de: Charreton, Nicolas de. mtre. (AN X.1c 100 B no. 185)

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1412, 1413, 1414-1415: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 58v & 68, 105v)
1414/4/21: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne à Noyon (BN Coll. Moreau 1424 no. 62.2)
1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8v, 9v, 13, 15v, 17, 22, 27)

autres du nom:

Cloye, Pierre de. frere
1381: confesseur du commun de l'hostel du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 112)

Cluys, Plotart de ("Plotart" *)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 67v *, 102 *)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)

peut-être le même personnage que:

Cluys, Plotard de
(Cluis: Indre: arr. La Châtre, c. Neuvy)
Briantes, sgr. de (Indre: arr. & c. La Châtre)
1416/1/26 n.s.?: épousa: Puy, Louise du; fille de:

Puy, Geoffroy du
chambellan du roi & du duc de Berry
(Anselme: Hist. Geneal. France, VIII, p. 902)

autres du nom:

Cluys, Plotart de (Cleux *)
posséda: Soudun-sur-Creuse, le château du (Indre: arr. Le Blanc, c. Tournon-Saint-Martin)
1369: chlr. servant sous le duc de Berry (Moranvillé: J. Le Mercier, p. 222 & n. 1)
1384: chlr. de la province de "Lemovicensi" (Fawtier: Docs. Fin., II, p. 107 no. 1452 *)
1384/6/6: chlr. ayant un procès au Parlement (AN X.1a 32 fol. 240)

Cluys, Mouton de
1413/3/18: écuyer, chambellan du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 64)
1414: [chambellan] du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 36v)

Cocoz, Jehan, dit Gossequin ("Mess. Gosquin" *)
Escrobecque, sgr. d' (1417) (**)
1412/6-7: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58 * & 67v *)
1417: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 129* & **)
1419, 1420: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne

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(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1100)
1419: chambellan du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 232)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 42v *, 44v *, 50v *)

Cocq, Mahiet du (voir Croq)

Coden, Alain (Codan *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 41 & 50, 56v & 66v, 96 *)

Coich, Herve le
Granche, sgr. de la (1401 **)
1387: chambellan du roi
(Lehoux: Berry, II, p. 217 n. 4)
1399/1: cons. & chambellan du roi et chambellan du dauphin Charles
(Lépinois: Mem. Soc. Eure-et-Loir, t. 3, p. 213-4 *)
1401/3: chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne
(Tuetey: Testaments, p. 302-3 **)
épousa av. 1399/1: Irie, Marguerite de; veuve de:
Boullay, Hugues du; Boullay-Thierry, sgr. du (*)
autres du nom:
Coich, Burgant le
1389, 1390: écuyer d'écurie de Louis d'Orléans
(Graves: Pièces, p. 23, 34)

Coiffart, Jehan
1414-1415: brayeur de mortier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)

Coignet, Guillaume (Coingnet *)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)

Coignet, Jehan
1402/3: trésorier de France; nommé audit mois & remplacé en 1403 (Rey: Domaine, p. 116-7)
1403/7-1408/10, 1410/1-7: mtre. extraordinaire de la chambre des comptes du roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 211)
1404: général de la finance
(Rey: Domaine, p. 296)
1406/7/28: cons. du grand conseil & mtre. de la chambre des comptes du roi; retenu (de nouveau semble-t-il) led. jour (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 291)
1414-1415: cons. du roi & du duc de Guyenne

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(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1417/5: général commissaire sur le fait de toutes finances pour le roi (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 388)

Coignet, le petit
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Coignet, Mace
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 70v)
1414-1415: aide de la garderobe du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 107v)

Combour, Msgr. de (voir Malestroit)

Comte, Jehan le
1413, 1414-1415: oubloyer du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 61, 73v)

Conte, Jehan le. mtre.
1386, 1398: chirurgien du duc de Bourgogne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 247)
(Prost: Comptes, II, p. 206 n. 1)
1390: chirurgien juré du roi au Chastellet
(Desmaze: Le Châtelet, p. 163)
1408/8, 1411/3/10: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne; en 1411 renonce à ses pretentions aux chanoinie & prébende de: Provins, Saint Quiriace de
(AN X.1c 101 B no. 216)

Conte, Jehan le
1407, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 8, 76)
autres du nom:
Conte, Jehan le
1419/11: sergent du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-B.)
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 4183)
Conte, Perrin le (Court *)
1387, 1389: saussier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721 *)
Conte, Reqnault le
1387, 1389: queux du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)
Conte, Richart le
1419/4: barbier & valet de chambre du

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duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 165)

Comte, Thierry le
1375: mtre. d'hostel du duc d'Anjou
(Piponnier: Costume, p. 38, ref.:
(AN KK 242 fols. 6 & 13v)

Conte, Thierry le
1413: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Berry et Santerre, capit. de; à 40 l.t. de gages par mois comme capit. (AN KK 250 fol. 13)
1416: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Berry
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 779)

Coq, Jehannin
1414-1415: potagier du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81)
autres du nom:

Coq, Jehan
1419: chevaucheur de l'écurie du ct. de Charollais (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1137)
1420: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1436)

Cordeau, Michellet
1413, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 61v, 76)

Corteville, Jacotin de
1410/5/6: panetier du duc de Guyenne; nommé: Avenieres, chastellain des
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 92-3)

Coudray, le Galois du
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73)
puisque la famille du Coudray posséda: Espinay, l'
led. G. est peut-être le même personnage que:

Lespinay, le Galois de
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 72)

Coudray, Jehan du, dit le Galois (Couldray *) (Coldroy **)
1404/2/24: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans qui le nomme: Fermaincourt, capit. de
(au bailliage de Dreux)
au lieu de: Saint Aubin, Pierre de
(BN P.O. 876 du Coudray 19680 no. 6) voir aussi:
(BN P.O. 878 du Coudray no. 2)
1412: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)

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1412/6-7: [mtre. d'hostel] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expedition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 44v **)
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v *)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 102)
le suivant est le même personnage ou bien son père:
Coudray, Jehan du, dit le Galois (Couldray ***)
Lespiney, sgr. de
1398/1/10 n.s.?: chlr. qui donne quittance de 100 fr. à
lui donnés par Louis d'Orléans
(BM Caen: Coll. Mancel 11, no. 7 *** (cat.))
le suivant serait probablement le père:
Coudray, Jehan du, dit le Galois (Gallois ****)
1379/7/25: chlr. servant dans la guerre en Bretagne
sous: Bourbon, le duc de
(BN Coll. Clairambault 35 no. 130 (sceau lisible))
le suivant n'est pas de la même famille:
Coudray, Jehan du (Couldray *)
1387/1/16: écuyer servant en Normandie
armoiries: lion passant avec un lambel à trois pendants
(BN Coll. Clairambault 35 no. 132)

Coudray, le Petit Galois du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)

Courcelles, Jehan de
1407: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 8v)
1412/1/1: 1er écuyer de cuisine du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8)
1412/6-7: [1er écuyer de cuisine] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1415: 1er écuyer de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
1418/10: 1er échanson du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 114)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 48, 84)
peut-être le fils de:
Courcelles, Jehan de
Courcelles, sgr. de (1410 *)
Saint Liebault, sgr. de (1410 *)
la sgrie. de St. L. mouvant de la châtellenie de Villemaur
lui fut vendue en 1398 (*) par: Boves, Guillaume des
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 3871 (registre)(cat.))
1386/8/10: écuyer, valet servant l'escuelle du
duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 235)
1398: panetier du duc de Bourgogne

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(AD Aube: E 510 * (cat.))
1403/4/12: panetier du duc de Bourgogne
led. jour nommé: Champagne, gruyer de
(BN fr. 20684 p. 19)
1405: Champagne, gruyer de; écuyer (*)
1408/5: Troyes, capit. de; écuyer
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 95)
1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liège
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 153)
1409/12/22: chlr. chambellan du duc de
Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fols. 70v-71)
1411/5: dénoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme son ennemi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 118)
1412/1/8: cons. & chambellan du roi
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 29v)
1413/8/11: le duc de Guyenne fait arrêter plusieurs
partisans du duc de Bourgogne et led. J. part effrayé de
Paris (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 145)
1418: cons. & chambellan du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 228 n. 5)
1435: vivant (AD Aube: E 558 ** (cat.))
épousa av. 1395 (***):
Fontenay, Marguerite de
(Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 311 ***)
laquelle vivait 1435 (**)
enfants:
1. Courcelles, Pierre de
1435: reçoit plusieurs sgries. de ses parents (**)
et devient alors:
Saint Liebault, sgr. de
Thuisy, sgr. de
Valecon, sgr. de
Chennegy, sgr de
autres du nom:
Courcelles, Philippot de
1389: page du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 256)
Courcelles, Richart de
1402/10/2: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)

Courcy, Jehan de. mtre.
1412, 1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52, 68)

Courcy, Richart de. mtre.
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)
1411/8/31: bachelier en theologie; Bayeux, chanoine de;
secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(AN LL 110 p. 575)
1411, 1412: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fols. 35, 41v)
1412: aumônier du duc de Guyenne; nommé entre juillet & decembre (AN KK 228 fol. 50v)
1413: aumônier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 13v)
1414-1415, 1415: aumônier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 21, 25v & 26 & 26v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 58), (BN fr. 32511 fols. 12, 16), (AN X.1c 100 A no. 18)

Court, Jehan de la (voir Mesnil, Jehan du)

Courtebotte (Courteboute *)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 46v *)
1413: fol du duc de Guyenne (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 147)

Courtepie, Michelet
1414-1415: aide de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Courtin, Thevenin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 83)
peut-etre le meme personnage que:
Courtin, Thevenin
1401: au service de la reine pour laq. il porte des lettres; ainsi peut-être chevaucheur ou messager (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 144-7)
autres du nom:
Courtin, Girart
1380/10: chevaucheur du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 42)
Courtin, Perrin
1387, 1389: barillier de l'échansonnerie du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)

Cousteux, Guillaume le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 96v)
autres du nom:
Cousteux, Guillemin le
1401: de la chambre aux deniers de la reine (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 161)

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Crapelicque, Anthoine de (Crapalique *)
1411: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1562 fol. 31v)
1418: trompette du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1ère ptie., no. 2108 *)

Crespin, Guillaume
1412: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 41)

Crete, Jehan. mtre. (voir Muselecque)

Croix, Jehan de la, dit Mirely ("Mirely" *)
1414-1415: 1er sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 108 *)

Croq, Mahiet du (Croc *) (Cocq **)
1407, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 8v, 53v * & 62, 81v)
1414-1415: queux du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 **)

Crouy, Michaut de (Michault *)
huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470 *)
1414: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)
autres du nom:
Crouy, Pierre de. mtre.
1416 env.: partit (de Paris) pour aller avec sa femme et sa fille demeurer à Orleans
(Longnon: Paris, p. 222, réf.: AN JJ 173 no. 479))

Croy, Jehan de (Crouy *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
1411: pendant l'emprisonnement de son père par les Armagnacs, il enleva les enfants de:
Bourbon, Jehan duc de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V, p. 637) details:
(AN P 2297 p. 1197-1204)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 59v & 67v, 101v *)
1414/1/12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne parmi ceux qui furent chassés dud. hostel led. j. par la reine; envoyé a Montlhéry et mis en prison
(Monstrelet, II, p. 420-1)

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1414/2: env. 20 hommes d'armes du duc de Bourgogne l'enlèvent de prison (Monstrelet, II, p. 437-8)

fils de:

Croy, Jehan sgr. de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (**)
Croy, sgr. de
(Crouy: Somme: arr. Amiens, c. Picquigny)
Renty, sgr. de (Pas-de-Calais: arr. Saint Omer)
Seninghem, sgr. de
(Pas-de-Calais: arr. Saint Omer, c. Lumbres)
1396/1/27 n.s.?: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne retenu led. jour à 500 l. de pension par an pour servir le duc "continuelement en son hostel"
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 104)
1398/9: reçoit 200 l. du duc de Bourgogne pour avoir été avec: Saint Pol, Waleran ct. de; à l'aide de: Brabant, Jehanne duch. de; contre: Gueldre, le duc de
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 244)
1404/11/1: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (JSP) retenu led. jour
(Thielemans: Bull. Acad. de Belgique, t. 124, p. 27-8)
1405/5/23: Artois, gouverneur d'; nommé led. jour à 500 fr. de gages par an
(Thielemans: Bull. Acad. de Belgique, t. 124, p. 31)
1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liège
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 24 fol. 46)
1409/4/28: le duc de Bourgogne octroie aud. J. son "cousin" la faveur d'avoir "logis en nre. hostel quelque part que nous soions, pour lui, deux escuiers et deux varles de chambre, mengans en icellui nre. hostel"
(Thielemans: Bull. Acad. de Belgique, t. 124, p. 34 extr.)
1411/1/30: pris par les gens du duc d'Orléans quand il était en route pour aller voir à Bourges:
Berry, le duc de
(Bournon: Mem. Soc. Loir-et-Cher, X, p. 172-3)
1411/7: le duc de Bourgogne envoye: Bos, le sgr. du devers: Berry, Jehanne duch. de; pour demander son aide en obtenant la libération du sgr. de Croy
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 94v)
1411/7: le duc de Bourgogne envoye: Wavrin, le sgr. de pour negocier la délivrance du sgr. de Croy
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 94)
1411: quittances de ceux qui l'ont gardé en prison
(BN P.O. 2313 Poitevin nos. 4 & 5)
1412/2 env.: sort de prison. Monstrelet dit qu'il fut nommé Grand Bouteiller dès qu'il rentra à Paris
(Monstrelet, II, p. 234)
1412/2/9: grand bouteiller de France; nommé led. jour au lieu de: Saint Pol, Waleran ct. de; led. W. ayant été nommé connestable (BN fr. 20684 p. 35)
1412/2/24: cons. & chambellan du roi
Boulogne, seul gouverneur du comté de; et de toutes les terres de: Berry, Jehanne duch. de; nomme gouv. led. jour

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(AN P 2297 p. 1160-6 (en entier))
s.d.: grand chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(Bie, p. 23)
1412/5/4: le roi lui donne: Gandelu et autres terres confisquées sur les Armagnacs
(AN J 200 no. 17 (cat.))
1413/1/28: le roi lui donne Beaurain au lieu de Gandelu qu'il a restauré au duc d'Orléans
(AN J 200 no. 13 (cat.))
1413/5: s'enfuit de Paris "pour la crainte des emeutes"
(Monstrelet, II, p. 361)
1413/8/22: le roi lui donne pouvoir de prolonger les trêves avec l'Angleterre
1413/9/25: à Leulinghen quand la prolongation est signée et tôt après perd son office de grand bouteiller
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 336 n. 5 & 6)
1414/2: à Saint Denis avec le duc de Bourgogne
(Monstrelet, II, p. 437-8)
épousa: Craon, Marguerite de
laq. renonce aux biens de son mari 1416/4/17
(Thielemans: Bull. Acad. de Belgique, t. 124, p. 51-2)
enfants: liste incomplète:
1. Croy, Archambaut de
2. Croy, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
3. Croy, Jehan de
4. Croy, Anthoine de
5. Croy, Agnes de; maîtresse du duc JSP de Bourgogne
6. Croy, Jehanne de; épousa:
a. Lannoy, Jehan de
b. Sombreffe, Jehan de
7. Croy, Marie de; épousa:
Bournel, Loys: Thiembronne, sgr. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V, p. 636 + ff. **)

Cruce, Jehan le
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57)

Culant, Guillaume de (Culan *)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6 *)
1410-1411: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6 *)
1411: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v *)
1412/1/1: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne et du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 168)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fols. 58v & 68)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 35)
autres du nom:
Culant, Loys sgr. de
Châteauneuf, sgr. de
natif du Berry
1417/10/29: Melun, bailli de; nommé led. jour
1421 env.: admiral de France; nommé par le dauphin
(Contamine: Guerre, p. 237 n. 21)
la soeur dudit Loys:
Culant, Alienor de (Honore *); épousa:
a. Tremoille, Philippe de la
b. Dauphin, Guichart (voir ci-dessous)
(BN Coll. Baluze 59 fol. 119 * (128 vieille pagination))
Cullant, Villequin de
1400: huissier d'armes du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 49)

Culton, Jehan
1414-1415: oubloyer du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Curiet
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 77v)
peut-etre le même personnage que:
Curiet, Jehan
1408, 1410: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 146)

Cuvelier, Henneguinet (voir Cavelier)

Damoisel, Benoist le
brodeur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
1413: brodeur de la reine
(AN KK 48 fol. 103v)

Dampmartin, le comte de (voir Riviere, Charles de la)

Dampmartin, Jehan de
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la
paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 30, 38, 53 & 61, 75)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 45)

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autres du nom:
Dampmartin, Bureau de
1409: déclaré noble ou s'il était necessaire anobli, car son père Simon avait vécu comme un marchand et l'on mettait en doute sa noblesse; néanmoins, dans ce document on rappelle que Hugues, père de Simon, avait été chlr. (BN lat. 18345 p. 179, réf.: (AN JJ 164 no. 90)
1411/7/2: cons. sur le fait de la finance ordonnée pour la guerre; remplacé led. jour (AN Z.1a 525 no. 342)
1412/4/27: trésorier de France; reçoit un don de 1000 fr. du roi (BN P.O. 967 Dampmartin no. 33)
1415: trésorier de France (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25)
autre mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v)
fils de:
Dampmartin, Simon de
armoiries:
écartelé de gueules à une bannière fascée de six pièces d'argent, d'azur et d'or au papegault de sinople (Le Roux de Lincy & Tissaerand: Paris, p. 329-330 *)
mort 1399/7/5 (*); enterré à Paris dans l'église de Saint Jacques-la-Boucherie (*)
changeur & bourgeois de Paris et valet de chambre du roi (*)
épousa A.: Marguerite qui mourut 1394/6/5 (*)
épousa B.: Katherine qui en 1399 était femme de:
Foucaut, Guillaume (AN KK 27 fol. 22v)

Dandrenas, Guillemin (dans de Regnars *)
1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 229 fols. 66 *, 89v)

Dauphin
1414-1415: poursuivant d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470)

Dauphin, Guichart
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 563 (voir p. 573 pour son éloge))
Jaligny, sgr. de
1406/3/4: chambellan du roi à 600 fr. de pension par an (BN Coll. Clairambault 8 no. 113)
1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liège (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 153)
1409/10/31: grand mtre. d'hostel du roi nommé led. jour (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 74)
1411-1412: envoyé dans l'Orléanais avec une armée et la ville de Jargeau se rend à lui sans coup férir, et puis

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il va prendre Saint Féréol avec: Essarts, Pierre des &
le grand mtre. des arbalétriers
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 603, 615)
1412: commande une partie de l'armée du roi au siège de
Dun-le-Roy (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 653)
1413/5/11: Montreuil-sur-Mer, capit de; nommé
1ed. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 105)
1413/5/12: Montereau-faut-Yonne, capit. de; nommé
1ed. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 123)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
épousa: Culant, Alienor de (voir ci-dessus)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 53 & 346)
fils de:
Dauphin, Guichart
mort 1403 (Anselme, VIII, p. 47)
Jaligny, sgr. de
1380/7/4: cons. de Charles V qui lui donne
2000 fr. par an "pour estre en la compaignie" du dauphin
(BN Coll. Clairambault 8 no. 105)
1387, 1395: mtre. des arbalétriers
(BN Coll. Clairambault 8 nos. 114, 116)
épousa:
A. Sancerre, Isabelle de
morte 1368 env.
B. Frolois, Marguerite de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 53)
enfants de A.:
1. Dauphin, Guichart (voir ci-dessus)
2. Dauphin, Loys; mort sans enfants

David, Colinet
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 58v)

David, Jehan
1407-1408: sous-aumônier du duc de Guyenne à
30 l.t. pour sa pension & robes chaque année
(AN KK 48 fols. 154v-155)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412, 1414-1415:
sous-aumônier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 5v, 8v, 21)

Deffoiz, Jehannin du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN kk 228 fol. 106)

Deluge, Jehan du
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 75v)

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Denis, frere
1414/12: compagnon du confesseur du commun du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)

Deray, Jehan
1413/3/29: chevaucheur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 13)

Derch, Josse
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 52)

Derian, Martin
Conde-Ste.-Labiere, sgr. de (1397)
(AN P 171.1 no. 39)
1410/5/3: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne led. jour
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 196-7)
1414-1415: secrétaire du roi
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1415/11/4: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne à Rouen led. j.
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 109-110)
épousa: Vaudetar, Denise de; veuve en 1428
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 272)
peut-être le fils de:
Derian, Yve
Conde-Ste.-Labiere, sgr. de (1389) (près de Meaux)
(AN P 171.1 no. 41)
le suivant est le même ou bien son père:
Derian, Yve
secrétaire du roi Jean; en Angleterre avec led. roi
(Secousse: Charles le Mauvais, II, p. 59)

Dicy, Jehan [de]
1415/10/29: 1er écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
Villeneuve-le-Roi, capit. de; nommé capit. led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 472)
peut-être le fils de Bureau de Dicy, mais en ce cas il mourut avant Bureau car on dit que B. mourut sans laisser d'enfants (voir ci-dessous)
autres du nom:
Dicy, Jehan de
1367, 1372, 1388: cons. du roi au Parlement
mort 1389/2 enterré en l'église des Cordeliers de Sens
épousa: Adeline, morte 1373
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 217-8)
Dicy, Jehan de, dit Moreau
mort 1388-1390 env.
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 214)

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Misery, sgr. de (1372) (près de Corbeil)
Montgermont, sgr. de (1385)
Saintry, sgr. de (1385)
(Creuzet: Soc. Corbeil, t. 6, p. 54, 52)
1370: écuyer du corps de Charles V &
Corbeil, capit. de
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 212)
1386: écuyer d'écurie du roi
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 213)
généalogie d'apres Montgermont sauf exceptions notées:
épousa:
Pacy, Marie de, fille de:
Pacy, Jehan de & Essarts, Yolande des
enfants:
1. Dicy, Hue de
Paris, chanoine de
1416: cons. du roi au Parlememnt
mort 1437 env.
2. Dicy, Bureau de (voir ci-dessous)
3. Dicy, Pierre de; Orléans, chanoine d'
4. Dicy, Jacqueline de; épousa:
a. Douzenville, Philippe de; écuyer
(Macon: Soc. Senlis, 4e série, t. 9, p. 81 n. 1)
b. Pavyot, Pierre
5. Dicy, Marguerite de; Attilly, dame d'; épousa:
Culant, Guillaume de
Dicy, Bureau de (Dissy **)
mort 1421 env.(*)
Ablon, sgr. de (***)
Luzarches, sgr. de (***)
Misery, sgr. de (***)
Montgermont, sgr. de (***)
Saintry, sgr. de (***)
Vaux-sur-Essonne ("Vaux lez Corbeil"), sgr. de
(Creuzet: Soc. Corbeil, t. 6, p. 57 ***)
1398: écuyer d'honneur du roi (*)
1404: échanson du roi (*)
1407, 1408: écuyer d'écurie du roi a
200 l.t. de pension par an en 1408
(BN P.O. 999 Dicy nos. 19, 21)
1411: Corbeil, capit. de (*)
1411: écuyer d'écurie du roi; pnt. aux joustes
de la Pentecôte (BN fr. 21809 nos. 35 & 36)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'écurie du roi pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 869 **)
1413: 1er écuyer du corps et mtre. de l'écurie
du roi; nommé aud. an au lieu de: Giresme, Philippe de
perd led. office en 1418/7 (*)
1414, 1415: 1er écuyer du corps et mtre. de
l'écurie du roi (BN P.O. 999 Dicy nos. 22, 23)
1421/8/14: testa (AN X.1a 9807 fol. 513v)
mort sans enfants (Creuzet: Soc. Corbeil, t. 6, p. 58)
Épousa: Beauvais, Jehanne de
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 222-6 *)

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Donnepain
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Dore, Mathelin
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)
autres du nom:
Dore, Jehan
1419/5: chapellain du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 193)
Dore, Jehan. mtre.
1419/12: Lens, naguères bailli de
1419/11/10: cons. du duc de Bourgogne a Gand
led. jour le duc l'ordonne de se transférer de Lens à Gand pour y résider et être de son conseil
(Mollat: Comptes, I, nos. 749, 1189)

Doudet, Lorin (Dodet *)
1412: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 40v, 49 *)

Droet
1414-1415: hasteur de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82)

Durant, Andre
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415 *: clerc de Henry Camus secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(* pendant l'expédition de Normandie)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 16, 16v, 22v, 26v)

Durant, Andriet
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Durant, Guiot
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 108v)
autres du nom:
Durant, Jehan. mtre.
1392/8: phisicien du duc de Bourgogne; visite le roi a: Mans, le
(Moranville: J. le Mercier, p. 152 n. 1, ref.:
(BN fr. 4482 p. 243)
1413/4: phisicien du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 194v)

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Durgent, Jehan (d'Argent *) (d'Orgent **)
1411: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Etampes & Dourdan (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9 *)
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42 & 51v)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470 **)
sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470 **)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v *)

Dyonis, Alain (Dionys *)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 35, 51v, 59 & 69, 102 *)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédtion a Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Dyonis, Alain
1409-1410: tapisseur a Paris (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
autres du nom:
Dyonis, Henry
1407/12/30: avocat "pour" le roi au trésor (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1936-7, p. 180)

Enfroy, Henriet (Anfroy *)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 59 & 67v, 105 *)

Engreban, Hennart (Engerban *) ("Hennart" **) ("Hannart" ***)
1405: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (Grandeau: Enfants, p. 842 n. 4, ref.: (AN KK 43 fols. 107 & 118 **)
1406, 1407, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 6 **, 11 ***, 104v *)
sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)

Ervy, Jehan d'
1412/8, 1413/3: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 10, 13)
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Bourgogne (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 457 et. al.)

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Eschainviller, Adam d' (Eschanvillier *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 47, 53 * & 61 *, 73 *)

Eschalart, Nicole (voir Leschallart)

Esclat, Pierre de l'. mtre.
natif de Troyes (** p. 238)
armoiries: d'azur au lion d'or (** p. 239)
exécuté 1418/6/12 à Paris par les Bourguignons (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932 (***), p. 281)
1389: cons. du roi au Parlement (BN P.O. 1691 Lesclat (*) no. 4)
1399: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi; nommé aud. an (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1931 (**), p. 238)
1399, 1400: cons. général sur le fait des aides (** p. 238)
1403/12/7: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du roi à 600 fr. de pension par an comme mtre.; et cons. de la reine & du duc de Guyenne à 400 fr. de pension par an (* no. 5)
1408/12/2: général sur la finance; institué led. jour (*** p. 281)
1409/10: cons. de la reine & du duc de Berry; arrêté lors de l'emprisonnement de: Montagu, Jehan de (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 273)
1410/4/7: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi (* no.7); il ne tenait plus cet office 1412/3/9 et 1412/6/15 car il était partisan du duc de Berry (Baye: Journal, II, p. 57 & 71)
1413/10/27: conseiller du roi; au conseil du Parlement led. jour (Baye: Journal, II, p. 151)
1414/9/24: gouverneur sur le fait des monnaies; nommé led. jour avec d'autres (Ordonnances, X, p. 221-3)
1415/11/12: conseiller du roi; pnt. au Parlement led. jour (Baye: Journal, II, p. 221)
1416/7: cons. & mtre. lay des requêtes de l'hostel du roi à 342 l.p. par an (BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fol. 217)
1416/7: cons. du roi en la chambre des comptes (Moranvillé: BEC, t. 49, p. 426 n. 1)
épousa: Porcher, Jehanne (*** p. 281)
fils de:
Esclat, Jehan de l'
mtre. de la monnaie de Troyes (** p. 238-9)

Escopres, Jehan d', dit Walet
1415/9/24: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Guyenne led. jour testa en l'église Saint Claudre du Solier (près de Rouen)
(Tuetey: Testaments, p. 576-7)

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Escuyer, Oudinet l'
1414-1415: ménestrel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)

Esmery
1407: sert de l'eau du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11)
autres du nom:
Emery, Guillaume. mtre.
1421: cons. lay en la chambre des Enquêtes du Parlement (Favier: Contrib., p. 80)

Espinay, le Galois de l' (voir Coudray, Jehan du)

Essoye, Jehan d'
1414: peut-être sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne comme Robin Folie qui servait avec lui "pour la seurte" de la personne du chancelier de Guyenne
1414: accompagna le chancelier de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v, 27)

Estouteville, Charlot d'
1400 env.: 1er panetier du dauphin Charles (*)
1400 (v.s.): 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne (*)
1405: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne (*)
1408: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne par lettres du roi données à Tours (*)
1411/8/17: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne par décision du Parlement à la suite d'un procès contre: Barres, Michelet des (*)
(AN X1a 4789 fols. 184v-185 *)
1410-1411: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne; il va en Guyenne au service de: Albret, le sgr. d'
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 11, 30, 32v)
probablement le même personnage que le suivant malgré sa jeunesse en 1400:
Estouteville, Charles d'
né en ou après 1390 car il était le second fils de Jehannet qui se maria 1389/1/25 (voir ci-dessous)
Gastine, sgr. de la
Villebon, sgr. de (1417/6 *)
fait prisonnier à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(La Morandière: Estouteville, p. 252)
1417/6: toujours prisonnier en Angleterre
(La Morandière: Estouteville, p. 261-2)
mort sans enfants
épousa: Craon, Marie de
le Charlot susdit ne peut pas être le suivant qui était

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chlr. (*); et qui ne vivait plus en 1400 malgré ce qu'en disent Anselme et La Morandière

Estouteville, Charles d'
mort av. 1398/5/11 (BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 112)
Blainville, sgr. de (1393)
(AN P 263.1 no. 30 *)
mort sans enfants
épousa: Chambly, Jacqueline de
fils de: Estouteville, Colart d'; Torcy, sgr. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 97)

Estouteville, Jehannet d' (le jeune *)
mort 1416/6/30-1416/11/1
(La Morandière: Estouteville, p. 256)
Beauville, sgr. de
Gastine, sgr. de la
Montdoucet, sgr. de
Villebon, sgr. de
toutes les sgries. susdites lui viennent de sa femme (*)
1383/5/2, 1384, 1385: esc., valet tranchant
du roi (BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville nos. 34, 57 (sceau)),
(BN Coll. Clairambault 45 no. 126 (signature & sceau))
1390: fait partie de l'expédition en Afrique de:
Bourbon, Louis duc de
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville nos. 66 & 104 (signature)) et
(BN fr. 20590 no. 66 *)
1391/11/22: valet tranchant du roi;
le roi a séjourné chez led. J. à Villebon
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5872 (Menant VIII), fol. 187)
1400: écuyer du corps du roi
(BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 363 *)
1405: écuyer du corps du roi à 500 fr. de pension
par an sur les coffres du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 45 no. 141 * (signature))
1406/1/1: écuyer du corps du roi à 800 fr. de
pension par an sur les coffres du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 45 no. 143 * (signature))
1408/4-1408/6: écuyer du corps du roi à 300 fr.
de pension par an sur les coffres du roi
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 105 (signature))
1408: mtre. de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 16 fol. 149v)
1409/5/16: mtre. de l'écurie du roi; nommé
led. jour (on ne précise pas que c'est J. "le jeune" mais
il semble plus probable)
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5872 (Menant VIII), fol. 63v)
1409-1410, 1410-1411: 1er écuyer du corps &
mtre. de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne;
remplacé 1411/11/30 **
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5, 7 **)
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57)

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épousa 1389/1/25: Montdoucet, Michelle de
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 179)
enfants:
1. Estouteville, Colart d'; mort av. 1417/1/21
2. Estouteville, Charles d' (voir ci-dessus)
3. Estouteville, Loys d', dit Blanchet
4. Estouteville, Hector d'
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 100)
fils de: Estouteville, Jehan d'; Torcy, sgr. de
frère de:
Estouteville, Jehannet d' (l'ainsne ***)
testa 1416/11/1 (BN Coll. Moreau 1162 fols. 163-196v)
Charlesmesnil, sgr. de
(Seine-Maritime: près de Dieppe)
(Ordonnances, VIII, p. 611)
cette sgrie. s'appellait d'abord: Mesnil-Haquet, le;
mais quand le roi s'y trouva avec le duc de Bourgogne
1386/3/9; le roi changea le nom du château
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 261)
1398/11/2: J. fait hommage au roi du chastel de
Charlesmesnil mouvant de: Longueville, le comté de
(AN P 266.1 no. 5)
1374/12/31: valet tranchant de Charles V et
Vernon, capit. de; nommé capit. led. jour
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 21)
1380/7/7-1380/11/15: Vernonnet, capit. de la tour de
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 33)
1380: valet tranchant du roi et
Vernon, capit. de (BN P.O. 3015 Villiers no. 5)
1386: écuyer du corps du roi et
Vernon et Vernonnet, capit. de
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 67)
1387/7/26: écuyer du corps du roi qui lui
donne permission de fortifier sa maison dans la ville de
Fesques en Normandie sur les marches de Picardie
(BN fr.n.a. 7378 fol. 339, ref.: AN JJ 131 no. 95)
1388/3/19: écuyer du corps du roi et
Vernon & Vernonnel, capitaine de; commanda une
version en prose de la vie de: Guesclin, Bertran du;
laq. version porte lad. date à la fin du ms.: BN fr. 4995
1390/1/29: conseiller du roi (seul office
mentionné dans ce don du roi de 4000 fr.)
J. est en Languedoc avec le roi led. jour
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 82)
1390/8/18: le roi lui donne 1000 fr. pour acheter
une maison près de Paris pour "soy aler estatre pour cause
qu'il est maladif et que nous voulons que la greigneur
partie du temps il soit pour noz besongnes a Paris ou
environ ou devers nous ou nous serons"
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 84)
quitt. dud. don 1390/9/1 avec signature dud. J.
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 92)
1390/9/18: cons. du roi qui l'envoye presentement
"en plusieurs parties et provinces" du royaume;

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J. part 1390/10/4 et revient à Paris 1390/11/4 (****)
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville nos. 93, 94 **** (signature))
1390/11/13: cons. & écuyer du corps du roi
qui l'envoye pntemt. devs. le pape et "es parties de
Provence" (BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 95)
1390/12/20: valet tranchant du roi (sic)
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 69 (signature))
1391/9/16: quittance dud. J. de 1208 fr. pour un voyage à
Avignon devs. le pape et le duc de Berry "pour le fait
des vuides des gens d'armes du pays de Guienne & de la
Languedoc qui estoient en la compaignie" de:
Armagnac, le comte d'
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 96 (sceau &
signature visible en partie))
1392/9/25: cons. du grand conseil du roi à
600 l.t. de gages par an. Led. jour le roi annulle le
paiement desd. gages à cause d'une longue absence
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5866 (Menant II), fols. 28-v)
1394/7/2: cons. & ecuyer du corps du
roi qui confirme son office de cons. du grand conseil à
600 l.t. de gages par an en dépit de sa longue absence
à cause de "tresgrant et griesve maladie"
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5866 (Menant II), fols. 28-v)
1394/7/11: cons. du grand conseil du roi; prêta
serment led. jour dans la chambre des comptes pour led.
office (BN fr. 2836 fol. 18, ref.: Memorial E fol. 306)
1394: cons. du grant conseil ordonne à
travailler en la chambre des comptes car il ne pouvait
servir en l'hostel du roi à cause de sa faiblesse
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5877 (Menant XIII), fol. 119v, réf.:
(Memorial E fol. 307v)
1396/8/23: cons. & écuyer du corps du roi
J. va pntemt. au comté de Foix "pour certaines causes"
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 103 (signature))
1400/5/17: cons. & écuyer du corps du roi
(BN P.O. 1082 Estouteville no. 116 ***)
1400/12: cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi
(BN P.O. 387 Bois de l'E. no. 29)
1403/7: cons. du roi
(Ordonnances, VIII, p. 611)
1411/1: conseiller du roi
procès concernant sa sgrie. de Charlesmesnil
(AN X.1c 101 A no. 44)
1415/10-1416/6: conseiller du roi
(AN JJ 169 fols. 2-v, 309-312v)
autres mentions:
(AN J 214 no. 20)

Eu, le comte d' (voir Artois)

Eu, le sénéchal d' (voir Saint Pierre)

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Evier, Jehan (Emer ?)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 49v, 56v & 65v, 89v)

Facien, Simonnet (voir Bazin)

Faiel, Sanson
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 73v)

Falary (voir Salary)

Fanneau, Geuffroy (Fauveau ?)
1414-1415: 1er archer & mtre. des archers du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)

Fanneau, Gillet (Fauveau ?)
1415: 1er archer du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Farcinguaut
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 90)

Fauchery, Jehan (Fauchere *) ("Fauchere" **) ("Faucherre" ***)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v ***)
1414-1415: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)
autres mentions:
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471), (AN KK 228 fol. 105v **)

Fauconniere, Isabeau de la (l'aisnee)
son nom de jeune fille était:
Saint Julien, Isabeau de
(Huillard-Bréholles: Titres, II, no. 3583 *)
1384/11/22: quitt. de son mari pour un legs de 100 fr. d'or laissé à lad. I. par:
Valois, Isabeau de; Bourbon, duchesse de (*)
1399: damoiselle du duc de Guyenne
(Grandeau: Dames (**), p. 199)
1399, 1402, 1403, 1404: damoiselle de Jehan duc de Touraine (** p. 199)
1408-1413: damoiselle de la duch. de Guyenne (** p. 199)

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épousa av. 1384/11/22 (*):
Fauconniere, Guillaume de la
1401: 1er écuyer d'écurie de Jehan duc de Touraine (** p. 198)
enfants:
1. Fauconniere, Antoine de la
au service du duc de Touraine (** p. 199)
2. Fauconniere, Jehan de la
1416: panetier du duc de Touraine (** p. 199)
3. Fauconniere, Isabeau de la (la jeune)
1409, 1412: damoiselle de Catherine de France
1416: [damoiselle ?] de la reine (** p. 199)

Faulconnier, Huguenin
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 51v)

Fer, Jacques le. mtre.
1414-1415: cons. & procureur au Parlement du duc de Guyenne a 24 l.p. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
autres du nom:
Fer, Jehan le
1420: cons. du roi au Parlement
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 785)
Fer, Jehan le
1389: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 720)

Ferart, Jehan
1414-1415: valet servant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 86)

Ferchencourt, Tristan de (Ferchancourt *)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
1413/1-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57v *)

Ferieres
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74v)

Feron, Richart
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

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autres du nom:
Ferron, Pierre. mtre.
1403 a 1418: secrétaire du roi
1400: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
1406: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 85)

Feron, Robert le
1415: clerc d'offices du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Ferrieres, Charles de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; il tenait un office mis sous la section "fourrière" dans les comptes (AN KK 229 fol. 104v)
probablement le même personnage que:
Ferrieres, Charles de
1412/2/12: reçoit lres. de rémission du roi pour avoir été au service de: Alençon, le comte d'; led. C. écuyer âgé de 20 ans "ou env." entra aud. service après avoir fait ses études à Paris, avant la rébellion dud. comte; maintenant C. a laissé le service dud. comte
(AN JJ 166 fols. 19v-20 *)
1412/8/22: écuyer, fait hommage au roi de:
Saint Vincent du Boullay; Mesnil Germain, le;
et autres terres au vicomté d' Orbec
(AN P 269.2 no. 438 **)
épousa av. 1412/8/22: Neufbourc, Jehanne de (**)
fils de: (*)
Ferrieres, Jehan sgr. de
Ferrieres, sgr. de (1399)
(BN P.O. 1131 Ferrières no. 16)
1400 env.: chambellan du roi & de Louis d'Orléans; et Lisieux, capit. de
(Formeville: Soc. Antiq. Norm., 3e série, t. 8, p. 173)
1412: chambellan du roi
(AN JJ 166 fols. 19v-20)
épousa: Harcourt, Marguerite de
(F. Aubert de La Chesnaye des Bois, VII, p. 651)
probablement le même personnage que:
Ferrieres, Jehan de
1381/9/30: le roi lui donne une "dispense d'aage" et le met hors de sa garde car led. écuyer est "aagie" depuis 2 ans "env." suivant la coustume de Normandie
(BN P.O. 1131 Ferrières no. 15)

Fevre, Aubert le
mort 1418/1 (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 360-3 *)
natif de Dijon (*)
Pouilly, sgr. de (*)
1404: trésorier du Dauphine; en fonction jusqu'à

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sa mort en 1418 (*)
1409-1410: trésorier général du Dauphiné
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3)
1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415,
1415: receveur général du Dauphiné
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 5, 7, 11, 15, 19, 25 deux fois)

Fevre, Erard le
1415: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469)

Fevre, Lambeguin le
1414-1415: 1er maréchal du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 112)
autres du nom:
Fevre, Godefroy le
1393: apothicaire & valet de chambre de
Louis d'Orléans (BN fr. 6210 no. 515)
1397: valet de chambre & garde des
coffres de Louis d'Orléans
(Beauvillé, I, p. 78)
Febvre, Guillemin le
1387, 1389: sommelier d'échansonnerie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)
Fevre, Jehan le, dit Loyset
1410: queux du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 146)
Fevre, Martin le
1418: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 115)
Fevre, Perrin le (Febvre *)
1387, 1389: charretier ("chartier") de nappes
du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722 *)
Fevre, Thomas le
1419/5: clerc des offices de l'hostel du duc de
Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 638)

Florart, Climent
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 52)

Florart, Thevenin (Fleurart *)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 68, 102 *)

Flossel, Pierre
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)

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Folie, Robin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)
1415/6/29: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne
R. était alors prisonnier du duc de Bourgogne et le duc de Guyenne demanda son élargissement led. jour
(Finot: Arras, p. 216)
1415: sergent d'armes du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v), (AN X.1a 4790 fol. 232)

Folleville, NN de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Monstrelet, III, p. 118 *)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne (*)
autres du nom:
Folleville, Aubert de
1434: Roye; capitaine de (pour le duc de Bourgogne) (Beauville, III, p. 224)
Folleville, Ferry de
Villers en Oreillemont; posséda un fief situé à; tenu du château d'Arras
(Gaillard: Bull. Soc. Hist. Paris, t. 33, p. 183 **)
leq. épousa av. 1386:
Tenques, Isabelle de. dite la comtesse (**).
Folleville, Guillaume de
1397: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans; chlr.
(Belleval: Tresor Pic., p. 237)
Folleville, Jehan de
Sart, sgr. du (1372)
(Gaillard: BEC, t. 69 (***), p. 370)
cousin germain du prévôt de Paris: Folleville, Jehan de
et fils de: Folleville, Philippe de (*** p. 370)
Folleville, Jehan de
Folleville, sgr. de (1386 ****) (Somme: arr. Montdidier, c. Ailly-sur-Noye) (*** p. 381 n. 2)
Sart, sgr. du; acheta lad. sgrie. en 1397 (*** p. 390)
1386: conseiller du roi; envoyé en Castille
(Daumet: Etude, p. 173-4 ****)
1389/1/18: Paris, prévôt de; nommé led. jour
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 101)
ou bien 1389/1/27 selon (Batiffol, p. 82, ref.:
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 99)
1396: conseiller du roi; chlr. et
Paris, prévôt de (Jarry: Vie L. d'Orl., p. 438)
1404/2/3: mtre. des comptes du roi
testa led. jour (AN X.1a 9807 fol. 99)
1409/11/17: fait son 2e testament
1410/3/16: fait une codicille
(BN Coll. Moreau 1161, fol. 363)
sa nièce: Fresne, Marie de (*** p. 374)

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son neveu: Fresne, Jehan de. dit Fresnel; esc. (*** p. 374)
son neveu: Commenart, Jehannin (*** p. 374)
son neveu: Halencourt, Guillaume de; relig. à Corbie
son neveu: Halencourt, Jehannin de; relig. à Corbie
(Gaillard: BEC, t. 69 (***), p. 374)
son cousin: Biencourt, Nicole de (*** p. 374)
son oncle: Boulleux, Guillaume de (*** p. 374)
son oncle: Melles, Guillaume de (*** p. 374)
épousa:
A. Tilloy, Jehanne de (*** p. 372)
B. Rambures, Isabelle de (*** p. 372)
enfants:
1. Folleville, Regnault de; mère inconnue; il est le seul fils mentionné dans le testament dud. J.

Folleville, Regnault de
mourut en 1424 (Gaillard: BEC, t. 69 (***), p. 374)
Dompmartin, sgr. de (Dammartin)
(Dommartin: Somme, arr. Amiens, c. Sains) (*** p. 390)
rendit hommage pour lad. sgrie. 1413/1/4 (*** p. 372)
1397/6: chambellan du roi; envoyé en Avignon
(Valois: Schisme, III, p. 117 n. 2)
1405/6/8: chambellan du roi
(Belleval: Tresor Pic., p. 100-1)
1413/1: chambellan du roi (*** p. 390)
épousa: Inchy, Renaude d' (*** p. 374)
enfants: Folleville, Antoine de; fils unique et mineur en 1424 (*** p. 374)
fils de: Folleville, Jehan sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)

Fontaines, Hue de. mtre.
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58, 67v)
autres du nom:
Fontaines, Jaquet de
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 548 & p. 163 n.)

Fontenay, Jehan de (Fontenoy *)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413, 1413-1414: receveur de la vidamé de Laonnois pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5 *, 7, 11 * & 12v *, 16v)

Fontenay, Pierre de
mort 1427 (Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 325)
Buxeuil, sgr. de (1388) (c. Bar-sur-Seine)
Rances, sgr. de (à partir de 1396/5/9)
(Aube: arr. Bar-sur-Aube, c. Brienne-le-Château)
(Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 315)
1392: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (* p. 316)
1403/5/15: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
(BN P.O. 1189 Fontenay no. 14)

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1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liège
(Mirot: BEC, t. 83 (*), p. 317)
1409/9/24: général cons. sur le fait des aides
déchargé; pour quoi le roi lui donne en récompense 1000 fr.
(BN P.O. 1189 Fontenay no. 15)
1409/10/20: chambellan du roi et réformateur du
royaume; nomme réform. led. jour avec d'autres
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 475)
1409/12/7: gouverneur de toutes les
finances du roi, de la reine, du duc de Guyenne & des
autres enfants du roi;
nommé led. jour à 1000 fr. de "salaire"
par an outre ce qu'il reçoit comme: mtre. d'hostel
du roi (AN P 2297 p. 971-6)
1410/1-1410/10: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 1189 Fontenay nos. 17-24)
1410/6: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 37)
1410/7/8:
cons. mtre. d'hostel du roi & gouverneur de la depense
des hostels du roi, de la reine & du duc de Guyenne
nommé gouv. (de nouveau) led. jour; il a toujours
ces titres 1412/5/18 (**)
(BN fr. 31923 fol. 3), (BN P.O. 1189 Fontenay no. 29 **)
1411/5: dénoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme son ennemi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 118)
1412/1/1: cons. du roi & du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8 & 12v)
1414/5/29: sa monstre à Chastillon-sur-Seine au service
du duc de Bourgogne (BN fr. 31923 fol. 3)
1417/8: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(BN fr. 31923 fol. 3v)
1418/9: 1er mtre. d'hostel du roi
cet office n'est pas le même que "grand mtre."
(BN fr. 7853 p. 1092 & ff.)
1422: 1er mtre. d'hostel du roi
(BN fr. 7853 p. 1122)
1423: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bedford
(BN P.O. 1189 Fontenay no. 33)
1424: conseiller de Henry VI
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5868 (Menant IV), fols. 141-v)
mort sans enfants (Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 316)
épousa 1393: Broyes, Marie de
fils de:
Fontenay, Nicolas de
mort 1396/3/31 (Mirot: BEC, t. 83 (*), p. 307)
Saint Liebault, sgr de
acheta lad. sgrie. en 2 parties: 1370 & 1375 (* p. 309)
Thuisy, sgr. de
acheta lad. sgrie. 1374 (* p. 308)
Origny, sgr. d'
acheta lad. sgrie. av. 1393 (* p. 308 n. 3)
& même av. 1383 (**); lad. sgrie. était mouvant de:
Greve, la (**)

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Val Coquatrix, sgr. du (1387)
(Dufour: Soc. Corbeil, t. 3, p. 55 (doc. publié))
Rance, sgr. de (Rances: Aube:
arr. Bar-sur-Aube, c. Brienne-le-Château)
il acheta lad. sgrie. des Luxembourg (* p. 308)
1371 env.: Troyes, bailli de (* p. 305)
1382: chlr. (* p. 306)
1383/8/9: cons. & trésorier du roi
(AD Aube: E* 2914 (**) (cat.))
1386: trésorier général du duc de Bourgogne
(Rey: Domaine, p. 115)
1389: perdit ses offices royaux pour toujours
(Rey: Domaine, p. 115)
pour la généalogie suivante, sauf exceptions notées:
(Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 311-5)
épousa:
A. Graz, Jehanne le
B. av. 1374/8/3: Thuisy, Marguerite de
C. Hospital, Catherine de l'; morte av. 1396/10/8
enfants de A.:
1. Fontenay, Pierre de (voir ci-dessus)
enfants de C.:
1. Fontenay, Jacqueline de (Catherine **)
laq. épousa:
a. av. 1407/7 (**): Lisle, Charles de
b. Marbury, Richart; de l'Angleterre
enfants: autres dont on ne connait pas les mères:
1. Fontenay, Jehanne de; Bouy, dame de; épousa av. 1398:
Boves, Guillaume des (voir ci-dessus)
2. Fontenay, Marguerite de; épousa 1395:
Courcelles, Jehan sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)

Fontenil, Pierre de ("Fontenil" *)
1414: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 104v *)
autres du nom:
Fontenel, Regnault de
1408: huissier d'armes du roi &
Cherbourg, garde du chastel de
(Barroux: Fetes, p. 64)

Fosse, Jehan du
1413/1-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 54v)

Fosses, Guillaume des
1414-1415: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1414-1415: 1er huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 22365 p. 20)

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autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 108)
autres du nom:
Fosses, Guillaume des
1405: Corcelles, co-sgr. de; avec:
Boquillon, Girart (AD Côte-d'Or: B 10554 (cat.))

Fosses, Guiot des
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81v)

Foucault, Jehan (Fourcault *) (Fouquault **)
1409 jour Saint Martin: procureur au Parlement
du duc de Guyenne à 8 l.p. de gages par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v **)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415: procureur au
Parlement du duc de Guyenne (*** à 10 l.t. de pension
par an) (BN fr. 32511 fols. 15, 19v * & ***, 25)
autres du nom:
Foucaut, Jehan
1375: clerc, notaire au Chastellet
(BN fr.n.a. 7377 fol. 337)
Foucault, Guillaume, dit le Borgne
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 semble-t-il car il est
remplacé à cause de sa mort 1415/11/1 comme:
Vincennes, capit. de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 403)
1399: écuyer, garde des coffres du roi
(AN KK 27 fol. 22v ****)
1400: valet de chambre & garde des coffres du roi
(BN P.O. 1210 Foucaut no. 9)
1404: 1er valet de chambre & garde de l'espargne
du roi (BN P.O. 1210 Foucaut nos. 26 & 33)
1409/10: s'échappa de Paris ayant peur d'être arrêté
(Monstrelet, II, p. 46, où il est appellé
le Borgne de "Souchal")
1409/10: garde des coffres du roi; remplacé
1409/10/26 ou peu avant par: Essarts, Antoine des
(Rey: Finances, p. 482)
1409/10-11: comme il n'a pas retourné à Paris pour être
juge, il est banni
(Monstrelet, II, p. 48, où il est appellé
le Borgne Foucault)
1413/9: garde des joyaux & vaisselle d'or et
d'argent du roi; nommé audit mois
(BN P.O. 1210 Foucaut no. 42)
1414/9/24: gouverneur sur le fait des monnaies
nommé avec d'autres led. jour
(Ordonnances, X, p. 221-3)
1414-1415: cons. & 1er valet de chambre
du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1414-1415: 1er valet de chambre & garde des deniers
de l'espargne du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)

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épousa 1399: Katherine, veuve de:
Dampmartin, Simon de (****)
Foulcaut, Guillaume
1398-1400: Toulouse, viguier de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 514)

Foucher, Pierre
1407, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 8, 76v)
1414-1415: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres du nom:
Foucher, Pierre
1413: panetier du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fols. 26-v)
Foucher, Godefroy
1398: échanson du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 150)
Foucher, Guillaume
1398: valet tranchant du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 150)

Fouille, Pierre de
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 74v)

Fournier, Yvonnet (le *).(le Fourrier **) (Fornier ***)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415; de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 35, 42v & 51, 71 ***, 108 **)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1415: fourrier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26 *)
autres du nom:
Fournier, Jehan
1414: panetier du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 147v)
Fournier, Jehanne
1368: mère de lait de Charles VI
(voir Rouvres, Jehanne de)
Fournier, Pierre
1413: écuyer, mtre. d'hostel du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fols. 24v-25)
1416: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Berry
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 779)
Fournier, Symonnet (le *)
1419/6: clerc du mtre. de la chambre aux deniers

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du duc de Bourgogne: Velery, Jehan de
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 217)
1420/11: clerc du mtre. de la chambre aux deniers
du duc de Bourgogne: Sarrote, Jehan
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 5052 *)

Franc, Guillaume
1414-1415: valet servant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)

Franc, Jehan le
1412: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 38v)
1412/6-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)

Francois, Jehan
1415: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469)
probablement le même personnage que:
Francois, Jehan
1404: chapellain du duc Phe. de Bourgogne
(Mirot: Annales de Bourgogne, t. 11, p. 133)
autres du nom:
Francois, Jehan
1409-1410: notaire
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 4v)

Franquelance, Jehan (voir Bournens)

Fremainville, Simon de ("Fromainville" *)
1413/10-1414: écuyer tranchant de la duch. de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 75v *)
autres du nom:
Fremainville, Sauvage de
1419: Saint Germain en Laye, capit. de
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 800)
1428/12: pendu à Paris
(Journal Bourg. Paris, ed. Tuetey, p. 223-4)

Freppier, Pierre
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

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autres du nom:
Freppier, Pierre le
1422: sommelier des armeures du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Freppier, Jehannin
1390: messager du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 269)
Frepier, Jehan
1403/10/13: messager dans la chambre aux deniers du roi; testa led. jour (AN X.1a 9807 fol. 98v)
Frepier, Joceran. mtre.
natif de Chalon-sur-Saône (**)
1403: trésorier & gouv. général des finances du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 17)
1410, 1413: tresorier & gouv. général des finaces du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 116 **)
1418: cons. du roi & du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 838)

Fresne, Jehan du
1413/1-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57)

Fretin, Charlot de
1413/1-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 53v)
autres du nom:
Fretin, Gillebert de
natif du comté de Guines
1403: écuyer; envoya un défi au roi d'Angleterre
(Monstrelet, I, p. 72)
Fretin, Guillaume de
1404: écuyer d'écurie de Pierre de Navarre à 13 l. 5 s. 4 d.p. par mois
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 647)
Fretin, Sausset de
1380/11: huissier d'armes du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 106)
1389: huissier d'armes du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 718)
1394/1/17: huissier d'armes du roi
(AN P 2296 p. 959)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Fretin, Saucet de
1404: écuyer et chambellan de Pierre de Navarre à 20 fr. par mois (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 647)

Fretins, Jehan de
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 42v)

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peut-être le même personnage que:
Fretin, Jehan de (Fratins *)
écuyer du corps du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Delabarre: État, p. 134 *)
1414: écuyer d'écurie du ct. de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 (cat.))
1419, 1420: écuyer d'écurie du
duc & de la duch. de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1079)

Friolet
1405-1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 3v)

Fromont, Alain
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du
duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 49v, 56v & 65v, 90v)

Froulaut, Colin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 80v)

Fumee
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81v)

Gaillemer, Gabriel
1412: clerc du confesseur du duc de Guyenne:
Arsonval, Jehan d' (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du
duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 49, 56v & 65v, 89v)
1415: clerc d'offices (de la fruiterie
d'après les renseignements infra) du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Galleran, Jehan (Gallouan *)
1414-1415: valet d'aumosne du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469 *)

Galois, Msgr. le
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68v)
peut-être un fils héritier de l'un des suivants:
Galois, Gilles le
mourut en 1386

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(Macon: Soc. Senlis, 4e sér., t. 9, p. 79)
armoiries: voir son sceau
(BN P.O. 1271 Gallois (*) no. 5)
1383/10: chlr., cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi qu'il avait accompagné en Flandres (* no. 4)
1386/5/22: mtre. d'hostel du roi (* no. 9)
épousa:
Pacy, Marguerite de (Pasey **)
Luzarches, dame de (en partie)
laq. épousa en 2e noces: Hangest, Charles de
et en 3e noces: Gaucourt, Raoul de
(Montgermont: Annales Gâtinais, t. 12, p. 215 n. 1; voir aussi (BN fr. 31925 fol. 71 **)
enfants dud. Gilles:
1. Cherelles, la dame de; laq. épousa:
Mesnil, Bertran du (voir)
(BN fr.n.a. 15544 no. 25)
2. apparément la femme de: Jeucourt, Sauvage de
(AN P 128 no. 201)
autres personnages du même nom:
Galois, Gilles le
1372: trésorier de France
(Rey: Domaine, p. 376)
1373/9/7: trésorier de France et général des aides; institué général led. jour; il est chlr.
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr., 1932, p. 264-5)
1383/1/26: général de toutes les aides; institué aud. office led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr., 1932, p. 265)
celui-ci est peut-être le même personnage que:
Gallois, Gilles le
1381/3/6: mtre. en la chambre des comptes; nommé led. jour; prêta serment en led. chambre 1381/3/12
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5865 (Menant I) fols. 109-v)

Gamaches, Guillaume sgr. de
Gamaches-en-Vexin, sgr. de (1404 v.s.?)
(Eure: arr. Les Andelys, c. Étrepagny)
1404/2/19 v.s.?: mineur, sgr. de Gamaches
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 690 **)
1405: échanson du duc de Bourgogne; envoyé à la defense de: Écluse, l'; puis au secours de: Bavière, Guillaume de
(BN fr. 31925 fol. 17)
1407/5/11: échanson du duc de Bourgogne qui led. jour lui donne 160 fr. pour l'advènement et accroissement de son mariage (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 77v)
1409/9/11: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(AN P 274.1 no. 13)
1410/12/29: mtre. veneur du roi; nommé led. jour au lieu de: Franconville, Robert de
(BN fr. 20684 p. 27-8)
1411/5/14, 1413/10/4: chambellan et

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mtre. veneur du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 162 no. 74)
(BN fr. 26039 no. 4809 (quittance signée))
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413/1-7: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68)
1413/10/30: mtre. veneur du roi; remplacé led. jour par: Orgessin, Loys d' (BN fr. 20684 p. 48)
1415: membre de l'ordre de chlrie. du duc de Bourbon
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 370)
1415/10/25: pnt. à Azincourt (**)
il y fut fait prisonnier, mais fut relâché aussitôt
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 191)
1415/10-11: chambellan du roi et
Gisors, capit. de (nommé capit. après Azincourt)
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 403)
1417/8: Compiègne, capit. de; nommé audit mois & posséda cet office jusqu'a: 1422/6/18 quand il rendit la ville aux Anglais (pour racheter la liberté de son frère Philippe ***) et alla suivre le parti du dauphin (**)
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 417 ***)
1417/8/3: Rouen, bailli de; nommé led.jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 107)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 42v & 50v)
épousa 1407/5/1 (contrat): Corbie, Marguerite de
(BN fr. 31925 fol. 17v)
fils de:
Gamaches, Guillaume sgr. de
épousa:
Fescamp, Marie de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 691)
1397-1405: dame d'honneur de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 190)
laq. épousa en 2ème noces: Esglantier, Jehan de l'
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 190)
1429/6/29: 1ère dame d'honneur de Marie d'Anjou à 600 l.t. de pension par an; retenue led. jour
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 192)

Gamaches, Jehan de
1408: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 191, ref.:
(BN P.O. 1273 Gamaches no. 22)
fils de:
Gamaches, Guillaume sgr. de; et Fescamp, Marie de

Garde, Pierre de la
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Bellegarde, Pierre de (voir)

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Gart, Laurant du (voir Jars, du)

Gay, Jehan le
1414-1415: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)
autres du nom:
Gay, Colart le
1419/11: peintre qui fait des travaux pour Phe.-le-B.
duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1422)
Gay, Raoul le
1411/6: a Coucy avec: Vertus, Philippe ct. de
(BN P.O. 2157 Orléans no. 471)
Gay, Raoullet le
1380/10, 1381, 1383, 1389: sommelier de
chapelle du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 45, 176, 224 & 236, 255)
1387: clerc en la chapelle du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes, p. 228)

Gelu, Jacques. mtre.
natif de "Ynodio Treverensis diocesis"
1391: mtre. en arts à l'Université de Paris
(Martène & Durand: Thesaurus, III (*), col. 1947)
1395: reçu bachelier en décrets (* col. 1947)
1402/3/11: reçu licencié en lois à Orléans
(* col. 1947)
1402/12/14: mtre. des requêtes de Louis
d'Orléans; retenu led. jour (* col. 1947)
1405/4/26: cons. au Parlement; élu led. jour
(* col. 1947)
1407/6 jusqu'à 1409/11: président du conseil
du Dauphiné (* col. 1948)
1410/4/27: cons. en la chambre des enquêtes au
Parlement; le duc de Guyenne l'envoye avec "autres ses
conseillers" prendre possession du duché de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 1306 Gelu no. 2)
1410/4/29-1410/8/6: cons. du duc de Guyenne; lesd. dates:
durée de son voyage en Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1410/12: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du
duc de Guyenne à 300 l.t. de pension par an (* col. 1948)
1412: cons. du roi & du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412/7/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne devant
Bourges (AD Isère: B 3585)
1412-1413, 1413/10-1414: cons. & mtre.
des requêtes de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 13, 15)
1413/9/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne a Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 271-2)
1414/10/5: "connerelem" de France; nommé par le
duc de Guyenne (* col. 1948)
1414/11/7: Tours, archévêque de; nommé led. jour;

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il reçut ces nouvelles à Paris 1414/11/18; fut reçu
1414/12/20; et consacré en la chapelle du roi à l'hostel
Saint Pol 1415/1/13 par: Paris, l'évêque de
(* cols. 1948-9)
1415/1/14: cons. du grand conseil du roi
retenu led. jour à 1000 l.t. de pension par an
(* col. 1949)
1415/5/30: président de l'ambassade du roi envoyée
à Constance au concile (* col. 1949)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 4v, 5, 17, 17v, 20v, 22)
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
son autobiographie publiée par:
(Martène & Durand: Thesaurus, III, cols. 1947-52)
(Dorange: Bull. Soc. Touraine, t. 3 (1877))

Gentilfemme, Belon la
1402, 1403: lavendière des enfants du roi
(AN KK 45 fol. 155v), (AN KK 46 fol. 19v)
peut-être de la même famille que le suivant

Gentilhomme, Colin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

Germain, Jaquet
1413, 1414-1415: de la sausserie du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 53v & 56 & 62, 82)
1422/7: garde de sausserie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 434)

Gibe, Guillemin la
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Gilequin
1414-1415: huissier de salle du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 103)

Gilliere, Jehan de la
1411/12/21: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AD Cote-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 110v)

Girart, Jehan
1414-1415: cons. & mtre. des requêtes
du duc de Guyenne envoyé à Constance devers le Pape
avec: Angennes, Jehan d' (BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)

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1415: cons. & 1er mtre. des requêtes
du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)

Girart, Pierre (Girard *) ("Pierre trompette" **)
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v *)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 105v **)

Giresmes, Regnault de, dit Cordelier
("Cordelier" *) ("Cordelier de Giresmes" **)
(Giresmes: Oise: près de Crépy)
(Longnon: Paris, p. 94 n. 7)
1407, 1411, 1412, 1413/1-7, 1414-1415:
de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 11, 35 *, 42 & 50v, 68v, 101v **)
1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Etampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412/6-7: [écuyer d'honneur] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1413: il est peut-être l'un des "deux freres de Giresmes"
pris par les Cabochiens à Paris (Monstrelet, II, p. 345)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
probablement le même personnage que:
Giresme, Regnault de
1404: valet tranchant de Pierre de Navarre
à 13 fr. 5 s. 8 d.p. par mois
(BN fr. 7853 fol. 155v)
autres du nom:
Giresmes, Philippe de, dit Cordelier
("Cordelier de Giresme" *****)
1387, 1389: écuyer du corps du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713 *****, 721 *****)
1399/9/19: 1er écuyer du corps & mtre. de l'écurie
du roi; nommé led. jour (BN fr. 20684 p. 16)
1403, 1411/5: 1er écuyer du corps & mtre. de
l'écurie du roi (BN P.O. 1333 Giresme nos. 8, 11)
1411/12/17: 1er écuyer du corps & mtre. de
l'écurie du roi; remplacé led. jour par:
Kaernien, Jehan de (BN fr. 20684 p. 32)
1412/8/28: 1er écuyer du corps & mtre. de l'écurie
du roi; rétabli led. jour au lieu de feu:
Kaernien, Jehan de (BN fr. 20684 p. 38)

Giresmes, NN de ("le petit Cordellier" ***)
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 58 ***)
autres du nom:

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Giresmes, Charles de
1400: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166)
1407/11/28: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 1333 Giresme no. 15)
1412/7: prisonnier des Bourguignons à Lille relaché après le siège de Bourges
(Monstrelet, II, p. 292)
1412/12/3: chambellan du duc d'Orléans; revenu d'un voyage de Blois à Paris puis à Saint Omer devers: Saint Pol, Waleran ct. de; pour avoir la possession du chastel de Coucy (BN P.O. 1333 Giresme no. 18)
1414/12: chambellan du duc d'Orléans; pnt. à Montargis chez la reine pour la venue de: Bretagne, Jehanne duchesse de
(BN P.O. 2157 Orleans no. 494)
armoiries: une croix ancrée
(BN P.O. 1333 Giresme no. 16)

Giron, Jehan (Girou ?)
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52, 82)
autres du nom:
Giron, Jehan
panetier du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Delabarre: Etat, p. 140)

Gisarre, Thevenin (Gifarre ?)
1412/6-7: clerc du contreroulleur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 46v)

Givry, Jehan de
valet de porte du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Givry, Jehan de, dit le Galois
1414-1415: écuyer, page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Givry, le Galois de
1422/7: échanson du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 431)
autres du nom:
Givry, Jehan de, dit le Galois
1402, 1410/9/11: échanson du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
(BN P.O. 1272 Le Gallois 28581 no. 8)
Givry, Jehan de, dit le Galois
1412/10/14: écuyer d'honneur du roi;

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Saint Germain en Laye, concierge & garde du chastel de; &
Laye, Cruys, Fresnes, gruyer des forêts de;
nommé conc. et gruyer led. jour au lieu de son feu père:
Givry, Jehan de
remplacé; puis rétabli 1415/11/9 (*)
(BN fr. 9463 nos. 1232, 1234 *)

Givry, Estienne de
né a Givry (dioc. de Reims)
1395 à 1426: Troyes, évêque de
(Roserot de Melin: Dioc. de Troyes, p. 426)

Givry, Germain de
1413/9: huissier d'armes & mtre. de l'artillerie
du duc de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 251v)
1426: garde de l'artillerie du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 241 **)
épousa: Lodes, Odote fille de Guillaume (**)

Givry, Pierre de, dit le Galois
1410: écuyer du corps du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 789)

Givry, Pierre de, dit le petit Galois
1422: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)

Gobert, Pierre. mtre., dit de Sens ("Pierre de Sens" *)
1411-1413: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne et
valet de chambre du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Isère: B 3892 (cat.))
1412-1413: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v *)
1413/4/2: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AN J 369 B no. 20 *)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
(secretaire) du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 51v *, 58 *, 67v *, 101v *)
autres du nom:

Sens, Pierre de
1388: changeur du trésor a Paris; anobli aud. an
(BN lat. 18345 fol. 75)

Gobin, Loys
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 97)
autres du nom:

Gobin, Jehan
1422: aide de rost du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)

Gobin, Robinet
1387: de la fruiterie du roi (*)
1389: valet de fruiterie du roi (**)
1422: fruitier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704, 713 *, 721 **)

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Gobin, Thevenot
1389: sommelier de fruiterie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 721)

Godart, Guillemin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82)
autres du nom:
Godart, Jehan
1422: valet de nappes du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 430)
Godart, Pierre
1422/7: valet de chambre du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 439)

Goix, Thomas le
1411: boucher à Paris; "le boucher Legoix" est à la tête des Parisiens qui brûlent l'hostel de Bicêtre qui appartient à: Berry, Jehan duc de
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 521)
1412: av. le traité d'Auxerre il est l'un des "juges" établis pour examiner ceux soupçonnés d'être Armagnacs
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I (*), p. 357)
1413: boucher, de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 60 & 71v)
1414/1/27: banni de Paris comme Cabochien (* p. 367)
1415/10/8: pensionnaire du duc de Bourgogne qui led. jour lui donne 100 fr. de pension par an à commencer 1415/11/1 (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1588 fol. 143)
enfants:
1. Goix, Colette le (AN KK 228 fols. 60 & 71v)
2. Goix, Guiot le (Guillot **)
"ainsne filz" dud. T.
mort 1411/11 env. à Puiset, le
(Monstrelet, II, p. 230)
le Rel. de Saint Denis dit qu'il mourut apres avoir été ramené à Paris (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 583)
il laissa un fils qui était mineur en 1413/9:
Goix, Thomas le (Baye, II, p. 143 **)
3. Goix, Jehan le
1413: Vincennes, concierge & garde de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 402)
1419/10/16: trésorier de France; reçu led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 224)
4. Goix, Guillaume le
(Monstrelet, VI (Chron. Anon.), p. 219)
1419: emprisonné par les Armagnacs
(Journal Bourg. Paris, p. 37 n. 1)

Gommerville, Guillaume de
chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne

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(Pannier: Joyaux (tirage à part), p. 32 n. 1, réf.:
(BN fr. 20615 sans fol.)

Gosseguin, Jehan (voir Cocoz)

Gossuyn, Jehan
1415: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
probablement le même personnage que:
Gossouin
1412/1: clerc de chapelle du duc de Bourgogne
qui lui donne 6 fr. pour "lui aidier a paier les despens qu'il lui convient faire a estre bachelier en la faculte des ars" (AD Côte d'Or: B 1570 fol. 197v)

Gouge, Martin (Gouge de Charpaigne *)
mort 1444/10/8 (*)
natif de Bourges (*)
1404, 1408/3: trésorier général du duc de Berry
(Lehoux, III, p. 13, 124 n. 4)
1408/3/10: Chartres, évêque de; nommé par Benoît XIII; nomination acceptée par Charles VI 1408/6/5
(Lehoux, III, p. 127 n. 4)
1409: cons. général de la cour des aides; il ne tenait plus cet office 1410/2/21
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932, p. 268)
1409/10/7: arrêté à Paris en même temps que J. de Montagu mais relaché peu après (Lehoux, III, p. 156)
1414/11-12: conseiller du duc de Guyenne qu'il accompagna à Mehun-sur-Yèvre (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1415: Clermont. évêque de; élu audit an (*)
1415/1/13: chancelier du duc de Guyenne; nommé led. jour (BN fr. 22365 p. 20)
1415: chancelier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 24, 25v deux fois)
1415/9-11: en Normandie avec le duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
1416/5/25: nommé executeur du testament du duc de Berry
(Lehoux, III, p. 404 n. 5)
1422/2/3-1426/11/8: chancelier de Charles VII
(Longnon: Paris, p. 88 n. 4 *)
frère puîné de (**):
Gouge de Charpaignes, Jehan
mort 1402 (**)
1389-1390: secrétaire & trésorier du duc de Berry et: Poitou, receveur des aides en
(Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 137 n. 1 **)
1401: trésorier du duc de Berry
(BN Coll. Clairambault 834 p. 1417)

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Goul, Jehan du
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 58v & 67v, 104)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Goul, Jehan du
1412-1413: commis au fait de la recepte générale des aides (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1418: changeur & bourgeois de Paris; emprisonné à la rentrée des Bourguignons à Paris (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Pre. de Gorremont, p. 266-7)

Gramez, Jaquet de
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes du duc de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes" (AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

Grantrue, Pierre de
1411: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (AN J 281 no. 3)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: [valet de chambre] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 52 & 52v, 60 & 71v, 107v)
1412/6-7: [valet de chambre] du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1414-1415: épicier & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 8, 25v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Grantrue, Pierre de
1415/4/18: échevin de Paris; élu led. jour; remplacé 1415/10/10 (*)
(AN KK 1009 fols. 1v, 2.*)
autres du nom:
Grantrue, Jehan de
1387: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 711-2)

Grantsire, Guillaume
1409-1410: clerc de: Hue, Jehan; leq. J. H. était secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 4v)

Grasset, Estienne, mtre.
1410/5/8: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne led. jour (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 138v)
1410/9/2: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 25v)
1412, 1413: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 41v & 42v & 43v, 57v & 67v)

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1412: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1414/3/8: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne et
Paris, chanoine de ND de
(AN LL 111 p. 295)
1415/11/23: 1er secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 397)
1417: cons. du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6817)
1418/7/22: cons. & mtre. des requêtes
de l'hostel du roi; institué led. jour
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 694, ref.:
(Ordonnances, X, p. 461)

Grosmolin, Jaquet
1414-1415: probablement garde des tentes du duc
de Guyenne car il reçoit "gaiges de tentes"
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Gruyer, Jehan
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83)

Guerart, Jehan (Guerard *)
1414-1415: general mtre. des oeuvres du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v *)
autres du nom:
Guerart, Gilbert
1387/7/1: valet de chambre de la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes (*), p. 233)
1387/7/31: sommelier du corps de la reine (* p. 150)
1389-1390: valet de chambre de la reine
(Musée Conde ms. 1125 fol. 30)
1399: 1er valet de chambre de la reine
(AN KK 41 fol. 222v)

Guibert, Guillaume (Guillemin *)
1407: clerc de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne; anobli
(BN lat. 18345 fol. 102v, réf.: AN JJ 162 no. 193 bis)
1409: clerc de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 3623 no. 234)
1412/6-7: [clerc] de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1407, 1413, 1414-1415: [clerc] de l'écurie
du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 10v *, 56v * & 66v *, 96v)
1415: clerc d'offices du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres du nom:

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Guibert, Guillaume
1410/8: écuyer au service en Italie de:
Boucicaut, le maréchal (Valois: Schisme, IV, p. 133 n. 5)
Guibert, Estienne
1413/10/27: Melun, lieutenant du bailli de
(AN T 167(5))

Guillaume, Perrin
1412/6-7: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 40v)
autres du nom:
Guillaume, Jehan
1418/11: clerc du controleur de la chambre aux
deniers du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 982)

Guillaut
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Guillemetz ("Guillemetz le saussier" *)
("Guillemetz saussier" **) ("Guillemetz le saulsier" ***)
1407, 1408, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415:
de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
son office était: saussier du duc car en 1413 il reçoit
de l'argent "pour le fait de sausserie" (****)
(AN KK 228 fols. 8v, 16 ***, 33 *, 39 * & 48 *, 54 * &
56 * & **** & 62 *, 83 **)

Guillot, Perrin
1414-1415: valet de porte du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
autres du nom:
Guillot, Laurent ("Laurent de Premierfait")
mort 1418
premier traducteur français des oeuvres de Boccace;
sur sa vie voir: (Famiglietti: Journal)

Guy
1414-1415: fourrier d'échansonnerie du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Hacquennot, Hincelin ("Hancelin de Haquenoe" *)
1409-1410: enlumineur a Paris qui reçoit 350 l.t.
pour un livre d'heures de N.D. à l'usage de Paris avec 36
miniatures, 2 fermails d'or garnis d'un petit balay, un
saphir et six perles (pour le duc de Guyenne semble-t-il)

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(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
enlumineur & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v *)

Hainaut, le sénéchal du (voir Werchin, Jehan de)

Halle, Godefroy
orfèvre & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
1412, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415:
orfèvre & valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 7v, 15v, 20, 25v deux fois)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5v, 8)

Hallebroc, Richart
1412, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: écuyer, 1er fauconnier du duc de Guyenne (à 300 l.t. de gages par an*)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8v, 15v *, 19v * & 22)
autres du nom:
Hallebroc, Annorte de
morte av. 1416/10/6 (*)
1403, 1404, 1405: damoiselle d'Isabelle de France (Grandeau: Dames, p. 195 *)
1407-1408/6: femme de chambre de la reine (*)
1408/7-1416: damoiselle de la reine (*)

Hangest, Aubert de
Arzillieres, sgr. d'
Dampierre, sgr. de
Landricourt, sgr. de
1412, 1414: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 742 *)
1417: toujours vivant (*)
épousa 1409 (*): Roye, Jehanne de
fils de:
Hangest, Roques de
Blaise, sgr. de
épousa: Arzillieres, Catherine d' (*)

Hanieres, Pierre
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)

Hannart (voir Engreban)

Harcourt, Jehan comte de
ne 1370; mort 1452

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(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V, p. 134 **)
neveu de Charles V
Harcourt, comte de
Groslay, sgr. de
Groslay relevait du comté d'Évreux
(AN P 269.2 no. 432)
1410: vient à Paris suivant la semonce du roi, mais doit rentrer chez lui à cause de sa santé; le roi lui donne permission de se faire accompagner par 40 ou 50 gentilshommes de son hostel; il laisse le surplus pour servir le roi
(Contamine: Guerre, p. 224-5, réf.:
(BN Coll. Duchesne 90, fols. 29-30)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
épousa 1389: Alencon, Marie d' (**)
enfants: plusieurs parmi lesquels:
1. Harcourt, Jehan de
né 1396; mort 1424 (**)
Aumale, comte d' (1417 *)
1417/8/15: Rouen, capit. de; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 222 *)
fils de:
Harcourt, Jehan ct. de
mort 1388/2 v.s.?
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V (**), p. 132)
épousa: Bourbon, Catherine de
enfants: 10 dont:
1. Harcourt, Jehan ct. de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Harcourt, Marguerite de; nee 1378; épousa: Estouteville, Jehan sgr. d' (** p. 133)

Hardivillier, Mahiet de
1407: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 8v)

Harlay, Guillemin de
1412, 1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52, 59 & 68v)

Harnier, Guillemin
1413: sommelier de fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 66)
1414-1415: chaufecire du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 90)

Harnier, Pierre
1407, 1412: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 10, 49)
1412/6-7: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne

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pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1414-1415: fruitier du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 89v)

Harpeur, Colinet le (voir Julien, Colinet)

Harville, Guillaume de
1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 66v, 91)
probablement le suivant ou son fils:
Harville, Guillaume de (dit Tetine *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (**)
Harville en Beauce, sgr. de (**)
1407/11/23: écuyer du connetable de France
(Albret, Charles d'); qui l'envoya au soir dud. jour
annoncer le meurtre du duc d'Orléans au prévôt de Paris
(Collas: Valentine, p. 354 *)
1408/8/24: échanson du roi à 120 fr.
de pension par an (BN P.O. 1488 Harville no. 2)
armoiries: les mêmes que Jehan (voir ci-dessous) (**)
membre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(Bib. Vienne: Ms. 51 fol. 45v * (ref. CB))
épousa 1399: Brun, Jehanne le
(Durand: Soc. Eure-et-Loir, t. 12, p. 251-3)
enfants:
Harville, Guillaume de
Harville, sgr. de (apres Azincourt)
Palaiseau, sgr. de
épousa 1436: Couttes, Jehanne de
(BN P.O. 1488 Harville no. 127 **)

Harville, Jehan de
1411, 1412: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 9v)
1412/6-7: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413/1-7: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 53v)
armoiries: voir (BN fr. 5233 fol. 84v)
autres du nom:
Harville, Jehan de
1452/7: Moudonville la Jeulain, sgr. de; écuyer
épousa av. 1452: Crouy, Jaquette de
(BN P.O. 1488 Harville no. 4)
Harville, Philippot de (Herville *)
1389/11/5: écuyer de l'hostel de Louis d'Orléans qui
lui donné led. jour 100 fr. pour accompagner l'expédition
de Prusse (Graves: Pièces, p. 27 *)

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Havart, Jehan (Hamart *)
1412: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 47v *)
1412-1413: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 13)
1413/6-8: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 13v)
1413/10/1: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne
pnt. aux joustes dud. jour ordonnées par le roi
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1414-1415, 1415: écuyer tranchant du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 23, 27)
1420, 1426: écuyer tranchant de Charles VII
(BN P.O. 1494 Havart 33850 nos. 3, 4)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 61, 74)
autres du nom:
Havart, Guillemin
1422: fauconnier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Havart, Hannotin
1419: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 887)

Haversquerque, Pierre de (Havesquerque *)
(Havesquerke **) (Havesquercque ***)
1410-1411, 1414-1415: panetier du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 23v)
1407, 1407-1408, 1413, 1414-1415:
de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 7v **, 13 **, 53 * & 61 ***, 73 *)
peut-etre le fils de:
Havesquerque, Pierre de
(Haverskerque: Nord: arr. Dunkerque, c. Merville)
Basse, sgr. de (1403 ****) (Nord)
1403/11/19: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
qui lui donne 40 fr. de gages pour un mois pour le servir
en Lombardie (BN P.O. 1494 Havesquerque no. 4)
1405/3/14: chambellan du roi & de Louis
d'Orléans et: Ardre, capit. d'; au lieu de:
Norren, Jehan de; Ront, sgr. de
led. P. nommé led. jour (BN P.O. 1494 Havesquerque no. 7)
1408/4/10: quittance dud. Pre. des 300 fr. à lui donnés
1405/11/26 par le duc de Bourgogne pour aider à payer sa
rançon aux Anglais (AD Côte-d'Or: B 11886)
1410, 1411/2/1: Ardre, capit. d'
(BN P.O. 1494 Havesquerque nos. 9-13, 14)
autres du nom:
Havesquerque, Anthoine de
Fontaines, sgr. de (1420)
Flechin, sgr. de (1420)
1420: chlr., cons. & chambellan du duc de
Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1113)

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probablement celui du même nom dont on parle dans un doc. de 1404/1 disant que son grand-père fut:
Mornay, Jehan de (BN Coll. Dupuy 231 fol. 299)

Havesquergue, Francois de
1417/1: Alost, bailli d'
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6618)
1417/3/25: Gand, bailli de; nommé led. jour
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6636)

Havesquergue, Jehan de
Wastenes, sgr. de (1378)
Liestes, sgr. de (1378)
Liestes: mouvant du chastel de Lillers
1378/11/29: rend aveu au roi du fief de Liestes qu'il tient à cause de sa femme: Wastenes, la dame de
(Witasse: Cat., p. 109)
autres mentions: (AN P 137 fol. 45v de la section finale)

Havesquergue, Loys de
1417/1/11: Courtray, bailli de; institué led. jour
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6655)
1420/1: Bruges, bailli de; écuyer
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 2e fasc., no. 9016)

Haye, Jehan de la, dit Picquet
Haye, sgr. de la (au bailliage de Cotentin, dans le vicomté de Carentan)
(BN P.O. 1496 Haye-Hue no. 12. ce doc. est mal classé car led. J. ne portait pas les armoiries de cette famille)
son aveu pour lad. sgrie. est rendu au roi 1406/10
(Brussel: Soc. Archéol. Manche, t. 18, p. 35)
ses armoiries: d'argent à la croix de gueules, accompagnée de quatre lions de sable (Moranvillé: Songe, p. 156)
voir aussi pour ses armoiries:
(BN P.O. 2289 Piquet no. 16) &
(Demay: Sceaux Clairambault, no. 6139)
1401/10: écuyer, cons. du roi et
Valognes, capit. de (BN P.O. 2289 Piquet no. 10)
1403: écuyer du corps du roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 291. cet auteur ne sait pas que J. Piquet est J. de la Haye)
1407/12/9: cons. du grand et "estroit" conseil du roi à 1000 l.p. de gages par an; retenu led. jour; il avait été autrefois (et avait été déchargé à sa requête): cons. sur le fait des aides (BN P.O. 2289 Piquet no. 38)
1408/11/20: gouverneur de la depense des hostels du roi, de la reine & du duc de Guyenne et conseiller du roi; exerce led. office de gouv. avec:
Montagu, Jehan de (BN fr. 26288 no. 275)
1411/5/15: cons. du roi et: Valognes, capit. de
(BN P.O. 2289 Piquet no. 16)
1413/1/1: cons. du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
1413/10-1414:
cons. du roi & du duc de Guyenne et gouv. de la depense

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des hostels du roi, de la reine & du duc de Guyenne
reçoit 1000 l.t. du duc de Guyenne car il a travaillé pour
lui sans gages ni pension (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1414/1/1: écuyer, cons. du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1414/9/24: gouverneur sur le fait des monnaies
nommé led. jour avec d'autres (Ordonnances, X, p. 221-3)
1415: écuyer, cons. du roi
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
1415/11/9: Valognes, capit. de; reçoit gages pour
led. office jusqu'à ce jour (BN P.O. 2289 Piquet no. 52)
1419: se réfugia avec sa femme en Bretagne
(Longnon: Paris, p. 211)
1421: se réfugia à: Rochelle, la
(Moranvillé: Songe, p. 156)
membre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(Moranvillé: Songe, p. 156)
épousa av. 1410: Puis, Jehanne du
(BN fr. 3623 no. 248 (ref. CB))
laq. était soeur de: Puis, Philippe du. mtre.
et veuve de: Brulart, Nicolas
(Longnon: Paris, p. 178 n. 3, réf.:
(Sauval, III, p. 328 & 565)
elle avait 70 ans "ou env." en 1426/5
(Longnon: Paris, p. 211, réf.: AN JJ 173 no. 410)

Heilly, Jacques sgr. de
1408/1/23: chlr. chambellan du roi et
Beauquesne, capit. de (Somme)
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 104, ref.:
(BN Coll. Clairambault 59 p. 4487)
1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liège
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 153)
1409/12: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Bourgogne; le roi ordonne qu'on paye
2500 fr. restants des 3000 fr. qu'il avait donnés aud. J.
1405/12/26 pour lui aider à payer sa rançon aux Anglais
(BN P.O. 1502 Heilly no. 6)
1410/5: chambellan du roi & du duc de
Bourgogne (BN P.O. 2613 Saligny no. 11)
1410/9/23: maréchal du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Clairambault 169 no. 41 (fichier))
1411/2/8: cons. du duc de Guyenne;
au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris led. jour
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 27v)
1411/5: dénoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme son ennemi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 118)
1411/5/14: Rochelle, gouverneur de la
led. jour prêta serment au Parlement et fut reçu
(AN X.1a 4789 fol. 111v)
1412: commande une armée en Poitou; prend:
Poitiers; Chasteaudun; et autres lieux
(Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 231-2 n. voir:

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(AN X.2a 16 fol. 192)
1412/6-7: maréchal de France pendant l'absence de Boucicaut pendant l'expédition de Bourges (Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 230 n. 1)
1412/12-1413/1: Guyenne, lieutenant du roi en; nommé pendant led. temps (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 420)
1413/1: maréchal du duc de Guyenne (AN JJ 168 fols. 74-v)
1413/1: envoyé en Guyenne ramener à l'obéissance les sgrs. qui sont devenus partisans des Anglais
1413/2/8: à Pons signe un traité avec:
Pons, Regnault de: Turenne, vicomte de (Lacour: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 48, p. 88)
1413/4 env.: marche avec les Cabochiens contre:
Essarts, Pierre des; qu'il détestait (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 13)
1413/6/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris (Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 55)
1413/7/22: à Parthenay led. jour; il avait été envoyé en Guyenne pour chasser les Anglais (Coville: Cabochiens, p. 334 n. 1, réf.: BN fr. 20437 fol. 57)
1413: pris par les Anglais lorsqu'il mettait le siège devant Soubise; emprisonné à Bordeaux (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 67)
1413/12: prisonnier des Anglais (Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 6 n.)
1414/1/19: Rochelle, gouverneur de la; remplacé led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 301)
1415/10/25 pris à Azincourt puis mis à mort sous prétexte qu'il s'était échappé vers 1413 (Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 230 n.1)
mort sans enfants (**)
fils de:
Heilly, Jacques sgr. de, (dit le boiteux *)
épousa: Raineval, Ade de
enfants:
1. Heilly, Jacques sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Heilly, Agnes dame de; épousa:
a. 1407 Bailleul, Jehan de
b. Inchy, Baugeois d'
3. Heilly, Peronne de; morte sans enfants (BN P.O. 1502 Heilly no. 43 ** (voir aussi no. 9 *))

Hellande, Huguet de
1412/6-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 47v)

Hellande, Robert sgr. de
Lamberville, sgr. de (Seine-Maritime: arr. Dieppe, c. Bacqueville-en-Caux)

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1399/11: Pont de l'Arche, capit. du; institué led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 215)
1412/6-7: chambellan du roi pendant l'expedition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 866)
1413/10/3: chambellan du roi (BN P.O. 335 Bezu no. 10)
1414/3/24: Rouen, bailli de; institué led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 106-7)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne appelle: Msgr. de Lamberville (AN KK 228 fol. 107)
1415/8: Rouen, bailli de; envoyé de Rouen à Paris par le connestable "exposer certaines choses" au roi concernant les Anglais (BN fr. 26040 no. 4971)

Hellande, Robert de
1413/7-12: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 61)

Hemart, Jacques
1413/10-1414: chapellain du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15v)

Hemart, Jehan (Hemard *)
1414-1415: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du duc de Guyenne à 100 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v *)
probablement l'un des suivants:
Hemart, Jehan (l'aisne)
1407-1417: avocat au trésor (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 253)
Hemart, Jehan (le jeune)
1408, 1414: avocat du roi au Parlement (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 253 *)
1413, 1414: avocat du roi au trésor (*)

Hennart (voir Engreban)

Hennequin
1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 66v)
peut-etre un des suivants:
Bonnecourse, Hennequin
1415: chevaucheur du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 149)
Chevaucheur, Hennequin le
1418/6: au service (probablement chevaucheur) de la reine a Troyes (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 395.S)

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Haye, Hennequin de la
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 400 & p. 163 n.)
Noyart, Hennequin
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 438 & p. 163 n.)
Hennequin pourrait être aussi un nom de famille comme dans le cas suivant:
Hennequin, Pierre
1418: sergent à verge à Paris; dont on faisait l'inventaire des biens [confisqués ?]
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 622)

Henriet
1414-1415: chevaucheur du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Heuse, Regnault (Heuzay *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 49v, 57, 95v *)

Heze, Perrin de la (Pierre *)
1407, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 8, 76v *)
probablement le même personnage que:
Heze, Perrinet de la
1402: aide de l'échansonnerie du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
autres du nom:
Heze, Paulet de la
1402: aide de l'échansonnerie du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)

Hideux, Jehan (Hydeux *)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 33v, 39 & 48v, 54 * & 62, 83v)

Hissebert, Andriet de
1405-1406: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 3v)

Hissebert, Girart de
1405-1406: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 3v)

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Hospital, Francois de l' (Lospital *)
mort 1427/11/24 (** p. 261)
Soisy aux Loges, sgr. de
Ouzouers, sgr. d'
(Tartarin: Mem. Soc. Orl., t. 27 (**), p. 259)
1390: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(** p. 259)
1400: mtre. & enquêteur des Eaux & Forêts de France,
Champagne, et Brie (** p. 259)
1401/1: chlr. chambellan du roi & de Louis
d'Orléans (AN P 8 no. 245 *)
1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11 *)
1407: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne (** p. 259)
1413/3/14: cons. & chambellan du duc
d'Orléans à 1000 fr. de pension par an
(BN fr. 6211 no. 286)
1413/10-1414: chambellan du duc d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6211 no. 289)
1416/5/1: chambellan du roi et grand mtre.
d'hostel de la reine (** p. 287)
1416/10/10: Crèvecoeur-en-Brie, capit. de
remplacé led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 120)
1421: chambellan du dauphin Charles (** p. 260)
1425: mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII (** p. 260)
épousa: Orfevre, Catherine l'; fille de:
Orfevre, Pierre l'; chancelier d'Orléans (** p. 261)
enfants:
1. Hospital, Jehan de l' (** p. 261)
2. Hospital, Catherine de l'; epousa:
Courtenay, Jehan de (** p. 261)
fils de:
Hospital, Jehan de l'
né au royaume de Naples (** p. 254)
mort 1376/12/23
(Tartarin: Mem. Soc. Orl., t. 27 (**), p. 256)
1362: prévôt de Melun (** p. 257)
épousa av. 1357 (** p. 255): Braque, Jehanne
morte av 1396/9 (** p. 256)
laq. avait épousé en 2e noces: Beaumont, Philippe de
enfants:
1. Hospital, Francois de l' (voir ci-dessus)
2. Hospital, Jacques de l'; ecuyer en 1402
3. Hospital, Agnes de l'; épousa av. 1402:
Beaumont, Jehan de; écuyer en 1402; et
grand écuyer du duc de Berry (** p. 258)
4. Hospital, Nicolle de l'; épousa av. 1402:
Bouteiller, Anceau le; écuyer en 1402
(BN P.O. 493 Bracque no. 323 (cahier imprime) p. 23)
autres enfants mentionnés ** p. 258:
5. Hospital, Jehan de l'
6. Hospital, Catherine de l'; épousa:
Fontenay, Nicolas de (voir)
7. Hospital, Gillette de l'; morte jeune

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8. Hospital, Marquerite de l'; morte jeune

Houbert, Mahiet (Houbart *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 48, 62, 80v *)

Houderon, Jehan, l'ainsne
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 106v)
J. ou bien J. le jeune tenait l'office de portier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Houderon, Jehan, le jeune
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 108)

Huchon
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Hue, Jehan. mtre.
natif d'Avallon (*)
1381/1/11 v.s.?: clerc de chapelle & valet de chambre du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 196)
1382: secrétaire & garde des joyaux du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 24 fol. 79)
1387: secrétaire du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes, p. 251)
1389, 1391: secrétaire du roi (BN P.O. 1544 Hue no. 2)
1398: secrétaire du roi & du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 259)
1409-1410: secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne; son clerc: Grantsire, Guillaume (voir) (BN fr. 32511 fol. 4v)
1410/5/8, 1410/5/25, 1410/6/3: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne; signe lettres du duc de Guyenne (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 258, 52v, 13v)
1412: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de gages par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1413/8/22: Avallon, archidiacre d'; reçoit avec d'autres gens les pouvoirs pour conclure une prolongation des trêves avec l'Angleterre (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 336 n. 5)
1417/8-9: notaire du roi au Parlement parmi les gens soupçonnés d'être partisans du duc de Bourgogne et chassés de Paris (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 392-3)

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1418/8/2: notaire & secrétaire du roi;
nommé led. jour (Ordonnances, X, p. 463)
1419: clerc, notaire et secrétaire
du roi (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 311)
1419/10: Autun, doyen d'; et conseiller
du duc de Bourgogne; part d'Autun 1419/10/14 mandé par
la duchesse; va à Dijon et puis à Troyes pour assister
au conseil du roi; il part de Troyes pour rentrer chez
lui 1420/5/2
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 5009)

Huniquier, Jehan ("Jehannin Hung'" *)
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82 *)
valet de sausserie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Hurlin
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)

Hury, Jehan
1414-1415: pasticier du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81)

Hutin, Pierre
1414/11-12: chapellain d'honneur du duc de
Guyenne et chapellain & secrétaire de: Gouge, Martin
led. P. a célébré et chanté messes devant le duc au
voyage de Bourges (& de Mehun-sur-Yèvre)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1422/11: chapellain de Charles VII
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 798)

Issy, Bureau d' (voir Dicy)

Ivry, Charles d'
mort 1421 (semble-t-il) en Picardie
(Moranville: Songe (*), p. 151)
Ivry, sgr. d' (à partir de 1368-1369)
(Mauduit: Ivry (**), p. 146)
Neauhou, sgr. de (Néhou)
lad. baronnie de N. lui fut donnée 1394
(BN fr. 31932 fol. 150)
Oissery, sgr. d'
Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte, sgr. de
lad. sgrie. lui fut donnée par le roi 1393/2-1394/9/15
(Delisle: Saint S.-le-V., p. 244)

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mais le roi revoqua ce don 1413/5/23
(Ordonnances, X, p. 78-9)
1377: enfant servant l'escuelle de Charles V
(* p. 148)
1382: tuteur de son frère Jehan (** p. 155 n. 1)
1386 env.: en Écosse avec l'admiral (** p. 483)
1389: chlr. tranchant du roi pendant le voyage
de Languedoc (* p. 148)
1390/4/26: chambellan du roi (** p. 483)
1403: parrain de Charles VII
(Rel. St. Denis, III, p. 69)
1405/2/3: cons. & chambellan du roi
fait hommage au roi d'Ivry; Oissery; et al.
(AN P 269.1 no. 34)
1410/4/3: le roi lui donne 2000 fr. pour lui aider
à payer les dépenses du voyage en Italie qu'il avait
fait avec: Anjou, Louis II duc d'
(BN P.O. 1561 Ivry no. 27)
1409-1410: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
qui lui fait un cadeau de noces (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415:
[chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 26v & 28v, 34v, 51v, 57v & 68, 101v)
1411: pnt. aux joustes de la Pentecote
(BN fr. 21809 no. 42)
1412/9/19: grand mtre. des Eaux & Forêts; nommé led.
jour; remplacé 1413/5/12; rétabli 1413/8/17
(* p. 150)
1414/9, 1415/4/7: souverain mtre. général
réformateur des Eaux & Forets de France
(BN P.O. 1561 Ivry nos. 36, 39)
1415/4: ambassadeur du roi envoyé au roi
d'Angleterre (* p. 151)
1415/10/25: pris à Azincourt et emprisonné à
Marck où il se trouve 1415/11/19
(AN X.1a 4791 fol. 3)
1416: pendant sa captivité son frère Jehan jouit
de la capitainerie des châteaux dont C. était capit.
(AN P 1913.2 nos. 23182, 23183, 23232)
1416/12/29: son frère Jehan fait hommage au roi de:
Ivry; Oissery; et al. (ainsi on se demande si
C. était mort ou si son frere jouissait des sgries.
comme des capitaineries susdites)
(AN P 269.1 no. 141)
mort sans enfants
épousa A. av. 1388: Savoisy, Catherine de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 551)
épousa B. 1409-1410: NN
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
fils de:
Ivry, Guillaume sgr. d'
mort av. 1369/12/7 (BN P.O. 1561 Ivry no. 7)
1364/4/2 n.s.?: Breval, capit. de
(La Gorgue-Rosny, IV, p. 257)

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épousa: Montmorency, Marie de; laq. épousa en secondes
noces av. 1373: Chastillon, Jehan sgr. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, III, p. 573)
enfants:
1. Ivry, Charles sgr. d' (voir ci-dessus)
2. Ivry, Jehan sgr. d' (voir ci-dessous)
frere dudit Guillaume:
Ivry, Charles d'
Breuilpont, sgr. de
mort av. 1381/5/3 (***)
1369: Ivry, capit. du chastel d'
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 350)
1379: chlr. chambellan de Charles V
(Mauduit: Ivry (**), p. 152 n. 2)
épousa: Vendome, Jehanne de; veuve 1371/5 de:
Vieuxpont, Jehan sgr. de
laq. épousa en 3ème noces av. 1382/5/18:
Eu, Jehan le Senechal d', le jeune
(Durand: Mém. Soc. Eure-et-Loire, t. 12, p. 253-4 ***)

Ivry, Jehan d'
Rosny, sgr. de
Ivry, sgr. d' (1416/12/29)
(AN P 269.1 no. 141)
mineur en 1382 (Mauduit: Ivry (**), p. 155 n.1)
1412/6-7: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412: Cotentin, bailli de
(BN P.O. 1561 Ivry no. 37)
1414: de l'hostel du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 36v)
1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne.
(AN KK 228 fol. 102)
1416/12/19: Nehou & Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte,
capit. de; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 279)
1416/12/19: chambellan du roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 289-90)
épousa:
A. av. 1396/10: Harcourt, Beatrix de
(Bertrandy-Lacabane: Blaru, p. 7 ****)
laq. vivait 1400 (La Roque: Harcourt, IV, p. 1260)
B. (contrat 1402/6/2): Saquainville, Ide de (****)
mort sans enfants; la baronnie d'Ivry passa a:
Marcilly, Catherine de; fille de:
Ivry, Guillemette d'; (morte av. 1387)
(Lebeurrier: Soc. Libre Eure, 3ème s., t. 1, p. 429 n.1)
fils de: Ivry, Guillaume sgr. d' (voir ci-dessus)

Jaligny, Msgr. de (voir Dauphin, Guichart)

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Japuye, Jehan
1414-1415: receveur de Saintonge et de: Rochelle, la; pour le duc de Guyenne; nommé pendant led. temps (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)

Jardins, Jehan des
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Jars, Laurent du (Gars *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 202)
1409/3/6: écuyer d'écurie du roi & du duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 1572 du Jars no. 3)
1410/5/3: Carmaignoles, capit. de; nomination confirmée led. jour par le duc de Guyenne (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 196-7)
1410-1411: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne; il "doit faire" un voyage en Prusse (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6 *)
1412/3/4: écuyer d'écurie du duc d'Orléans va pntement. en Aragon pour "besongnes secretes" du duc (BN fr. 26038 no. 4578 (quittance signée))
1413/3/15: écuyer d'écurie du duc d'Orléans; il a fait pour le duc un voyage devers: Boucicaut, Geoffroy (BN P.O. 1572 du Jars no. 5)
1413/7/27: écuyer d'écurie du duc d'Orléans (BN fr. 26039 no. 4776)
1414: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne; il porta l'étandart du duc à la prise de Soissons (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414-1415: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 21v & 23v)
1415/6/24: écuyer [d'écurie] du roi & du duc de Guyenne; Sens & Auxerre, bailli & capit. de; institué led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 202)
écuyer d'honneur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI (BN fr. 5233 fol. 76)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 6v, 12v)

Jaumont, Jehan de (Jeumont *)
1414-1415: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
1414-1415: huissier d'armes du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v *)

Jonannes
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 105)

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Jouvenel, Denys
échanson du duc de Guyenne
fils de: Jouvenel, Jehan (voir ci-dessous)
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 661)

Jouvenel, Jehan
né 1360; mort 1431/4/1
(Batiffol: Jouvenel (*), p. 36, 266)
étudia droit civil a : Orléans, l'Université d' (* p. 56)
1381: cons. au Chastellet; nommé aud. an (* p. 60)
1389/1/27: prévôt des Marchands; nommé led. jour
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5877 (Menant XIII), fol. 116v)
1390: avocat au Parlement; 1ère mention trouvée (* p. 72)
1394 env.: avocat au Parlement des ducs
de Bourgogne & d'Orléans (* p. 125-6, 129)
1398: cons. & avocat au Parlement de Louis
d'Orléans (BN fr. 6212 no. 476)
1399/4/12: prévôt des Marchands; remplacé led. jour
par: Ailgembourse, Jehan. mtre. (BN fr. 20684 p. 17)
1400: avocat du roi; nommé aud. an (* p. 132)
1404: conseiller du duc de Berry
(Lehoux, III, p. 29 n. 2)
1404-1405: cons. & avocat de Louis d'Orléans
à 20 l.t. par an (AN KK 267 fol. 62)
1407: cons. au Parlement de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1593 Jouvenel no. 3)
1408: avocat de Valentine duch. d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1593 Jouvenel no. 6)
1409/3/29: cons. & avocat au
Parlement du roi & du ct. de Nevers
(BN P.O. 1593 Jouvenel no. 7)
1411/2/28: cons. de la cour des aides
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932, p. 276)
1413/8/13: chancelier du duc de Guyenne;
nommé led. jour (BN fr. 22365 p. 19);
et remplacé 1415/1/13 (BN fr. 22365 p. 20)
1414/1/19: cons. du roi & chancelier du duc
de Guyenne (BN P.O. 1593 Jouvenel no. 8)
1414/1/21: Grand Palais, concierge du; nommé led.
jour au lieu de: Brimeu, David de
prêta serment en Parlement 1414/2/5; reçu 1414/3/14;
(BN fr. 20684 p. 51)
ses gages comme concierge: 400 l. par an
(BN fr. 2836 fol. 122v: donne liste de ses droits)
1414: accompagna le duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition à
Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
1414/9/24: gouverneur sur le fait des monnaies
nommé led. jour avec d'autres (Ordonnances, X, p.221-3)
1415/9: cons. du duc de Guyenne à 900 l.t. de
pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16, 20, 21v)
1415, 1416: cons. général de la cour des aides
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932, p. 276)

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1417, 1418: président des généraux de la cour des aides (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932, p. 276)
1419, 1420: président au Parlement de Poitiers (Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932, p. 276)
épousa 1386: Vitry, Michelle de (* p. 66)
enfants: 11 dont:
1. Jouvenel, Jehan
auteur d'une histoire du règne de Charles VI
Beauvais, évêque de
Laon, évêque de
Reims, archevêque de
2. Jouvenel, Denys (voir ci-dessus)
fils de:
Jouvenel, Pierre
drapier demeurant à Troyes (* p. 8)
épousa: la fille de: Assenay, NN baron d' (* p. 20)

Julien, Colinet ("Colinet le harpeur" *)
1406, 1407, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 6 *, 11 *, 35, 42 *, 58 * & 67v *, 106v *)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1412-1413: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
1411: harpeur (AN KK 228 fol. 35)
autres mentions: (AN KK 43 fol. 93), (AN KK 45 fol. 70)
autres du nom:
Julien, Perrenet ("Pierre Julienne" *)
1418, 1419: harpeur & valet de chambre du roi (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 283, 809 *)

Juvigny, Poinconnet de
1407, 1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 10v, 57)

Kerhoc, Armuet de (Armel *) (Kerhoet **) (Arnoul ***) ("Kerhoc" ****)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 * & **)
1415: échanson du duc de Berry; le duc de Guyenne lui donne 100 l.t. pour "soy monter" pour l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 24 ***)
1416: échanson du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. x ****)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 477v)
autres du nom:
Karehoc (Karehot *****)
1416: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Berry (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 779)

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(Lacour: Gouv., p. xi *****)

Kermellec, Yvon de (Carmaret *) (Carmaley **)
(Carmelet ***) (Kermelec ****) (Karmalet *****) (Carnelet ******)
1403/3/6 v.s.?: écuyer, chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 203 *****)
1412/1/2: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 243v **)
1412/6-7: [écuyer d'écurie] du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1414: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v ******)
1415: membre de l'ordre de chlrie. du duc de Bourbon (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 370)
1415/5/13: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne Longueville la Giffart, lieut. dud. duc capit. de; nommé lieut. led. jour (BN P.O. 1607 Kermellec no. 2 ****)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 96v ***)
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470 où son nom est donne fautivement comme: Carnavelet)

Lambert, Jacques
1366/9/2: monstre reçue à Orleans; avec 19 autres écuyers (* ils vont servir sous le duc de Berry "en ce pnt. voyage d'Angleterre") (BN P.O. 1627 Lambert à Paris nos. 2, 3 *)
1390: huissier d'armes du roi pendant l'expédition en Afrique de: Bourbon, Loys duc de (Atiya: Crusade Later, p. 521)
1410-1411: échanson du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1413/10-1414: écuyer, mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15)
1414: fait chlr. devant Soissons pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)
1414-1415: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
1414/12/28: "Voyronis", chastellain de; nommé led. jour par le gouv. du Dauphiné (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 130-v)
1415: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
1418: Vermandois, bailli de; et naguères prévôt de Paris (Petit: Itin., p. 613)
écuyer d'honneur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI (BN fr. 5233 fol. 80v (avec ses armoiries))
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
peut-être celui du meme nom qui était le neveu de: Flament, Jehan le (Sauval, III, p. 259)

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Landes, Jehan des, dit Boucaudry
mort 1437/3/6 v.s.?; enterré à Paris, ND de; Tours, prévôt de Mellien en l'eglise de Saint Martin de; cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi [Charles VII ?] (BN fr. 4617 p. 196)
1411: mtre. en arts; abandonne ses prétentions à: Tournay, les chanoinie & prébende de l'église de; à: Maire, Guillaume le. mtre. (AN X.1c 101 A no. 67)
1414/9/3: Paris, chanoine de ND de; reçu led. jour (AN LL 241 fol. 96)
1415: cons. mtre. clerc & auditeur des comptes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)

Landry, Lubin
1407-1408: prêtre, chapellain du duc de Guyenne à 30 l.t. par an pour sa pension & robes (AN KK 48 fol. 155)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412: chapellain du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 5v, 8v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 42)

Langlois, Guillemin
1412, 1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 41 & 49v, 57)
autres du nom:
Langlois, Gervaisot
1416: de l'hostel du duc de Berry (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)
Langlois, Simonnet
1416: valet de fruiterie du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. xi)

Lannoy, Hue de
ne vers 1384 (Leuridan: M.S.E.R., 3e sér., t. 7, p. 66)
1409: écuyer (AN JJ 164 fols. 21v-22)
1413/4: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 142v)
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 59)
1413/10: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne et Pont Ste. Maxence, garde de la tour & du (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 267v)
1414/1: chlr. bachelier dans l'armée du duc de Bourgogne qui marche sur Paris (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 275)
1414: Compiègne, garde de la ville de; pour le duc de Bourgogne pendant le siège que le roi y mit devant leq. led. H. prononce un discours plein d'arrogance (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 307-9)
1420: cons. & chambellan du roi (AN KK 17 fol. 64v)
1422/1/22: grand mtre. des arbalétriers de France;

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nommé led. jour
(Anselme: Hist. Geneal. France, VIII, p. 72)
mort sans enfants
frère dud. Hue:
Lannoy, Guillebert de
né vers 1380 (Saint Genois: Voyageurs (*), p. 130)
1399: fait ses premières armes pendant l'expédition à l'isle de Wight conduite par:
Saint Pol, Waleran ct. de (* p. 130)
1401: pèlerinage à Jerusalem (* p. 130)
1404: voyage en Aragon (* p. 130-1)
1405: au service de: Castille, Ferdinand de
en Grenade contre les Maures; après va au Portugal
(Serrure: G. de Lannoy (**), p. 7)
1407/11-1408: rentre à Paris (** p. 7)
1408/4: part pour aider: Castille, Ferdinand de
contre les Maures (** p. 8)
1409/5: échanson du duc de Bourgogne à Paris
(** p. 10)
1411: voyage en Prusse pour aider les chlrs. de l'ordre teutonique (* p. 132-3)
1413: emprisonné pendant un pèlerinage en Irlande où il reste env. 2 ans (* p. 133-4)
1414/10/18: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 300 fr.
pour aider à payer sa rançon (aux irlandais)
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1903 fol. 111v)
1414: chambellan du ct. de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 (cat.))
1416/12: chlr. cons. &
chambellan du duc de Bourgogne & du ct. de Charollais
(* et Escluse, capit. de l')
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., nos. 7679, 7247 *)
autre frère dud. Hue:
Lannoy, Baudin de, dit le Begue
1410: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 196v)
1414: échanson du ct. de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 (cat.))
1419/12/1: mandement du duc de Bourgogne pour le paiement de la vaisselle qu'il donna aud. B. le jour de ses noces
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1397)
1422/4/30: fait chlr. a Pierrepont
(Monstrelet, VI (Chron. Anon.), p. 313)
fils de: Lannoy, Hugues de; leq. mourut av. 1409
(Leuridan: M.S.E.R., 3e ser., t. 7, p. 66)

Lannoy, Thomas de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)
il n'est pas mentionné dans la généal. des Lannoy susdits
autres du nom:
Lannoy, Thomas de
mort av. 1405 (*)

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épousa: Hotte, Marie la; laq. vivait 1405 (*)
enfants:

Lannoy, Jacques de
mort av. 1405 (*)
1380: receveur des aides (*)
1391-1401: trésorier de France
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1935, p. 231 *)

Lantousses (?) ("Lantouss'" *)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v *)

Laonnois, le vidame de (voir Montagu, Charles de)

Laurans, Pierre
barbier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)

Laval, Guy XIII sgr. de
Laval, sgr. de (à partir de 1412/4)
(Mayenne: ch.-l. du dépt.)
son vrai nom etait: Montfort, Jehan de; mais il a pris le nom "Guy de Laval" en 1405 quand il épousa l'héritière de lad. sgrie; de 1405 à 1412/4 il portait le titre: Gavre, sgr. du
(Bertrand de Broussillon: Laval, II, p. 245-6; III, p. 4-5)
1410/10/12: écuyer banneret servant avec une compagnie de 4 chlrs. bacheliers, 12 ecuyers & 92 archers à Paris "et par tout ailleurs ou il plaira" au roi; il a été retenu à 500 hommes d'armes & 100 hommes de trait
(BN P.O. 1668 Laval 38772 no. 35)
1411/6/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 165)
1411/7/17: le duc de Guyenne l'appelle son cousin et lui donne 400 fr. pour les dépenses "que un chascun jour entour nous et nre. compaignie faire lui convient"
(BN P.O. 1668 Laval 38772 no. 39)
probablement le même don mentionné: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42, 59, 68v)
1413/9/29: le duc de Bourgogne à Saint Omer donne 9 escus à: Monstereul, Mace de; serviteur dud. G.; led. M. avait amené devers lui 2 lévriers envoyés par led. G.
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 136v)
1413: alla en Terre Sainte
1414/8/12: mourut à Rhodes
(Bertrand de Broussillon: Laval, III, p. 4-5)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
épousa 1405: Laval, Anne de

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Lenfant, Thevenin
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)
1415: clerc d'offices du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Lenfant, Thevenin
1401: au service de la reine qui l'envoye à Gisors quérir de l'argent pour la despense de son hostel
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 162)
autres du nom:
Lenfant, Thevenin
1420: marchand à Paris
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 277)
Lenfant, Henry
1381: sergent d'armes du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 51)
1394/1/17: sergent d'armes du roi
(AN P 2296 p. 959)

Lens, le chastellain de (voir Recourt, Jehan de)

Lerchalart, Nicole (voir Leschallart)

Lescalle, Berthelemy de, (voir Scala)

Leschallart, Nicolle (Lerchalart *) (Eschalart **)
mort 1422/3/14
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1932 (***), p. 280)
1409/12/12: avocat au Parlement
(Baye: Journal, I, p. 303 **)
1411/9/23: cons. général sur la justice des aides; recu led. jour (*** p. 279 **)
1412, 1413, 1415, 1416: général de la cour des aides (*** p. 279-80 **)
1414-1415: cons. sur le fait des aides et mtre. des requêtes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23 *)
1418-1422: cons. lai au Parlement de Poitiers
(*** p. 280 **)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471v)
épousa av. 1410: Jouvenel, Jehanne; fille de:
Jouvenel, Jehan (voir)
(Batiffol: Jouvenel, p. 232)

Lespeire, Bartholemy de
1412: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
Du Fourny a peut-être mal lu le nom ici et il pourrait s'agir de:

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Lescalle, Berthelemy de (voir Scala)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
mais on peut rapprocher le nom Lespeire au suivant:
Lespiere, Guillaume de
1417: receveur de Doinze, Peteghem, et
Tronchines (Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6988)

Lesperon, Jehannin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Lesperon, Jehan
1421: probablement chevaucheur ou messager du roi
car il est envoyé porter lettres
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 274)

Lespinay, le Galois de (voir Coudray, Jehan du)

Leu, Jehan le. (messire *)
1405-1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 3v *)
1411, 1412: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 34v, 41)
1412: maréchal de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 49v)

Leval, Symon de
1406, 1407: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6, 10v)

Levesque, Estienne
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Levesque, Guillaume
1403/12: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(Grandeau: Enfants, p. 836 n., réf.: AN KK 46 fol. 18)
1407/10/1-1408/9/30: aumosnier du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 154v)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412: aumosnier du duc
de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v & 4, 5 & 5v, 8v)
1412: aumosnier du duc de Guyenne
remplacé aud. office 1412/7-12 (*) par: Courcy, Richart de
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v & 42 & 50v *)
autres du nom:
Levesque, Guillaume
1416: barbier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)

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Levesque, Gillebert
1422/7: saussier du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 434)
Levesque, Jehan (Jehannin **)
1387: potagier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712 **)
1392, 1395: queux du roi
(Pichon: Taillevent, p. 269),
(Huillard-Bréholles: Titres, II, no. 4027)

Levesque, Pierre de
1411: 1er panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Etampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)

Levriers, Thevenin des
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96)

Lignieres, Jehan sgr. de
Lignières, sgr. de (à partir de 1413/5)
Anselme doit se tromper disant que son père etait mort en 1412 car on n'appelle J. que sgr. de Resay 1413/5/13
(BN P.O. 1725 Linières no. 39); tandis que plus tard au même mois il est sgr. de Lignières et de Resay
(AN X.1c 105 B no. 281)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 834)
Resay, sgr. de (Rezay) (Rozay **) (d 1399 ***)
(BN P.O. 1725 Linières no. 32 **)
1399/4/14: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 1725 Linières no. 24 ***)
1411/2: chambellan du roi & du duc de Berry
(AN X.1c 103 B no. 261)
1413/5: chambellan du roi & grand queux de France (AN X.1c 105 B no. 281)
1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68v)
épousa av. 1398/9/29: Chambly, Jacqueline de
(AN P 8 no. 240)
fils de: Lignières, Philippe sgr. de (voir ci-dessous)

Lignieres, Philippe sgr. de (Linieres)
mort 1413/5/13-1413/5/31 (voir ci-dessus)
Lignières, sgr. de (1387)
(BN P.O. 1720 Lignières no. 3)
1384: fait prisonnier à Raqusa pendant l'expédition en Italie de: Anjou, Loys duc d'
(Vieillard: BEC, t. 105, p. 179-180)
1390: fait partie de l'expédition en Afrique de: Bourbon, Loys duc de (Atiya: Crusade Later, p. 521)

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1401/12/1: grand queux de France; nommé led. jour
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 834)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
1408: cons. & chambellan du roi et du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Clairambault 191 no. 30)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412:
grand queux de France et chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne; led. duc lui donne
500 l.t. (400 l.t. *) de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 5 *, 7)
1410/3/27: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 143-v)
1410/5/3: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 196-7)
1410/5/6: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 78-9)
1410/5/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 29v)
1411/6/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 615)
1411/9/22: au conseil du duc de Guyenne
(Catalogue Roux-Devillas 39 (1956) no. 3770)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
voir aussi: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 23v, 43v, 50v) (BN fr. 6748 p. 71)
épousa 1366/5/3: Chauvigny, Marguerite de
enfants: 6 dont:
Lignieres, Jehan sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 837-8)

Lisle, Estienne de
1412/1: huissier d'armes du roi & écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN X.1c 103 A no. 25)

Lissac, Henriet de (Lisac *) (Lizac **)
1398/12/28: valet de chambre & garde de l'espargne du roi; nommé garde led. jour; prêta serment:
1399/1/8 (BN fr.n.a. 7931 fol. 432)
1399: garde de l'espargne du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 151 nos. 129 ** & 130 **)
1400/4/8: garde de l'espargne du roi; remplacé led. jour (BN fr. 20684 p. 17) & (BN fr.n.a. 7931 fol. 432)
1410-1411: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne va en Hainaut présenter 2 coursiers de par le duc de Guyenne à: Touraine, Jehan duc de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1413/1-7: [écuyer d'écurie] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57 *)

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1413/4/4: de l'hostel du duc de Touraine
parmi ceux qui led. jour à Abbeville prennent possession
au nom dud. duc du comté de Ponthieu
(Saint Genois: Monuments, I, p. 231-2)
1413/12/24: échanson du roi
(AN KK 250 fol. 44v)
1415: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
1425: mtre. d'hostel de Marie d'Anjou
(Moranville: Songe (***), p. 176, réf.:
(AN KK 56 fols. 27, 51, 69, 82)
armoiries: d'argent à trois merlettes de sable, la 1ère
à dextre chargée d'un annelet d'argent (*** p. 176, ref.:
(BN fr. 10469 p. 34)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 27 fol. 127v), (AN S 5586 & 5587),
(BN fr. 20590 no. 75), (BN fr. 23257 fols. 41 & 43),
(BN Coll. Clairambault 66 nos. 17, 18, 20)
épousa: NN
enfants:
1. Lissac, Francois de; ne 1399 (*** p. 175)
filleul de la reine (*** p. 175, réf.: AN KK 41 fol. 170)
2. Lissac, Charlot de; ne 1400 & émancipé avec son
frère 1411/6/12 (*** p. 175, ref.:
(BN Coll. Clairambault 783 p. 33)
autres du nom:
Lissac, Jehan de (Lizac *****)
1400: de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166 *****)
huissier d'armes du roi & membre de la "cour
d'amour" de Charles VI
armoiries: d'argent à 3 merlettes de sable à un croissant
en abîme de gueules (Moranville: Songe, p. 176, ref.:
(BN fr. 10469 p. 34)
Lissac, Pierre Roger de
1376: mtre. d'hostel du duc d'Anjou qui l'envoye
avec d'autres devers: Castille, Henry II de
(BN fr. 3884 fol. 8 (cat.))

Loloz, Girardin de
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 86v)

Longroy, Jacques sgr. de (Lonroy *) (Loncroy **)
mort av. 1415/4/4 (BN fr. 31935 fols. 56v-57)
1398: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(BN fr. 31935 fol. 56v)
1405/2/13: Hellicourt, capit. du chastel de; nommé
led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 428)
1407/11/1, 1410: cons. & chambellan du duc
de Bourgogne (BN fr. 31935 fol. 56v),
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 39)

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1410/9, 1410/12, 1412/3/10 n.s.?: Picardie & West Flandres, lieut. du capit. général des pays de
(BN P.O. 579 Campbernard no. 14),
(BN P.O. 183 Baquelot 3936 no. 3 **),
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 456)
1411: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 35 *)
épousa: Quierrieu, Marie de
enfants:
1. Longroy, Guye de; épousa av. 1415/4/4: Craon, Jehan de; Dompmart, sgr. de
2. Longroy, Isabeau de; épousa av. 1415/4/4: Rivery, Waleran sgr. de
(BN fr. 31935 fols. 56v-57)
autres du nom:
Longroy, Clement de
1377/11: mtre. d'hostel du roi & de la reine Blanche
enterré à Fontaine-les-Haudricourt (c. Aumale)
armoiries: de gueules au chef d'or
épousa: Pons, Beatrix de
Fontaine-les-Haudricourt, dame de
(Merval: Bull. Comm. Seine-Inf., t. 1, p. 229-30)
Longroy, Jehan de
1407/9/22: échanson du duc de Bourgogne qui lui donne led. jour 200 fr. "en accroissement de son mariage"
(BN fr. 31935 fol. 56v)

Lospital, Francois de (voir Hospital)

Loupe, Msgr. de la (voir Angennes, Jehan d')

Lourmoy, Aubelet ("Lormoy" *)
1412, 1413: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 49, 56v)
1412/6-7: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v *)

Louveau, Colinet
1414-1415: aide de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)

Louviers, Mace de
1407: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 7v)

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Lucas, Jehan
1414-1415: palfrenier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
1414-1415:de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96v)

Luce, Guillaume de, mtre.
1412/9/23: procès au sujet de gages de notaire contre: Rouvres, Charles de; Barrau, Guillaume
(AN X.1a 4789 fol. 342)
1413/2: notaire du roi sous les ordres des généraux des finances attaqué par l'Université de Paris dans ses Remonstrances faites au roi aud. mois
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 757)
1413/10-1414/10, 1414-1415: secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17v, 24)
1414/8/1, 1415/10/11: secrétaire du roi
(BN P.O. 1770 Lucé nos. 5, 6)
1420/1/24: cons. du roi & du dauphin Charles et commissaire sur le fait et gouv. de toutes finances
(BN P.O. 1770 Lucé no. 9)

Lyon, Colinet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v)

Mace de la garderobe (voir Coignet)

Macon, Jehan le
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 74)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Macon, Jehannin le
1387: charretier ("chartier") de cuisine du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714)

Magdelinier, Denisot le
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)
autres du nom:
Magdelenier, Thomas le
1422: de l'hostel du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)

Magloire
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 108)

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Magonne, Evrard de (voir Maugennes)

Maignen, Colinet
1412/6-7: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Mainfroy, Jehan (Mainfrey *)
mort 1417/3-8/1
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 7654)
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 2e fasc., no. 8166)
1412-1413, 1413/6-8: argentier du duc de Guyenne remplacé 1413/8 par: Buignet, Estienne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 11, 13v)
1413/5: l'arrêt de "Mainfroy tresorier" du duc de Guyenne demandé par les Cabochiens; Monstrelet doit se tromper ici et veut sans doute parler de F. de Nerly qui tenait l'office de trésorier; car Mainfroy était argentier quand les Cabochiens étaient à l'apogée de leur pouvoir (Monstrelet, II, p. 353)
1413/7/27: argentier du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 1803 Mainfrey no. 2 * (signature))
1414/5/24: banni comme Cabochien
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 368)
1414/10/1: orfèvre & valet de chambre du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 1er fasc., no. 6375 ***)
épousa: Arnaulde, Jacqueline (Ernaulde ***)
(Mollat: Comptes, III, 2e fasc., no. 8166)
autres du nom:
Mainfroy, Jehan
1419: orfèvre a Paris
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 273)

Maintenon, NN sgr. de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
il s'agit du suivant ou de son fils:
Maintenon, Jehan sgr. de
Maintenon, sgr. de (1400) (*)
(Eure-et-Loir: arr. Chartres, ch.-l.)
1400/1/29: chambellan du roi et Mantes, bailli de; nommé bailli led. jour
(BN P.O. 1803 Maintenon no. 2 *)
1404/3: chambellan du roi et Mantes, bailli de (BN Coll. Vexin 9, p. 678)
1409/3/29: Mantes, bailli de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 53-4)
autres du nom:

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Maintenon, Jehan de
armoiries: avec un lambel et une brisure
(BN P.O. 1803 Maintenon no. 10 (signature))
1408/7: chambellan du roi à 300 fr. de pension par an sur les coffres du roi
(BN P.O. 1803 Maintenon no. 11 (signature))
1412/2: le roi lui donne lres. de rémission pour avoir servi le duc d'Orléans (AN JJ 166 fols. 62v-63)
1412/10/30: chambellan du roi
(AN P 16 no. 5767 **)
épousa av. 1412/10/30: Montmort, Marie de (**)

Maire, Raoulant le
1414-1415: garde harnois du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres du nom:
Maire, Raoul le. mtre.
1413: Bruges, prévôt de Saint Donat de; et ambassadeur du roi envoyé avec d'autres pour prolonger les trêves avec l'Angleterre signées 1413/9/25
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 336 n. 5)
1414/5: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne; envoyé en Angleterre (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 353 n. 2)
1420: cons. du duc de Bourgogne et Bruges, prévôt de Saint Donat de
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1072)
pour autres details & généalogie voir:
(Le Maire: Méms. Comm. Monum. Hist. Pas-de-Calais, t. 5)
Maire, Andriet le
1399: valet de tapisserie de la reine
(AN KK 41 fol. 222v)
1408: 1er valet de chambre de la reine
(Gillet: Soc. Agric. Marne, p. 196)
1409, 1413: valet de chambre de la reine
(AN KK 47 fols. 59-v, 3v)
Maire, Mahiet le
1407-1408: sommelier des espices du roi
(AN KK 29 fol. 41v)

Mairent, Guillaume (Mairant *)
aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
1414-1415: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)
1415: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Maistre, Almaurry le
mort av. 1435/10 (BN P.O. 1807 le Maistre (*) no. 4)
1410/4: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne (* no. 2)

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épousa: Patarde, Katherine; vivante 1435/10 (* no. 4)

Malart, Robin (Mulart *)
1408, 1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 17, 57)
1422: de l'écurie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)
1422/7: valet des chevaux du corps du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 436 *)
autres du nom:
Malart, Hennequin
1417: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 383 A)
Malart, Jehan
1413/12/12: Cabochien banni led. jour
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 367)

Malestroit, Jehan de
Combourg, sgr. de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (*)
1411/10: un de ceux qui signaient une lre. qui dénonçait le duc de Bourgogne (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 493)
1411/11 env.: fait prisonnier à Saint Cloud par les Bourguignons (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 563)
1413/7-12, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 71, 102)
de l'hostel du ct. de Richemont
(Couffon, I, p. 529 *)
mort sans enfants (*)
fils de:
Malestroit, Jehan de
Combourg, sgr. de
mort 1397
épousa: Quintin, Marie de
(Le Mené: Bull. Soc. Morbihan, 1880, p. 15 ss.)
le frère de ce Jehan:
Malestroit, Jehan de
1406: Saint Brieuc, évêque de (*)
1419: Nantes, évêque de (*)
chancelier du duc de Bretagne (*)

Mange, Thomas le
1407: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11v)

Maqueline, Perrin
tué 1413/12/6 par: Andry, Jehan
1413/12: valet des charretiers du duc de Guyenne
(AN JJ 167 fols. 343-4)

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Marche, Henriet de la
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
autres du nom:
Marche, Anthoine de la
1417: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: Etat, p. 127)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Marche, Anthoine de la
Chateau-Regnault, sgr. de (1438)
1438: chlr., cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
fils de:
Marche, Guillaume de la
Chalon, bailli de; chlr.
led. G. épousa: Ayne, Marie d'; parente de M. de Flandre, duch. de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 188 & 216)
Marche, Anthoine de la
1417: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 144)
1419: toujours écuyer
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 873)
Marche, Perceval de la
1410/11: au service du duc d'Orléans
(AN K 57 no. 6)
Marche, Thomas de la. mtre.
1421: cons. lay en la chambre des enquêtes du Parlement (Favier: Contrib., p. 80)

Marcoignet, Charlot de
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
fils de: Marcoignet, Enguerran de (voir ci-dessous)
(Sauval, III, p. 364)

Marcoignet, Enguerran de
tué à Paris par les Bourguignons 1418 (**)
Champcueille, sgr. de (1413)
(Champcueil: Essonne: arr. Évry, c. Mennecy)
(AN T 167 (5))
1389/2/9: 1er écuyer d'écurie de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1843 Marconnay no. 6)
1389/11/5: Louis d'Orléans lui donne 120 fr. pour son voyage en Prusse (BN P.O. 2883 Trie no. 47)
1391/7/8: écuyer du corps de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1843 Marconnay no. 11)
1392/9: écuyer d'écurie de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1843 Marconnay no. 14)
1394/1/15: 1er écuyer d'écurie de Louis d'Orléans
(AN P 128 no. 322 *)
1403/12/18: chlr., mtre. d'hostel de Louis d'Orléans; reçoit led. jour 40 fr. de gages pour un mois

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pour accompagner led. duc en Lombardie
(BN P.O. 1843 Marconnay no. 15 (signature))
1407/4/15: Marle, capit. de; pour Louis d'Orléans
remplace led. jour; mtre. d'hostel de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 1843 Marconnay no. 16)
1408: cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 127-8 **)
1408: Melun, bailli de (**); remplacé 1411/9/26
par: Brimiers, Charles de (BN fr. 20684 p. 29-30)
1409, 1410-1411, 1412-1413, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415:
mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
à 300 l.t. de pension par an (***)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 6v, 12v, 15 ***, 19v ***)
1413/4/28: emprisonné à Paris par les Cabochiens
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 109)
1413/10/27: Melun, bailli de
(AN I 167 (5))
1417/5/8: mtre. d'hostel du roi
(AN X.1c 113 no. 183)
1417/5/24: grand mtre. d'hostel du roi
(AN X.1c 113 no. 182)
autres mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 13 & 22v)
épousa:
A. av. 1394/1/24: Sauce, Jehanne (Sausse); veuve de:
Breton, Jehan le; Bretonniere, sgr. de la; écuyer
(AN P 128 no. 322 (voir aussi nos. 323, 333, 334))
elle est appellée aussi: Cerisay, Jehanne de
(Sauval, III, p. 364)
B. 1410-1411 (****): Montdoucet, Michelle de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v ****)
enfants de A.:
1. Marcoignet, Loys de (voir ci-dessous)
2. Marcoignet, Charles de (voir ci-dessus)
(Sauval, III, p. 364); Sauval parle aussi d'un 3ème fils:
Marcoignet, Antoine de; mais dit ailleurs (p. 363) que
led. Ant. était le fils de: Marcoignet, Jehan de
autres du nom:
Marcoignet, Loys de
1419: alla habiter à Meaux avec sa soeur:
Marcoignet, Isabelle de; leurs parents étaient morts
1422/5/1: fait prisonnier à la reddition de Meaux et
ses biens à Paris confisqués
(Longnon: Paris, p. 65-6)

Mares, Arnoulet des
1411/2/11: valet du séjour du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 48 fol. 63)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Mares, Ernoulet des (Arnoulet *)(Marez **)
1389, 1390: palefrenier de Louis d'Orléans
(Graves: Pièces, p. 20 * & **, 46 & 48 & 56)

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autres du nom:
Mares, Guillemin des
1419-1420:valet de porte du roi
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1303)
1422/7: portier du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 440)
Mares, Jehan des
1382: avocat du roi au Parlement; exécuté aud. an
laissa plusieurs enfants entre lesquels:
Mares, Hector des
1406: chlr. (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 301)

Maresse, Mahiet
1407: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 8)
autres du nom:
Maresse, Jehan
1399: aumosnier & 1er chapellain de la reine
(AN KK 27 fol. 24v)
voir aussi Meresse

Mareuil, Msgr. de (voir Soissons)

Mareuil, Jehan de
1412-1413: cons. & auditeur des comptes en
Dauphiné du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1414-1415: auditeur des comptes en Dauphiné
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)

Margot
1398: femme de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 45 fol. 26v)
1402: femme de chambre de Michelle de France
(AN KK 45 fol. 155v)

Marichon, Jehan (Merichon *)
1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413, 1413-1414:
receveur général de Saintonge et de: Rochelle, la
pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5, 7, 11, 15)
1412-1413: le duc de Guyenne lui donne vaisselle d'argent
"en accroissement" de son mariage (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1414-1415, 1415/10-12: naguères receveur général
de Saintonge et de: Rochelle, la
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 19 & 20v, 25)
1415: secrétaire du roi; nommé env. le début de l'année
(Rey: Finances, p. 297 n.1 *)
1418: receveur général de toutes les finances du
dauphin Charles (Rey: Finances, p. 297 n.1 *)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 12v, 21v)

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Marion
1398: femme de chambre de Michelle de France
(AN KK 45 fol. 26v)
1402: femme de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 45 fol. 155)

Martel, Guillaume
né 1350 env. (Hellot: Martel (*), p. 71)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (* p. 100)
Saint Vigor, sgr. de (à partir de 1359-1360) (* p. 71)
il donna plus tard cette sgrie. à son fils du même nom
Bacqueville, sgr. de (à partir de 1395-1396) (* p. 58)
1369: valet d'honneur de Charles V (* p. 71)
1377/10: Château-Gaillard, capit. de; a
600 fr. par an (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 22)
1377/11/7, 1377/12/23: chlr. chambellan de
Charles V (Staten Island, Institute of Arts & Sciences,
manuscrits sans numero)
1391/7/14: chambellan du roi
(BN fr. 6211 no. 509)
1395/10/4: chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 36)
1399, 1402: Château-Gaillard, capit. de; a
300 fr. par an (BN Coll. Clairambault 71 no. 22)
1405: reçoit 2400 fr. de pension par an du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 71 no. 23)
1406: Château-Gaillard, capit. de
(BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 64)
1414/4/2: reçoit l'oriflamme à Saint Denis (Anselme donne
une date fautive) (* p. 95 & n. 283)
1414-1415: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
1415/5/13: 1er chambellan du roi à 500 l.t.
de pension par an
(BN Coll. Clairambault 176 no. 152 (fichier))
1415: cons. & chambellan du roi pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415: Crotoy, capit. de; au moment de sa mort
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 555)
épousa: Martel, Marquerite; Angerville, dame d'
enfants:
1. Martel, Jehan (voir ci-dessous)
2. Martel, Isambard
mort vers 1410 (* p. 89)
1397: cons. du roi au Parlement
(BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 44)
1406: Sainte Chapelle, trésorier de la (* p. 89)
3. Martel, Guillaume
Raymes, sgr. de (Rames) (à cause de sa femme)
(BN fr. 20684 p. 160-1)
Saint Vigor, sgr. de
Bacqueville, sgr. de (à partir de 1415/10/25)
1407: panetier du roi

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(BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 65)
1415/12/6-1416/6/6: chlr. chambellan du roi et Château-Gaillard, capit. de; a 300 l.t. de gages par an (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 69)
1420: chlr. banneret dans l'armée du dauphin Charles (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 73)
lequel épousa 1408-1409: Estouteville, Mahaut d' (Hellot: Martel (*), p. 93 & 102)
leurs enfants:
Martel, Jehan
Martel, Loys (voir ci-dessous)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 209-210)
4. Martel, Isabeau; épousa:
a. 1396: Chapelle, Robert de la; Lindebeuf, sgr. de tué 1396 à Nicopolis (* p. 76, 80)
b. Mellemont, Jehan de (* p. 88)

Martel, Jehan
mourut en 1415 avant Azincourt (* p. 98)
Lindebeuf, sgr. de (à partir de 1396 par don de son beau-frère) (* p. 77)
1403: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 62)
1407/12, 1408/5: chambellan du roi à 300 fr. de pension par an (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 66)
1408, 1411, 1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 17v, 31 & 34v, 51v)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413/7-12: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 68)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v, 20 & 22v)
1414: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v & 17)
1415/10/1: servant en Normandie avec un autre chlr. & 8 écuyers sous le gouv. de: Alençon, le duc d' (BN P.O. 1868 Martel 43058 no. 68)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 104)
mort sans enfants
épousa:
A. Houdetot, Jehanne de; morte 1396/8 (* p. 78)
B. 1403: Rocheguyon, Guillemette de la (* p. 89)
fils de: Martel, Guillaume (voir ci-dessus)

Martel, Loys
1407, 1411, 1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 11, 35, 42 & 50v)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45) & (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)

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1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58, 68v)
1414: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 20 & 22)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 104v)
fils de: Martel, Guillaume (voir ci-dessus)

Martin, Jehan
1412/1: mtre. des garnisons des vins du duc de Guyenne; nommé aud. mois (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412-1413, 1413/6-8, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415/10-12: mtre. des garnisons des vins du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 11, 13v, 15, 19, 25)
1415/6/3: mtre. des garnisons des vins de la reine & du duc de Guyenne;
il est "noble et de noble lignee"
(AN X.1c 110 A no. 11)
1422/9: mtre. des garnisons des vins de la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 426)

Maubruny (voir Ust)

Maucreux, Pierre de, dit Troullart
1411/9/12: Senlis, bailli de; reçu led. jour
(Margry: Soc. Hist. Senlis, 2e sér., t. 7, p. 61 n. 1)
1411/11/17, 1412/2: huissier d'armes du roi & du duc de Guyenne; et Senlis, bailli & capit. de
(AN JJ 166 fols. 45v-46)
mentions dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fols. 35 (1411), 42 (1412))
écuyer de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 81)

Maugennes, Evrart de (Magennes *) (Magonne **)
1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 68v, 106 *)
1414-1415: valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 **)
peut-être le même personnage que le suivant si l'on s'est trompé de prénom dans le registre des debtes:

Maugennes, Girart de
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)

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peut-être le même personnage que le Evrart susdit
autres du nom:
Migennes, Evrart de
fourrier de Charles V (Sauval, III, p. 339)

Mauny, Charles de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)
probablement le même personnage que:
Mauny, Charles de
Lingevres, sgr. de (Calvados: arr. Bayeux, c. Balleroy)
(1416/9 *)
Haye-Paynel, sgr. de la (Haye-Pesnel, la: Manche:
arr. Avranches, ch.-l.) (1416/9 *)
1415/11/4: Caen, bailli de; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 452-3)
1415/12/14: Caen, bailli de; nommé led. jour
(BN fr. 23271 p. 420)
1416/9/: cons. & chambellan du roi et
Caen, bailli de (BN P.O. 1896 Mauny no. 41 *)
1417: Caen, grand bailli de
(Puiseux: Soc. Antiq. Norm., 3e sér., t. 2, p. 438-9)

Mauny, Colin de (Manny *)
1413/10-1414: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
reçoit argent pour "certaines ouvrages de son mestier"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 15v)
1414-1415: huchier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
1415/10-12: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v *)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 107v)

Mauny, Olivier de
Lesnen, sgr. de (à partir de 1390 *)
Marcé, sgr. de (à partir de 1390 *)
Marcé: baronnie mouvant d' Avranches; O. fait hommage
au roi 1390/9 (Sauvage: Soc. Avranches, t. 14, p. 167)
1386: dans l'armée du roi devant: Escluse, l'
appellé: "Olivier de Mauny le jeune"
(BN P.O. 1896 Mauny no. 22)
1390/5/20: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 1896 Mauny no. 24)
1395/4/22: chambellan du roi et: Pontorson,
capit. de; déchargé led. jour dud. office de capit. pour
leq. il avait reçu 1000 fr. de gages par an
(BN P.O. 789 Clisson no. 21)
1401: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 72 no. 108)
1396/8/10: chambellan du roi et
Renerville, capit. de

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(Regnéville: Manche: arr. Coutances)
a 400 l. de gages par an comme capit.
(anon.: Bull. Soc. Hist. Norm., t. 6, p. 493)
1404, 1411, 1413, 1417: Renerville, capit. de
(Regnéville: Manche: arr. Coutances)
(BN P.O. 1896 Mauny nos. 5, 38, 40, 42)
1407/12, 1410/10: Saint Malo, capit. de
(BN P.O. 1896 Mauny nos. 35, 37)
1411/8: Saint Malo, capit. de
(BN fr. 26038 no. 4493 (signature))
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne; le duc lui donne 500 l.t.
pour bons services en la garde de Saint Malo
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1415/6/15: Saint Malo, capit. de
(BN fr. 26040 no. 4951 (signature))
fils de:
Mauny, Olivier de
Lesnen, sgr. de (Ille-et-Vilaine: arr. Saint-Malo,
c. Tinteniac, paroisse Saint-Tual)
testa 1390/1/22
(Guillotin de Corson: Ille-et-Vilaine, t. 24 (**), p. 30)
mort av. 1390/5/14 (AN LL 619 fol. 6v)
enterré dans l'église de Saint-Tual (** p. 30)
1382-1384: en Italie avec: Anjou, Loys duc d'
(Valois: RQH, t. 55, p. 97)
1385/7/11: arrive "de oultre mer" en Avignon
(Le Fèvre: Journal, p. 141)
1390: chambellan du roi; le roi fait les obsèques
dud. O. dans l'église des Blancs Manteaux à Paris
(Moranvillé: J. le Mercier, p. 88 n. 2, réf.:
(BN fr. 26024 no. 1493)
épousa: Quebriac, Marguerite de; testa 1389/7/9(** p. 30)
enfants:
1. Mauny, Olivier de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Mauny, Jehan de; mort av. 1390 (** p. 30)
3. Mauny, Bertrand de; viv. 1390
(Bellenger: Annales Saint-Malo, 1927-8 (***), p. 11)
4. Mauny, Charles de; viv. 1390 (*** p. 10)
5. Mauny, Marie de; non mariée en 1390 (*** p. 12)
6. Mauny, Alaine de; non mariée en 1390 (*** p. 12)
7. Mauny, Marguerite de; non mariée 1390 (*** p. 12)
autres du nom:
Mauny, Olivier de
Thorigny, sgr. de (deja en 1412/12)
(Torigny-sur-Vire: Manche: arr. St.-Lô, ch.-l.)
(AN X.1c 105 A no. 33)
né en ou après 1373
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 571)
mort 1421-1424 (Descoqs: Revue Avranchin, t. 27, p. 63)
1415/9/24: chlr. banneret dont la monstre est reçue à
Rouen (BN Coll. Clairambault 72 no. 114)
épousa av. 1394/4/8 v.s.?: Thieuville, Catherine de
(Sauvage: Soc. Avranches, t. 14, p. 141)

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enfants:
1. Mauny, Olivier de
Thieuville, sgr. de (1415 *)
tué à Verneuil 1424 (**)
1415/9/24: chlr. bach. dans la monstre de son pere reçue à Rouen (BN Coll. Clairambault 72 no. 114 *)
1418: Mont Saint Michel, lieut. du capit. du
(Descoqs: Revue Avranchin, t. 27, p. 52 **)
testa au Mont Saint Michel 1424/8/10
(Descoqs: Revue Avranchin, t. 27, p. 63)
lequel épousa (contrat 1421/4/28): Avaugour, Blanche d'
(Luce: Chron. Mt. Saint Michel, I, p. 107 n. 1)
lequel mourut sans enfants
2. Mauny, Marguerite de; épousa 1420:
Goyon, Jehan; Matignon, sgr. de
(Béziers, II, p. 324)

fils de:
Mauny, Herve de
Thorigny, sgr. de
mort av. 1412/12/20 (AN X.1c 105 A no. 33)
1398/4/30: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6211 no. 515 (sceau))
1403/5: chambellan du roi & de Louis
d'Orléans (BN P.O. 1896 Mauny no. 27)
1408/8: chambellan du roi
(AN J 222 no. 17 (cat.))
épousa 1373: Craon, Marie de; morte av. 1401/12
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 571)

enfants:
1. Mauny, Olivier de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Mauny, Herve de
Saint Aignan, sgr. de
Cheres, sgr. de (1404)
(Alouis: Revue Histor. Maine, t. 1, p. 335)
1406: chambellan du roi & de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 5481 p. 695)
il y a beaucoup de confusion au sujet du nom de la femme de Hervé le jeune; l'un de ces noms est parfois donné comme celui d'une seconde femme d'Hervé le vieux

Mauregart, Estienne de, mtre.
1411: garde du trésor des chartes du roi
nommé aud. an (Delaborde: Layettes, V, p. clxviii)
1411/9/19: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne led. jour
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 269-v)
1412/1/16: secrétaire du roi et garde
du trésor des chartes du roi; s'accorde led. jour avec:
Chanteprime, Gaucher; au sujet des gages de secrétaire
et bourses de notaire appartenant jadis à: Blanchet, Loys
E. aura les gages de sec. (*),
G. aura les bourses de notaire (**)
(AN X.1c 103 A nos. 12 *, 13 **)

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1412/12/19: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi et garde du trésor des chartes du roi (AN J 476 sans cotte)
1413/5/11: garde des chartes & privileges du roi remplacé led. jour par: Bordes, Baude des (BN fr. 20684 p. 41-2)
1413/10-1414: secrétaire du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1414/10/16: notaire & secrétaire du roi et garde du trésor des chartes du roi reçoit permission de "venir et seoir en" la chambre des comptes (AN J 476 no. 15)
1415: secrétaire du roi pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 27)
1415, 1416: garde des chartes du roi (Monstrelet, III, p. 64), (Sauval, III, p. 273)

autres du nom:

Mauregart, Pierre de
1410: clerc en la chambre des comptes du roi (BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5865 (Menant I) fol. 216v)
1415/10-12: clerc en la chambre des comptes du roi reçoit vaisselle du duc de Guyenne le jour de ses noces avec: Olive, NN de l'; fille de: Olive, Jehan de l'; échevin de Paris (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)

Mauvoisin, Phelipot
1409: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 69v)

peut-être le même personnage que:

Mauvoisin, Philippe
1418: Freteval, capit. de; pour le duc d'Orléans (Mirot: BEC, t. 81 p. 221, ref.: (BN fr.n.a. 20513 no. 81)

Mefuteur, Andriet le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 96)

Meinvillier
1406: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 4v)

Melun, Huet de (Meleun *)
1413/10-1414: saussier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16 *)

Melun, Jehan de
Antoing, sgr. d' (à partir de 1410 *)

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(Bonvarlet, p. 142 *), (BN P.O. 2330 du Pont no. 61 **)
Espinoy, sgr. d' (à partir de 1410 *) (**)
Sotenghien, sgr. de (à partir de 1410 *) (**)
Gand, chastellain de (à partir de 1410 *) (**)
1411/3/28: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 1520 fr. pour les bons services que son feu pere a rendus au feu duc et à la feue duchesse; quitt. 1411/4/23 (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 146)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412, 1413/7-12: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 50v, 67v)
fils de:
Melun, Hugues de
Antoing, sgr. d'
mort 1410 (*)
épousa A.: Picquigny, Marguerite de
enfants de A.: 3 dont:
1. Melun, Hugues de; Falvy, sgr. de
2. Melun, Henry de; mort av. 1399
épousa B. av. 1376/12 (*): Beaussart, Beatrix de
enfants de B.: 5 dont:
1. Melun, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Melun, Philipotte de; épousa:
Montmorency, Jacques de
(b Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, V, p. 228-9)

Melun, Jehan de
1409: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; comme son nom apparaît entre les noms de 2 chambellans, il était peut-être aussi chambellan (AN KK 228 fol. 23v)
1410, 1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 26, 42v)
peut-être le même personnage que le suivant même si le suivant apparaît dans le même registre appellé:
Borde, Msgr. de la

Melun, Jehan de
Borde, sgr. de la (en Brie) (*)
dit le Brun (BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 208)
mort av. 1423 (Longnon: Paris, p. 74 n. 1, réf.: (AN JJ 172 no. 212 *)
1409, 1410, 1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 23v, 26v, 42v & 43v)
1410/8, 1411, 1412/3/24: Melun, capit. de (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 186 n. 7), (BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 205), (BN P.O. 1917 Melun no. 388)
1411/9 env.: chlr. bachelier servant dans l'armée du roi sous: Bavière, Loys duc de (BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 201)
1415/11/4: chambellan du roi et mtre. des Eaux et Forêts de France, Champagne, et Brie

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nommé led. jour au lieu de feu: Beaumont, Jehan de (chlr.)
(BN fr. 20684 p. 58)
1416/7/8: chambellan du roi; à Paris
(AN P 8 no. 261)
1421/1/10: chambellan du roi aug. il fait hommage led. jour pour la 6e partie de: Melun, la vicomté de qui lui est venue en héritage de: Tournelle, Jehan de la
(AN P 8 no. 264)
épousa: Savoisy, Isabeau de (***)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Melun, Philippe de
Borde, sgr. de la (1423) (*)
leq. épousa (contrat 1412/10/4): Nantouillet, Jehanne de laq. était fille de feu: Nantouillet, Regnault de
(BN P.O. 1919 Melun no. 841 ***)

Menestre, Eliot
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)

Menestre, Oudinet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)

Meneur, Jehan
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 62)
1414-1415: 1er queux du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)

Mercier, Charles le
né 1389/8; tenu sur les fonts par le roi, Louis d'Orléans & la csse. de Namur
(Moranville: J. le Mercier (*), p. 128, réf.:
(BN fr. 26031 no. 3303)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Bacquet: Azinc., 80)
Nouvion, sgr. de ("Noviant")
(Nouvion-le Comte: Aisne: arr. Laon, c. Crécy-sur-Serre)
1407: chambellan du roi
(Witasse: Cat., p. 22)
1412/1/12: le trésorier de la reine reçoit 2 vidimus de la lettre par laq. le roi donna à la reine les "biens meubles et immeubles" dud. C. (AN KK 48 fol. 147)
1412/11/24: le duc de Bourgogne ordonne le payement du cadeau qu'il fit présenter aux noces dud. C.
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 41v)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 52, 58v & 68v, 101v)

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mort sans enfants
épousa 1412:
Marechalle, Isabeau la
1409-1412: damoiselle de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 201 **)
1413/5/22: arrêtée par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Baye, II, p. 114)
1413-1417: dame d'honneur de la reine (**)
1417: rentra en Bavière où elle était née (**)
fils de:
Mercier, Jehan le
mort 1397/7/3 (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 421)
Nouvion, sgr. de
1360, 1361: clerc du roi Jehan et du
duc de Normandie (Charles V)
(Moranville: J. le Mercier (*), p. 201, 203-4)
1368/3/27: huissier d'armes de Charles V et
trésorier des guerres; nommé trés. led. jour (* p. 205)
1372, 1373: trésorier des guerres (* p. 265, 305)
1374: général conseiller sur le fait des aides (* p. 306)
1377: cons. de Charles V et
Creil, capit. de (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 421)
1380/8/18: conseiller de Charles V (* p. 324)
1383, 1388, 1390, 1392:cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi
(* p. 328, 358, 366, 377)
1389, 1390: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(* p. 361)
épousa A.:Saint Dizier, Jehanne de (***)
dont une fille: Mercier, Guillemette le; laq. épousa:
a. Chepoy, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
b. 1397 env.: Coucy, Renaud de; Vervins, sgr. de
épousa B.: Vendome, Jehanne de; laq. épousa en 2e noces:
Dreux, Simon de
enfants du 2e mariage dud. J. le Mercier:
1. Mercier, Charles le (voir ci-dessus)
2. Mercier, Jehan le; mort 1415/3/26-1415/12/11 **
(**) (AN X.1c 109 no. 99 & X.1c 110 B no. 233)
3. Mercier, Jehanne le; épousa 1399/7/14:
Nantouillet, Oger de
4. Mercier, Catherine le; épousa 1399/7/14:
Coustes, Jehan de, dit Minguet
(Moranville: J. le Mercier, p. 163-4)
(Ponthieux: Bull. Soc. Compiègne, t. 20, p. 108 ***)

Meresse, Jehan
1414-1415: enfant de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473)
voir Maresse

Merry, Huguenin de
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)

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1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 48, 53v & 62, 81v)
autres du nom:
Mery, Vermonnet de
1408, 1410: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Bourgogne (Delabarre: Etat, p. 146)

Mesnieres, le bastart de
1413/1-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 55)

Mesnil, Bertran du
mort 1415 probablement à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (***)
Mesnil-au-Vicomte, sgr. du (1403) (commune réunie à Louversey: Eure: arr. Évreux, c. Conches-en-Ouche) (AD Eure: E 758 (cat.))
entra en possession de lad. sgrie. entre 1398/6/17 (*) et 1399/8/13 (**)
(BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 nos. 86 *, 90 **)
Monnesteville, sgr. de (vicomté d'Évreux)
fait hommage au roi de lad. terre & fief 1405/5/16
(AN P 269.2 no. 431)
Ayencourt, sgr. d' (chie. de Montdidier)
fait hommage au roi de lad. terre 1399/6/7
(AN P 15 no. 5290)
Berengeville-la-Campagne: sgr. de (Eure: arr. Louviers, c. du Neubourg) (1408)
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 102)
Breuil Paignart, sgr. de (à partir de 1409-1410)
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 115)
1399/12, 1400/6: Conches, capit. de
(BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 nos. 88, 89)
1398: valet tranchant de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6211 nos. 566-8)
1399/6/7: valet tranchant du roi
(AN P 15 no. 5290)
1403/11/19: écuyer tranchant de Louis d'Orléans reçoit 30 fr. de gages pour un mois pour accompagner led. duc en Lombardie (BN P.O. 1946 du Mesnil no. 16)
1408/2/13: écuyer d'écurie du roi et échanson du duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 102)
1409/5/31: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 110 (signature))
1410/6/16: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 115)
1411/2/7: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 118)
1411/11/16: Conches, capit. de; remplacé led. jour par: Cayeu, Mahieu de (BN fr. 20684 p. 31)
1411-1412: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1412/6-7: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne pendant

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l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v) voir aussi:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: [échanson] du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 53v, 61v)
1413/9 env.: après le départ du duc de Bourgogne de Paris
B. logea avec d'autres dans l'hostel d'Artois à Paris qui
appartenait aud. duc; ils "rompirent tout son hostel et
prindrent tout ce qui estoit de bon et entre les autres
choses prindrent en son control le journal ou estoit
ladite despense"
(Petit: Itin., p. 393, réf.:AD Côte d'Or: B 332 fin)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: écuyer, mtre. d'hostel
du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 15, 19v)
1414: maréchal du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1414/6/20: Conches, capit. de; a 100 l.t. de
gages par an; écuyer
(BN P.O. 1948 du Mesnil no. 122 (sceau en bon état))
remplacé 1415/11/1 après sa mort (BN fr. 21405 p. 75) (***)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 30, 38v)
épousa:
A. 1399 env.: Gallois, NN le; Cherelles, dame de
laq. était fille de feu: Gallois, Gilles le
(BN fr.n.a. 15544 no. 25)
B. 1410-1411: NN; nièce de:
Sacquainville, Jehan de; Blaru, sgr. de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
seul enfant connu (mère inconnue):
Mesnil, Guillemette du; mineure en 1419
(AD Eure: E 863)
fils de:
Mesnil, Jehan du
Mesnil-au-Vicomte, sgr. du
mort av. 1399/8/13 (BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 no. 90)
1398/6/17: écuyer (BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 no. 86)
Conches, capit. de (BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 no. 90)
épousa: NN
enfants:
1. Mesnil, Bertran du (voir ci-dessus)
2. Mesnil, Olivier du
1398: Conches, chapellain de la chapelle Saint Karles en
la forêt de (BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil 44663 no. 86)
1419: Évreux, chanoine d'
(AD Eure: E 863)

Mesnil, Guillaume du
mourut av. 1416/9/18
(Dupont-Ferrier: Études, I, p. 258)
1410-1411: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1411: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pnt. aux
joustes de la Pentecôte

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(BN fr. 21809 nos. 43, 44 (signature))
1411: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1412/6-7: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1412-1413: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v, 12v)
1412/10/4: général sur la finance des aides institué led. jour (BN Coll. Clairambault 789 p. 48)
1413/3/13: cons. du roi et valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne; Saint Ouen, concierge et garde de l'hostel de; nommé concierge avec sa femme led. jour par le duc de Guyenne
(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 59-60 (en entier) ref.: AN J 737 no. 35) (**)
1413/11/22: général cons. sur le fait des aides remplacé led. jour par: Brimeu, David de; puis rétabli 1413/12/5 (*) (BN fr. 20684 p. 49, 50 (*))
épousa av. 1413/3/13 (**):
Bretigny, Marguerite de (voir)
peut-être le même personnage que le suivant:

Mesnil, Guillot du (dit le Fel *)
1407, 1409, 1412: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 7v, 22, 38 & 47)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne et membre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI (BN fr. 5233 fol. 80v *)

Mesnil, Jehan du, dit de la Court
("Jehan de la Court" *)
1407: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 8 *)
1412/11/19: garde huche de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne et Conches, sergent de la forêt de; nommé sergent led. jour par le roi
(BM Caen: Coll. Mancel VIII. no. 7 (cat.))

1412/6-7: (garde huche) de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 45v *)
1414-1415: garde huche de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 76 *)

Mesnil, Simon du
("le petit Mesnil" *) ("Simon du Mesnil-Simon, le jeune" **)
normand, décapité par les Cabochiens 1413
(Monstrelet, II, p. 371 *); le Religieux de Saint Denis

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se trompe en l'appelant "Jehan du Mesnil"
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21 & 59)
selon le Héraut Berry led. S. était natif des environs de Dreux; ainsi natif de: Mesnil-Simon, le:
(Eure-et-Loir: arr. Dreux, c. Anet)
(Le Bouvier: Chronique, p. 425 *)
apres 1412/8/22: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne; retenu apres le traité d'Auxerre
(Le Bouvier: Chronique, p. 425 *)
1413: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(AN JJ 167 p. 249 **)
1413/4/28: "les deux frères du Mesnil" emprisonnés par les Cabochiens à Paris (Monstrelet, II, p. 345)
mention dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fol. 53)
laissa une veuve et des petits enfants (AN JJ 167 p. 249)
fils de:

Mesnil, Simon du
1399: échanson de la reine
(BN P.O. 1947 du Mesnil no. 87)
1402: 1er échanson de la reine
(AN KK 42 fol. 97)
1406: échanson du roi
(BN P.O. 3015 Villers no. 16)
1412, 1413: 1er échanson de la reine et Breval, verdier de (BN P.O. 1946 du Mesnil no. 23)
épousa: NN
enfants:
1. Mesnil, Simon du (voir ci-dessus)
2. Mesnil, Jehan du
(F. Aubert de La Chesnaye des Bois, X, p. 95)

Meurant, Guillemin de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Milet, Jaquet (Millet *)
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)
1415/10-12: clerc d'offices du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v *)

Milet, Jehan. mtre. (Millet *)
1410/1/14: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi quand il abandonne ses prétentions à: Saint Estienne, la chanoinie & prébende de (AN X.1c 99 A no. 33)
1410-1411: secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 150 fr. de gages par an pour son office chez le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7 *)
1410/7/5: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne

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(AN K 57 no. 3)
1411/4/6: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AN P 1362.1 no. 997)
1411/6/28: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(Ordonnances, IX, p. 615)
1411/11/7: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 344-49v)
1411: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9 *)
1412/6-7: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v *)
1412/7/15: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne devant
Bourges (AD Isère: B 3585)
1412/9/20: clerc, notaire & secrétaire
du roi & du duc de Guyenne; anobli led. jour
(AN JJ 166 no. 334)
1412-1413: clerc, notaire &
secrétaire du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 150 l.t. de
gages par an pour son office chez le duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v *)
1413/6/12: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(Champion: Inv. Papiers, no. 68)
1413/6/14: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 55)
1414-1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne à
150 l.t. de "pension" par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v *)
1415/7/19: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(Chevalier: Docs. Dauphiné, p. 243-4)
1415/10-12: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v *)
1419: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi
quand il est anobli par le roi (BN lat. 18345 fol. 108)
s'agit-il d'une confirmation de l'anoblissement de 1412 ?
1422: secrétaire du duc de Bedford après
la mort de Charles VI
(Grave: Bull. Comité 1896, p. 322)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v, 42, 50v, 58, 67v, 104v)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 8v)

autres du nom:

Milet, Jehan. mtre.
1416/8/23: nommé exécuteur du testament de:
Arsonval, Jehan d'; dont il avait épousé la nièce
Marguerite (BN fr. 4332 fols. 18v & 20)

Millet, Jehan
1414-1415: ménestrel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)

Millan (voir Blanc, Anthoine)

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Mingaut, Robichon (Murgault *)
1414-1415: queux du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471 *)
autres du nom:
Mingot, Jehan, dit Hubitoy
1414: échanson du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 143)

Mirely (voir Croix, Jehan de la)

Mirouer, Jehan du
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 49v, 56v & 66v, 96)

Mirre
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83)

Mitez, Guillaume
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107)

Moyne, Guillemin le
1406: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
1412: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
autres du nom:
Moine, Guillemin le
1393: clerc de Jacques Hemon receveur général des aides
1393/8: receveur ordinaire en la duché d'Orléans pour Louis d'Orléans (Rey: Domaine, p. 379, 380)
1395/3/5: receveur en la duché d'Orléans pour Louis d'Orléans; devient receveur led. jour
(Rey: Domaine, p. 380)

Moine, Jaquet le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 91)
autres du nom:
Moine, Guilleguin le
1418: fauconnier du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 2225)
Moine, Jehan le
1418: notaire du roi au Chastellet
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 622)

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Moine, Thomas le
1418: chevaucheur de l'écurie du dauphin Charles
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 424)

Moiselles, Jehan de
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 89v)

Moisson, Jehannin
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73v)
autres du nom:
Moisson, Jehan
1415: Dijon, receveur du bailliage de
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 284)
Moisson, Guillaume
fils de: Moisson, Jehan
1417: écuyer de cuisine du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 146)

Moncaudier, Pierre de (voir Montaudier)

Mondreville, Simon de
1404: échanson de Pierre de Navarre
à 13 l. 5 s. 4 d.p. par mois
(Bn fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 647)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)

Monnart, Simon (Mennart *) (Monast **) (Simonnet ***)
1389: secrétaire de Louis d'Orléans
(Graves: Pièces, p. 31 ***)
1413/10-1414: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)
1414-1415: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 475 **)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470 *)
autres du nom:
Monnart, Simon
1408: marchand de pelleterie à Paris
(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 27)
1419: marchand de pelleterie à Paris
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 304)
Monnart, Jehan
1422: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)

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Mons, Pierre des. mtre.
1411: [chirurgien] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 31 & 32 & 35 & 36)
1412/6-7: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413: [chirurgien] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 58 & 60 & 67v & 71v)
1414: chirurgien du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1415: 1er chirurgien du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 41v, 50v, 52v, 101v, 112)
sa famille:
1415/10-12: il avait un enfant que le duc de Guyenne avait
"nagueres" fait lever sur les fonts (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)

Montagu, Charles sgr. de
("le petit Montagu" *)
(Montaigu en Laonnois: Aisne: arr. Laon, c. Sissonne)
Laonnois, vidame de
Marcoussis, sgr. de
(Essonne: arr. Palaiseau, c. Montlhéry)
filleul de Charles VI (AN T 167 (5))
né 1399/3 env.; tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 378-9)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6 *)
1412 "automne": chambellan du duc de Guyenne
réinstitué alors par led. duc qui lui remit aussi
la tête et le corps de son père (Monstrelet, II, p. 300)
1412/9/7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne quand le
roi annulle la mainmise sur la sgrie. de Marcoussis, le
vidamé de Laonnois et autres terres appartenant au feu
père dud. C. (AN T 167 (5)) &
(BN Coll. Morel de Thoisy 45 fol. 5 ss.)
1413/10/27: écuyer, chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(AN T 167 (5))
1415/2/28: chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne
(AN J 476 no. 3)
1415: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 68, 101v)
mort sans enfants
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 378-9)
épousa 1410/8 (sic pour 1409/8) a Melun
(contrat 1405/1/6 **):
(T 167 (5) **: mention); voir pour le contrat même:
(AD Basses-Pyrénées: E 55)
Albret, Jehanne d' (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
Anselme place le mariage en 1409 et dit que le roi donna par
lres. de 1409/9/4 aud. Ch. 1000 l. le jour de ses noces;
Anselme semble avoir raison car le roi était en effet

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à Melun 1409/8/30 (AN KK 32 fol. 16)
fils de:
Montagu, Jehan sgr. de
1409/10/17: exécuté aux Halles à Paris; il avait été arrêté 1409/10/7 (Baye, I, p. 292)
Montaigu en Laonnois, sgr. de (à partir de 1391/10)
(Delaborde: Layettes, V, p. clxvi)
1390/5/16, 1394/5/24: secrétaire du roi
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu (***) nos. 22, 39)
1396/1: cons. du roi
"commis a fre. venir les deniers ordonnes pour la despense des hostels" du roi, de la reine, du dauphin, et du duc & duch. d'Orléans (Beaurepaire: Sources, p. 14)
1398/4/15: écuyer, conseiller du roi
(AN T 167 (5))
1398/8/31, 1401/10/22: chlr., cons. & chambellan du roi;"commis au gouvernement de la despense des hostelz" du roi, de la reine, du dauphin & du duc d'Orléans (*** nos. 42, 49)
1399: Saint Anthoine, capit. du chastel de
(BN fr. 25766 nos. 644, 649, 656, 660)
1402/3/13: souverain mtre. d'hostel du roi
(*** no. 51); tint cet office jusqu'à sa mort
épousa 1390/7/24: Grange, Jacqueline de la
(Graves: Pièces, p. 44-5)
enfants:
1. Montagu, Charles de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Montagu, Jacqueline de
Montagu, dame de (1416) (AN J 194 no. 1)
morte 1436; épousa:
a. 1399/11/7: Craon, Jehan de; Montbazon, sgr. de
b. Malet, Jehan; Graville, sgr. de
3. Montagu, Isabelle de
testa 1429 (AN L 935 no. 29); épousa:
a. 1398: Roucy, Jehan comte de
b. Bourbon, Pierre de; Preaux, sgr. de
4. Montagu, Jehanne de
testa 1420/9/5 (AN L 935 no. 24); épousa:
Bourbon, Jacques de; Thury, sgr. de
5. Montagu, Marguerite de (non mentionnée par Anselme)
morte av. 1415; épousa av. 1409:
Brimeu, David de (voir)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 377-9)
fils de:
Montagu, Gerart sgr. de
mort 1391/10 (Delaborde: Layettes, t. 5 (*), p. clxvi)
1339: écolier a l'Université de Paris; n'ayant pas encore 20 ans (* p. cxiii, réf.: AN M 141 no. 2)
1351-1353 env.: notaire du roi
(* p. cxiii, réf.: AN JJ 81 feuillet de garde)
1363: anobli (* p. cxiv, réf.: AN JJ 95 fol. 70v)
1370/12/31: garde du trésor des chartes de Charles V; prêta serment pour led. office led. jour
(* p. cxl, réf.: AN JJ 1.21)

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1383: secrétaire et garde des chartes du roi
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 19)
1391/10/6: chlr., cons. & mtre. de la
chambre des comptes du roi (BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 36)
épousa: Cassinell, Biette; morte 1394 (* p. clxvi)
enfants (d'après Anselme sauf exceptions notées):
1. Montagu, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Montagu, Denis de; vivant 1394
(AN J 476 no. 8 fol. 3v)
3. Montagu, Gerart de
mort 1420; testa 1420/8/30 (AN L 935 nos. 3 & 25)
1391/10/18: garde du trésor des chartes du roi
pendant la maladie de son père; prêta serment 1391/10/27
(Delaborde: Layettes, t. 5, p. clxvi)
1394/1/24: cons. en la chambre des comptes &
garde du trésor des chartes du roi
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 37 (signature))
1400: garde du trésor des chartes du roi
remplacé aud. an par: Chanteprime, Jehan
(Delaborde: Layettes, t. 5, p. clxviii)
1401/9: cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 27)
1404/6/2: Poitiers, évêque de; chancelier
du duc de Berry; cons. de Louis d'Orléans;
retenu cons. led. jour par led. Louis à 1000 l.t. par an
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 58)
1409/7: Paris, évêque de; nommé aud. mois et
alors probablement remplacé comme chancelier du
duc de Berry par: Boisratier, Guillaume
(Lehoux, III, p. 222 n. 6); led. J. fut reçu comme
évêque à Notre Dame de Paris 1409/9/22
(Monstrelet, II, p. 31)
1413/11/8: Paris, évêque de; président de
la chambre des comptes; nommé led. jour au
lieu de son frère (BN fr. 20684 p. 43)
4. Montagu, Jehan de; Sens, archévêque de (voir ci-dessous)
5. Montagu, Jehanne de; épousa 1390/7/24: NN
(BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 35); pour la date voir:
(Graves: Pièces, p. 45)
6. Montagu, Geraude de; épousa: Lescot, Henneguin
7. Montagu, Robine de; épousa 1384/12:
Chaumont, Guillaume de; Quitry, sgr. de (voir)
8. Montagu, Alix de; épousa 1401/7/24:
Pavyot, Jacques de; Mesnil, sgr. du
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 377-9)

Montagu, Jehan de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Rel. St. Denis (*), V, p. 573)
1390/1/21: Chartres, évêque de; élu led. jour
(Gams: Series, p. 630 **)
1407/4/11: Sens, archévêque de; transféré
led. jour de l'évêché de Chartres (**);
cette date doit être fautive car il est sans doute

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l'archévêque de Sens pnt. au conseil du roi 1406/7/28
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 298)
1409/3: à Chartres quand la paix fut signée (* IV, p. 203)
1409/10: ambassadeur du roi à Amiens avec d'autres attendant l'ambassade d'Angleterre; il reçoit les nouvelles de l'emprisonnement de son frère J. et court à Paris; son frère sous la torture l'a impliqué; il s'échappe de Paris et ses biens sont confisqués (* IV, p. 253, 281)
1410/11-12: fait plusieurs voyages pour le duc d'Orléans devers le duc de Berry (BN P.O. 2003 Montagu no. 83)
1411: mainmise par la couronne sur le spirituel & temporel de: Sens, l'archévêché de (* IV, p. 465)
cette mainmise est levée en 1412 après le traité d'Auxerre (* IV, p. 723)
1411/5/13: cons. du duc d'Orléans au conseil du duc d'Orléans à Blois led. jour (BN fr. 26038 no. 4454)
1411/10: Saint Denis, garde de la ville et de l'abbaye de; pour le duc d'Orléans (* IV, p. 507)
1413/6/23: cons. du duc d'Orléans; au conseil du duc d'Orléans à Blois led. j. (BN fr. 25039 no. 4764)
1413/9 env.: président de la chambre des comptes après la fuite des Cabochiens (* V, p. 159)
remplacé aud. office par son frère 1413/11/8
(BN fr. 20684 p. 48)
1414-1415: cons. du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1415/1-2: cons. du roi pendant les pourparlers avec le duc de Bourgogne (* V, p. 405)
autre mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 25)
fils de: Montagu, Gerart sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)

Montanglaust, Jehan de (Montanglant **)
(Montanglaust: Seine-et-Marne: arr. Meaux, c. Coulommiers)
Courquetaines, sgr. de (1395)
(AD Seine-et-Marne: E 1151)
mort 1407 (BN Coll. Baluze 51 fol. 142v *)
1401: mtre d'hostel de la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 135 ** et al.)
1407/3-10: (mtre. d'hostel *) du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Montanglaust, Jehan de
chlr. mort av. 1416/4/30
épousa: Thienges, Ysabel de; viv. 1416
(AN X.1c 111 B no. 161)

Montanglaust, Jacques de (Montanglant *)
("Montanglaust" **) ("Montanglaut" ***)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc

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de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v ***, 58v *** & 68v ***, 102 **)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 23v * & 26v *)

Montauban, Bertran de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Bellevue: Soc. Archéol. Ille-et-Vilaine, t. 27 (*), p. 151)
Aubigné, sgr. d'
1404: chambellan du duc de Bretagne (* p. 151)
1411/7/9: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne part led. jour d'Arras pour aller en Bretagne pour les affaires dud. duc (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 93v)
1412-1413, 1414-1415: (cons. **) & chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 12v, 20 ** & 21v ** & 22v)
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne. (AN KK 228 fols. 59v, 67v, 101v)
1413/8: garde de la prévôté de Paris avec: Chastel, Tanneguy du; et puis led. Tanneguy fut nommé seul prévôt peu apres
(Juvenal des Ursins, p. 262-3)
1413/12/11: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 64-5)
1413/12/16: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 236-7)
1414/1/12: parmi ceux chassés de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne par la reine (Monstrelet, II, p. 420-1)
1415/3/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Melun
(BN Coll. Doat 212 fols. 145v-147v)
1415/4/12: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne s.l.
(BN fr. 23271 p. 418)
1415/5/10: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne et: Louvre, capit. du; nommé capit. led. jour au lieu de: Angennes, Regnault d' (BN fr. 23271 p. 419)
1415/5/10: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne s.l.
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 106)
1415/5/13: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN P.O. 1607 Kermellec no. 2)
1415/7/17: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 96-7)
fils de: Montauban, Olivier sgr. de (* p. 150)
frère de: Montauban, Guillaume sgr. de (voir ci-dessous)

Montauban, Guillaume sgr. de
Montauban, sgr. de (à partir de 1389/2) (*)
mort 1432
(Bellevue: Soc. Ille-et-Vilaine, t. 27, p. 150-6 (*))
1387: chancelier de la reine (*)
Rey dit que la reine n'avait pas de chancelier avant 1409
(Rey: Finances, p. 186 n. 7 & 198)

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1396: ambassadeur du roi en Angleterre (*)
1403: chambellan du duc de Bretagne
(Couffon, I, p. 426)
1411/10/2: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne; nommé cons. led. jour à 1000 fr. de pension par an à cause de son mariage (Morice: Preuves, II, 861-2)
1412: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne envoyé tenir sur fonts au nom du duc l'enfant de: Sacquainville, Jehan de; Trait, sgr. du
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412/5/12: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Melun
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 90-1)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42 & 50v, 58, 104v)
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 20v)
1415/1: accusé d'être complice des Parisiens qui complotaient contre les Armagnacs, et congédié par le duc de Guyenne à la requête desd. Armagnacs
(Cousinot, p. 154)
1422: cons. du duc de Bretagne
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 264)

épousa A. 1382: Loheac, Marguerite de; morte 1407 (*)
enfants de A.:
1. Montauban, Jehan sgr. de (voir ci-dessous)
2. Montauban, Beatrix de; épousa 1400: Rieux, Jehan de (*)
3. Montauban, Marie de; épousa: Malet, Jehan; Graville, sgr. de (*)

épousa B. (contrat 1411/8/13): Visconti, Bonne (*)
enfants de B.: 4 (*)
fils de: Montauban, Olivier sgr. de (*)
frère dud. Guillaume:
Montauban, Robert de
Gonneville, sgr. de (1415 **)
Bois de la Roche, sgr. du (1415 **)
1415/7/2: Costentin, bailli de; nommé led. jour deux de ses predecesseurs: Pelletot, Robert sgr. de; et Inay, Jehan sgr. d'; ont contesté cette nomination, mais ont abandonné led. offic aud. R. 1415/8/9
(BN P.O. 2007 Montauban no. 6)
remplacé 1417/3 env. (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 184-5)
1415/9/11-12: à Saint Giles (près de Saint Lô)
(AN JJ 168 fols. 246-v)
1415/11: cons. & chambellan du roi et Costentin, bailli de (BN fr. 26040 no. 5012 **)

frères dud. G.:
Montauban, Bertran de (voir ci-dessus)
Montauban, Regnault de (*)

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Montauban, Jehan de
Montauban, sgr. de (à partir de 1432)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1414-1415: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 20v)
1415: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
chambellan du duc de Bretagne
(Bellevue: Soc. Ille-et-Vilaine, t. 27, p. 150-6 (*))
chambellan de Charles VII (*)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 76)
fils de: Montauban, Guillaume sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)

Montaudier, Pierre de ("Montaudier" *)
1412/6-7: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 56v)
1418/9, 1419: écuyer d'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 109, 808 & 1051)

Monteille, Richart de ("Monteille" *) ("Montaille" **)
1412, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52 *, 102 **)
1413/10-1414, 1414-1415: huissier d'armes du duc
de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 15v *, 20)
écuyer de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 79)

Montespedon, Jehan de (Montaupedon *)
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73 *)
1415: panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Montespedon, Jehan de, dit Waste
1431: 1er valet de chambre & garde des
coffres de Charles VII (BN P.O. 2016 Montespedon no. 3)
autres du nom:
Montespedon, Evrart sgr. de
Montespedon en Auvergne, sgr. de
mort av. 1405/4/19; enterré dans:
Bourges, la Sainte Chapelle de;
chlr. chambellan du duc de Berry
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 32 & n. 3)
Montespedon, Pierre de
1398: valet de chambre du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 151)
1412/3, 1414/6: valet de chambre du duc de
Berry (AN KK 250 fols. 131v, 99)

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Montmorin, Godefroy sgr. de
("Msgr. de Montmorin" *)
Montmorin, sgr. de (en Auvergne)
1389: pnt. au mariage du duc de Berry
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII (**), p. 814)
1394 env.: gagne un procès contre: Tourzel, Morinot de
(Moranvillé: Songe, p. 216, réf.: AN X.1a 1476 fol. 230)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105 *)
1417: vivant (** p. 814)
épousa 1368: Thinieres, Dauphine de
enfants: plusieurs dont:
Montmorin, Pierre sgr. de
1423: chambellan de Charles VII (** p. 815)
épousa 1409: Chauvigny, Isabeau de (** p. 815)

Montreuil, Jehan de
né 1354 (Coville: G. Col (*), p. 11)
Lille, prévôt du chapitre de Saint Pierre de
Beauvais, chanoine de
Rouen, chanoine de (p. 73)
secrétaire du duc de Berry
(Ornato: Muret (**), p. 112 n. 3)
secrétaire de Louis d'Orléans (** p. 97)
1392/3/15: secrétaire du roi
signe une lettre du roi led. jour à Paris
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 111)
1402/10/2: secrétaire du roi
signe une lettre du roi led. jour à Paris
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 245)
1409-1410: secrétaire du roi
(BN fr. 20691 p. 858)
1410/1/8: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe une lettre dud. duc led. jour à Paris
(AN J 360 no. 3)
1410/5/25: Bayeux, chanoine de;
Cambrai, chanoine de; Coutances, chanoine de;
nommé aux dits offices led. jour par Jean XXIII
(Valois: Schisme, IV, p. 214 n.)

Morainvilliers, Simon de (Symonnet *)
(Morainvilliers: Yvelines:
arr. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, c. Poissy-sud)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Bacquet, p. 84)
1403/10/1: écuyer tranchant de Louis d'Orléans
va accompagner led. duc en Lombardie
(BN P.O. 2088 Morainvillier no. 3 *)
1409, 1412, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415: de la
paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 22, 47, 61, 73)
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne pendant

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l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1413/9/27: panetier du duc de Guyenne, Chartres & Mantes, bailli de; institué bailli led. jour; remplacé après sa mort 1416/2
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 122)
1415: panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
1415/7: Breval, bailli de
(BN fr. 26040 no. 4958)
épousa av. 1404/8/9: Maule, Regnaulde de
(AN P 128 no. 274)
fils de:
Morainvilliers, Gasse de
Flacourt, sgr. de
(chie. de Mante)
âgé de 56 ans 1404/1/9 n.s.? (BN fr. 31945 fol. 8)
1398: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(AN KK 45 fol. 13v)
1404/2/14: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(BN P.O. 2088 Morainvillier no. 5 ***)
épousa: NN
enfants:
1. Morainvilliers, Simon de (voir ci-dessus)
(Reaux: Maule, p. 178)
2. Morainvilliers, Catherine de; épousa: Binanville, Pierre de; mort av. 1404/2/14 laissant de lad. C. un fils mineur: Binanville, Jehan de (***)
led. Simon est peut-être le même personnage que le suivant
Morainvilliers, Simonnet de
1413/10/7-1414/2/2: officier de la chambre des comptes du roi; reçoit gages pour 118 jours depuis la première date, lorsque
"nous feusmes expediez en la chambre des comptes du roy"
(BN P.O. 2088 Morainvillier no. 11 (signature & sceau)).

Morainvilliers, Simonnet de
1413/10-1414: sommelier de la despense du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne 200 l.t. "pour lui ayder a remonter (les) chevaux et harnois qu'il avoit perdu lors qu'il avoit este pris prisonnier des ennemy"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
peut-être le fils du Simon susdit

Moreau, Perrin
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96)
autres du nom:
Moreau, Perrin
1419/10/10: arbalestrier ordonné par la duch. de Bourgogne d'être de la garnison du chastel de Châtillon-sur-Seine
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 5512)

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Moreau, Estienne
1414/5/23: banni comme Cabochien
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 368)
1419/3: valet de chambre du roi et
controleur de la despense du duc de Bourgogne
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1042)
Moreau, Jehan
1396: clerc de la chambre aux deniers de JSP comte
de Nevers
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 306 n. 1 *)
1411: receveur général du duché & comté de
Bourgogne (*)
Montagne, bailli de la (*)

Moreul, Msgr. de (voir Soissons)

Morin, Guillemin
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 90)

Mormont, Pierre
1414-1415: receveur du Limousin pour le duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)

Mortier, Guillaume le
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 109)

Mote, Alain de la
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)
autres du nom:
Mote, Aleaumet de la
1394: écuyer tranchant de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2063 la Mote no. 52)
1413: mtre. d'hostel du duc d'Orléans
(BN fr. 26039 no. 4771)
Mote, Arnault de la
1418/8/2: secrétaire du roi; nommé led. jour
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 747)
Mote, Eustace de la, dit Petiot
1390, 1394: 1er échanson du duc &
de la duch. d'Orléans (BN fr. 6211 nos. 377, 376)
1396: échanson de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2063 la Mote no. 56)
Mote, Gilet de la
1403: panetier de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2063 la Mote no. 61)

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Mote, Jehan de la, dit Guimbelet ("Guimbelet" *)
1416: écuyer tranchant du duc de Berry
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780) &
(Lacour: Gouv., p. xii *)
Mote, Jehan de la
1414/11: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
mort av. 1419/9/1 laissant veuve:
Folie, Agnes de la; et une seule fille héritière
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 551)
Mote, Jehan de la
1413: clerc, notaire du roi au Chastellet
(AN KK 48 fols. 148-v)
Mote, Pierre de la. mtre.
mort vers 1411-1412
notaire & secrétaire du roi
(AM Compiegne: CC 9 p. 54-5)

Mote, Guillaume de la
1411/9/29: écuyer, veneur du duc de Guyenne et
Grenelle, garde de la forêt de; nommé garde led. jour
(BN fr. 20684 p. 33)
probablement l'un des suivants:
Mote, Guillaume de la (Motte *)
1394: veneur du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 66 *)
Mote, Guillemin de la (Guillaume *) (Motte **)
1396, 1397: veneur de Louis d'Orléans
(Graves: Pièces, p. 123 *, 146 * & **)
autres du nom:
Mote, Guillaume de la
1398: échanson du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 150)
Mote, Guillaume de la
1403: Carvelle (?), verdier de la forêt de; et
Asnieres, garde du parc d'
(BN P.O. 2063 la Mote no. 60)

Mousque (voir Cambelas, Mousque de)

Mouton, Angoulant
1414-1415: valet des sommiers du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)

Moy, Jacques de (Mouy *)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'honneur du roi pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 20691 p. 867)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 52, 59, 68v, 101v *)
il s'agit probablement de:

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Sacquainville, Jacques de
leq. était fils du sgr. de Moy (voir Sacquainville)

Moy, Msgr. de (voir Soyecourt, Charles de)

Muselecque, Jehan de, dit Crete ("Jehan Crete" *)
testa 1407/2/21 (Tuetey: Testaments, p. 431-42 *)
mort av. 1414/3/29 (BN P.O. 930 Crete no. 3 *)
1364/4/26: clerc & auditeur des comptes de Charles V
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5873 (Menant IX) fol. 159 *)
1385: cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi
(BN P.O. 930 Crete no. 2 *)
1396/10/7: mtre. clerc de la chambre des comptes du roi remplace led. jour à cause de son ancienneté; mais il peut "seoir en son estat et y estre vacquer et besongner" quand il veut (AN P 2297 p. 111-5 (en entier) *)
1403: cons. clerc en la chambre des comptes du roi qui demande pour lui: Sainte Chapelle, la chanoinie & prébende de la; il est natif de Meaux
(Vatican: Suppliques (Benoit XIII) 100 fol. 136v * (CNRS))
1407/4/27: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(AN P 15 no. 5350)
au moment de sa mort: cons. du roi en la chambre des comptes (AN X.1a 9807 fol. 19v *)

Mussy, Andre de (dit Cuerdargent *) (Andriet **)
1414-1415: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76v. **)

Nantouillet, Jehan de
(Nantouillet: Seine-et-Marne:
arr. Meaux, c. Claye-Souilly)
1386/4/25: écuyer tranchant du roi
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 235)
1407, 1409, 1413/1-7, 1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 7v, 18v, 38 & 47, 53, 72)
1410-1411: 1er valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1411: valet tranchant du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 80 p. 6265 (fichier))
1411: 1er valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes (BN fr. 32511 fol. 10)
1412/6-7: [1er ?] valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v) voir aussi: (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1412-1413: 1er valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne

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(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1413/5/22: emprisonné par les Cabochiens le même jour que le duc de Bavière (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 45)
1414: 1er écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414-1415. 1415/10-12: 1er écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 20 & 22, 26)

Neble, Guillaume de
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

Neelle, Guy de (Nesle)
Offemont, sgr. d' (à partir de 1388/11/1)
(Guynemer: Off., p. 38-43 (*))
Mello, sgr. de (à partir de 1388/11/1) (*)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI (***), p. 51)
1390: fait partie de l'expédition en Afrique de:
Bourbon, Loys duc de (AN P 16 no. 5755)
1398, 1403: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6212 nos. 9 & 10),
(BN P.O. 2095 Néelle 47746 (**) no. 31)
1404/7: cons. & chambellan
du roi & de Louis d'Orléans (** no. 36)
1407: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11)
1408: cons. & chambellan du roi et du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Clairambault 191 no. 30)
1409/10/20: réformateur du royaume; nommé led. jour avec d'autres (Ordonnances, IX, p. 474)
1409-1410: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne recevant dud. duc 500 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
1410/2/26: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1410/4/4: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
1410/5/18: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 148-v)
1410/12/2: cons. & chambellan du roi a
1000 l.t. de pension par an assignés led. jour (** no. 37)
1410-1411: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne recevant dud. duc 1000 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411/6/24: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 55v-56)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du
duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 43, 57v, 102)
1414/5, 1415/5/7: chambellan du roi et
grand mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(BN fr. 31946 fol. 154v),

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(BN P.O. 2095 Néelle 47746 no. 40)
1415: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de
Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415/10/21: testa (BN fr. 31946 fol. 154v)
autres mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4 deux fois, 8)
épousa (contrat 1389/8/2): Coucy, Marguerite de
(*** p. 51); morte 1419/9/8 (*)
enfants: liste incomplète:
1. Neelle, Raoul de (*) (voir ci-dessous)
2. Neelle, Guy de (*** p. 52) (voir ci-dessous)
3. Neelle, Blanche de; épousa:
Soyecourt, Loys de; Moy, sgr. de (*** p. 52)
fils de:
Neelle, Jehan de
mort 1388/11/1 (voir ci-dessus)
Offemont, sgr. d'
Mello, sgr. de
épousa: Mailly, Ade de
morte 1400 selon Guynemer (*) et 1410 selon Anselme
(*** p. 51)
enfants (*** p. 51):
1. Neelle, Guy de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Neelle, Loys de
1421: Beauvais, doyen de (*** p. 51)
3. Neelle, Jehanne de; épousa:
a. Laval, Guy de; Attichy, sgr. d'
b. Ailly, Mathieu d', dit Sarrazin
c. Donguerre, Jehan de
d. Humieres, Jehan de (*** p. 51)
4. Neelle, Blanche de; épousa:
a. Flavy, Raoul de
b. Beaumont, Guy de
c. Chartres, Hector de (*** p. 51)
5. Neelle, Marie de; épousa:
a. Trie, Regnault de
b. Montravel, Jehan de (*** p. 51)

Neelle, Guy de (Guiot *)
mort 1473 (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 52)
Offemont, sgr. d'
1417/3/6: toujours écuyer quand il fait hommage au roi
led. jour pour lad. sgrie. (AN P 16 no. 5768)
Mello, sgr. de
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 53v *, 61v *, 75v *)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne qui lui
donne 200 l.t. "pour aller plus honnestement" en Italie
avec: Bourbon, Jacques de; Marche, comte de la
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1418/5/23: chambellan du dauphin Charles

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(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 52 ***)
1421: fait prisonnier à Meaulx par les Anglais
(Guynemer: Off., p. 40)
épousa (contrat 1427/7/12): Saluces, Jehanne de (***)
fils de: Neelle, Guy de (voir ci-dessus)

Neelle, Raoul de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Guynemer: Off., p. 38-43)
Saint Crespin, sgr. de (1412)
(Monstrelet, II, p. 250, 252)
1411: 1er échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1412: [1er échanson] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 38v)
1412: fait chlr. à la bataille de Saint Rémy le Plain
(Monstrelet, II, p. 252)
1412, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 68, 102v)
fils de: Neelle, Guy de (voir ci-dessus)

Negune, Jehan (Negone *) (Negune **)
1414-1415: aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474 & 479 *)
1421: aide de fourrière du dauphin Charles
(Chartier, III, p. 318 **)

Neillac, Jehan de (Neyllac *)
1412: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1412, 1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 42 * & 51v *, 56v *)
autres du nom:
Neilhac, Guillaume de
1391/4/3: chlr. chambellan du roi
(BN fr.n.a. 15543 no. 96)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Neillac, Guillaume sgr. de
Neillac, sgr. de
Chateaubrun, sgr. de
Bridiers, vicomte de
1394/2/9: Beaucaire & Nimes, sénéchal de
institué led. jour; en fonction jusqu'à sa mort 1403/11/30
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 269)

Nerly, Francois de
1405: marchand de Florence demourant à Paris

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(Straub: Herzog Ludwig, p. 221 n. 104)
1406: changeur
(Straub: Herzog Ludwig, p. 212 n. 73)
1409/3/26: gouverneur des finances du duc de Bavière et trésorier & receveur général de toutes les finances du duc de Guyenne; nommé trésorier led. jour par le roi; prêta serment "es mains" du chancelier de France 1409/7/13 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3)
1410/4/6: trésorier & receveur général de toutes les finances du duc de Guyenne; retenu "de nouvel" led. jour par le duc de Guyenne; prêta serment "es mains" du chancelier 1411/6/9 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3)
1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415:
trésorier & receveur général de toutes les finances du duc de Guyenne; remplacé pendant l'émeute cabochienne par: Noident, Jehan de, pour la periode: 1413/6/20-1413/8/4 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 13v);
ses 7 comptes pour le duc de Guyenne sont disparus, mais Du Fourny en a fait des extraits avant 1713:
1. 1409/3/26-1410/9/30: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3-4v)
2. 1410/10/1-1411/12: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5-6v)
3. 1411/12-1412/9/30: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 7-10)
4. 1412/10/1-1413/9/30: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 11-13)
5. 1413/10/1-1414/9/30: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 15-17v)
6. 1414/10/1-1415/9/30: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 19-24v)
7. 1415/10/1-1415/12/18: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 25-27)
1409-1410, 1412, 1413-1414, 1414-1415:
trésorier du duc de Guyenne à 1000 l.t. de gages par an (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 7, 15v, 19v)
1411/8/31: la reine donne 2000 l.t. aud. F. pour "certains joyaulx" qu'il lui avait vendus (AN KK 48 fol. 64v)
1412: le duc de Guyenne donne aud. F. 2000 fr. pour "lui ayder a achepter une maison" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412: chez le duc de Guyenne à Auxerre (BN fr. 32511 fol. 13)
1412-1413: le duc de Guyenne donne aud. F. 1000 l.t. "pour mieux soustenir son estat" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
1413/10: à Poissy (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1413/10-1414: le duc de Guyenne donne aud. F. 2000 l.t. "pour achepter un hostel" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1414/5-6: à Pontoise devers les généraux des aides (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1415: le duc de Guyenne donne aud. F. 200 l.t. pour ses étrennes et 2000 l.t. "pour avoir un hostel a Paris pour sa demeure" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 5, 6, 12, 16, 21v, 25, 25v)
épousa: NN dont il eut un enfant que le duc de Guyenne avait fait "lever...sur fons depuis nagueres" 1412-1413 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)

Nesle (voir Neelle)

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Nesson, Pierre de
1413/4/28: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; arrêté led. jour par les Cabochiens a Paris (Monstrelet, II, p. 345)
autres du nom:
Nesson, Berthelemy de
1414: conseiller du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 134v)
Nesson, Jamet de (Ametus *)
1401/2/26: valet de chambre du roi et garde des coffres du roi; nommé garde led. jour au lieu de: Foucaut, Guillaume; led. J. prêta serment en la chambre des comptes 1401/3/7 (BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fol. 117v *)
1401/3/7-1404: valet de chambre et garde des coffres du roi (Rey: Finances, p. 460)
1401/10/30: signature (BN lat.n.a. 2320 no. 158)

Nicolle, Eliot
1414-1415: ménestrel du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)

Nielles, Jehan de (Nyelles)
Olehain, sgr. d' (Olhain: Pas-de-Calais: arr. Béthune, c. Houdain, cne. Fresnicourt)
licencié en lois et avocat au Parlement (Feuchère: Olhain (***), p. 26)
1394: cons. du duc de Bourgogne (Laurent & Quicke: Docs., t. 97, p. 123)
1401/2/27: cons. & mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du duc de Bourgogne et trésorier & gouverneur general de toutes les finances du duc de Bourgogne; nommé trésorier led. jour à 1000 fr. de pension par an outre 3 l. par jour quant il vacquera tant à Paris que dehors excepté lors qu'il sera a Olehaing où il tient son domicile (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 233)
1405/7/17: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne et Bapaumes, gouverneur du bailliage de institué gouv. led. jour (BN fr. 31947 fol. 33)
Feuchère dit qu'il prêta serment comme gouverneur 1404/6/14 (*** p. 27, réf.: Reg. Mémorial de la ville d'Arras, fol. 63; AD Nord: 1H 81 & B 1876)
1406/4/11 * ou 1406/8/5 **:
fait chlr. par le duc de Bourgogne, qui lui donnait 500 fr. comme pension viagère outre ses gages "pour mieux soustenir son estat" de chlr. (*) (BN fr. 31947 fol. 33 *) (BN fr. 31900 fol. 111 **);
led. J. renonça à cette pension quand led. duc lui donna 1412/3/1 la sgrie. de Grigny (Pas-de-Calais: arr. Saint Pol, c. Le Parcq) qui avait appartenue à feu Bos, Mansart du (**)

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lad. sgrie. de Grigny fut restitué à Jehan de Brimeu après la mort du duc de Bourgogne (JSP) et Phe.-le-Bon donna aud. de Nielles en récompense la sgrie. de Quiery la Motte (*** p. 32, réf.: AD Nord: B 1602)
1408/9/23: à la bataille d'Othée avec le duc de Bourgogne (Monstrelet, VI, p. 200)
1409/11/19: chancelier (de la reine) et chancelier du duc de Guyenne; il reçoit pour ces offices 2000 l.t. par an du duc de Guyenne (Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 57-8, réf.: BN fr. 25708 no. 630) et 1000 l.t. de la reine (AN KK 48 fol. 27)
1410/12/2: le roi lui donne 1000 l.t. de pension par an à commencer 1410/11/1 (BN P.O. 2112 Nielle no. 13)
1411/5: dénoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme coupable de la mort de Louis d'Orléans (Monstrelet, II, p. 119)
1411/12: chancelier de la reine & du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 131v)
1411: chancelier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: chancelier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/9: à Melun (BN fr. 32511 fol. 13)
1413/3: chancelier du duc de Guyenne; remplacé aud. mois (Bn fr. 22365 p. 17); puis rétabli 1413/5/11 (ibid.); et puis déchargé 1413/8/13 (ibid., p. 19)
1413/3/13:
Saint Ouen, concierge de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne à; remplacé led. jour par: Mesnil, Guillaume du (Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 59-60)
1413/4/1: chancelier de la reine (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 194v)
1413/5/22: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris (Baye: Journal, II, p. 114)
1413/7/10: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne et chancelier du duc de Guyenne; le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 528 escus "pour lui aidier a payer la terre de Caucourt en Artois qu'il avoit achetee et qui est tenue de lui a cause du chateau d'Aubigny" (BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 1v)
1414/3/2: a Arras avec le duc de Bourgogne (Monstrelet, II, p. 440)
armoiries: de sable billeté d'argent en orle à un lion d'argent et à la bordure engrêlée de même (*** p. 26); voir son sceau:
(BN P.O. 2112 Nielle no. 14 (sceau))
épousa av. 1386: Olehain, Marie d'
(BN fr. 31947 fol. 32v)
enfants:
1. Nielles, Marie de; Olhain, dame d'
laq. mourut 1433/5/31 (*** p. 34)
laq. épousa av. 1420:
Lannoy, Baudouin de, dit le Beque;

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Molembaix, sgr. de (*** p. 33) (voir Lannoy)
2. Nielles, Alix de; morte av. 1433
laq. épousa:
a. Recourt, Jehan de; Lens, chastellain de
(*** p. 34) (voir Recourt ci-dessous)
b. Bergues, Jehan de (*** p. 34)
3. Nielles, NN de; épousa vers 1401/7/22:
Tenques, Pierre sgr. de
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 291)
1412/7: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne;
accompagna led. duc pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 34)
autres du nom:
Nielles, Jehan sgr. de (Nyelles)
ce Jehan n'est pas de la même famille que le Jehan susdit
car ses armoiries sont:
mi-parti: semé de fleurs de lys/trois bandes
(BN P.O. 2112 Nielle no. 10)
1374: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel de Charles V
et Ponthieu, gouverneur de; nommé gouv. aud. an
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 536 ***)
1382, 1385: cons. & mtre. des requêtes
de l'hostel du roi et: Ponthieu, gouverneur de (***)
1385/7/28: chlr. cons. & mtre. des requêtes
de l'hostel du roi et: Ponthieu, gouverneur de;
à Abbeville led. jour (BN P.O. 2112 Nielle no. 6)
1389/2/16: Ponthieu, sénéchal de; nommé led. jour;
mort av. 1391/2/3 quand il est remplacé (***)

Nielles, Pierre de (Nyelle *)
1412/1/1: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1413/1-7: [écuyer d'écurie] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57 *)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 4)

Noident, Jehan de
natif de Langres
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 112 n. 2 *)
1409-1411, 1413-1414: receveur général de toutes
les finances du duc de Bourgogne (*)
1413/6/20-1413/8/4: trésorier & receveur général de
toutes les finances du duc de Guyenne à 600 l.p. par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 13v) & (BN fr. 20416 no. 27)
1418/1/2: gouverneur & général commissaire des
finances du roi; nommé led. jour par la reine à Troyes
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv. (**), no. 112)
1419/5: cons. du roi et receveur général
de toutes les finances du duc de Bourgogne (** no. 1154)
1420/4: gouverneur de toutes les finances de

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Languedoc (** no. 1273)
épousa vers 1410/10/5: NN (BN P.O. 2120 Noident no. 3)

Normannorum (Normanorum *)
1414-1415: enfant de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 473 & 477)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469 *)

Normant, Guillemin
1414-1415: porteur d'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)
autres du nom:
Normant, Jehan le
1380/10: chevaucheur du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 41)
1387, 1389: chevaucheur du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722)
Normant, Jehan le
1387, 1389: charretier de la grande garderobe
du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722)

Noroy, Gilles de (Norroy *) (Gilet **)
1407: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 8 * & **)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne qui lui
donne 200 l.t. "en accroissement de son mariage"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
fils de: Norroy, Jehan de (voir ci-dessous)

Nourroy, Guillaume de (Noroy *)
1409-1410: 1er huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne qui
lui donne 100 l.t. "pour l'accroissement de son mariage"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 4)
1411: 1er huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: 1er huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1413-1414: 1er huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
à 100 l.t. de gages par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15)
1413-1414: Malesherbes, capit. du bois
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 13)
(AN KK 228 fols. 11 *, 46 *, 68v *)
épousa: NN
enfants: un que le duc de Guyenne fait lever sur fonts
1412-1413 (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
led. G. s'il fut fait chlr. en 1413 serait aussi le suivant:

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Nourroy, Guillaume de (Norroy *)
1413/9/27: Meaux, bailli de; chlr.; nommé bailli led. jour; remplacé 1414/10/6
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 95)
1414: mtre. d'hostel du roi; laisse le siège du roi devant Bapaumes pour retourner à Paris
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1414: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)
1414/10/6: trésorier de France; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 95);
1414/10/10: prêta serment "es mains" du chancelier et au Parlement (BN fr. 2836 fol. 124); remplacé 1415/1/27 par:
Taillevis, Robert de
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 105)
1414-1415: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
1415: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 16, 19v, 24)
épousa: Targe, Jehanne de
fils de:
Norroy, Jehan de
épousa: Barres, Jehanne des
enfants:
1. Norroy, Guillaume de; chlr. (voir ci-dessus)
2. Norroy, Olivier de; chlr.; Estang, sr. de l'
3. Norroy, Gilet de; épousa:
Campremy, Marguerite de
4. Norroy, Jehan de
(BN P.O. 2125 Norroy no. 16 (généal. du 18e siècle) *)

Noroy, Olivier de
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104)
fils de: Norroy, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)

Nottembert, Jehan de (voir Ortenburg)

Nouvion, Msgr. de (voir Mercier, Charles le)

Nugnez, Gillet (Nunez *)
1414-1415: valet de pied du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a.9175 fols. 474 & 479 *)

Oblover, l'
1412/6-7: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)

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ce nom est ou le nom de son office car l'oubloyer faisait partie de la paneterie, ou bien son nom de famille
autres du nom:
Oublover, Jehan l'
1387, 1389: garde des 2 sommiers de chapelle du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 722)
Oubloyer, Perrin l'
1422/7: oubloyer du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 441)
Oubloyer, Perrin l'
1422: guette du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)

Odinet
1412: de la fourriere du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)

Offemont, Msgr. d' (voir Neelle, Guy de)

Olehain, Msgr. d' (voir Nielles, Jehan de)

Orfevre, Pierre l'. mtre.
mort 1415/1/19 n.s.?
(Luppé: Soc. Senlis, 4e sér., t. 5 (*), p. 5)
Pontarmé, sgr. de (* p. 4)
Ver-sous-Dammartin, sgr. de (* p. 4)
Pont Ste. Maxence, sgr.-chastellain du
acheta lad. sgrie. 1415/7 des héritiers de: Malet, Gilles (* p. 4)
1415/10-12: cons. & mtre. des requetes de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
1418: se sauva de Paris à la rentrée des Bourguignons
1424 env.: rentra à Paris où il fut pardonné par:
Bedford, Jehan duc de (Bossuat: Recovery, p. 73)
épousa: Laillier, Jehanne de; morte 1469 (* p. 5)
fils de:
Orfevre, Pierre l'. mtre.
mort 1411 (Bossuat: Recovery, p. 73)
1385/10: cons. & mtre. es requestes du palais royal du roi (BN P.O. 1747 l'Orfèvre no. 8)
1390/2/11: cons. & avocat du roi au Parlement (BN P.O. 1747 l'Orfevre no. 9)
1404: cons. du roi & chancelier de Louis d'Orléans (BN P.O. 1747 l'Orfèvre no. 12)
1411/9/8: cons. du roi; testa led. jour (BN lat.n.a. 184 fol. 94)
épousa: Sens, Jehanne de
enfants:
1. Orfevre, Pierre l' (voir ci-dessus)
2. Orfevre, Jehanne l'; épousa:

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Cousinot, Guillaume
3. Orfevre, Catherine l'; épousa:
Hospital, Francois de l' (voir ci-dessus)
(Luppé: Soc. Senlis, 4e sér., t. 5, p. 4)
autres du nom:
Orfevre, Pierre l'. mtre.
1392: cons. du roi; Paris, chanoine de;
Esmanville, curé d'
(Robillard de Beaurepaire: Soc. Eure, 3e s., t. 8, p. 536)

Orgemont, Nicolle d'. mtre.
1414/9/24: gouverneur sur le fait des monnaies;
nommé led. jour (Ordonnances, X, p. 221-3)
1414-1415: probablement cons. & mtre. des
comptes du duc de Guyenne; le duc lui donne alors les
1125 l.t. que led. N. lui avait prêtés; Du Fourny a mis
dans ses extraits ces offices mais n'a pas ajouté
"du roi" ou "de mondit sgr." (le duc de Guyenne)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 20)

Orgent, Jehan d' (voir Durgent)

Orleans, Philippe d'
Vertus, comte de
1412: le duc de Guyenne lui donne un diamant de 120 fr.
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8)
1413, 1414-1415: aux frais du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 68v, 101v)
1413/4/2: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN J 369 B no. 20)
1413/9/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN K 58 no. 4)
1413/12/11: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 64-5)
fils de: Orléans, Louis duc d' (frère du roi)

Ortenburg, Jehan d' (Nottembert *) (Ottemberg **)
(Notembert ***) ("Nottemberch" ****)
("le petit Nortemberch" *****) (Ottembert ******)
("Ottembert" *******) ("Nottembert" ********)
1406, 1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6 ****, 11 *****)
1410-1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6 **)
1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9 ***)
1412/6-7: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v *)
voir aussi: (AN KK 228 fol. 45 ******)

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écuyer d'honneur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 87)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 35 *******, 42 ********)

Ousanne (Ozanne *)
1398: nourrice du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 45 fol. 26v)
1399: damoiselle du duc de Guyenne
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 199 *)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Rion, Ouzenne
1407-1408: damoiselle de Catherine de France
(AN KK 48 fol. 157v)

Paillou, Denisot (Paillon ?)
1411: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 35)
autres du nom:
Paillou, Jehan
1387: fourrier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714)
Paillou, Robin
1387, 1389: valet de fourrière du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722)

Paris, Jehan de
1414-1415: aide de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 106)
autres du nom:
Paris, Jehan de
1416: de l'hostel du duc de Berry
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)
Paris, Guillaume de
hasteur de cuisine du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-H.)
(Delabarre: État, p. 59)
Paris, Philippe de. mtre.
mort av. 1425/9 à Bourges où il était allé avec:
Montagu, Girart de; Paris, évêque de
leq. il avait servi aussi en sa jeunesse
(Longnon: Paris, p. 180-1, réf.: AN JJ 173 no. 217) *)
clerc des comptes du roi (*)
1418/8: vivant
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 352)

Paschot, Jehan
1407, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413: de l'hostel
du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 11, 31 & 51, 35, 43, 58)

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1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)

Paumier, Jehan (Pammier *)
1414: sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 108v *)

Pele, Jehan le
1407, 1409, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 10, 23, 33v, 40v & 49, 56v & 65v, 89v)
1412/6-7: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Pele, Jehan (le *)
1387, 1389: sommelier de fruiterie du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713 *, 721 *)
1402: fruitier du roi (BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
autres du nom:
Pele, Guiot le
bourgeois de Troyes
1418/1/27: cons., trésorier & gouv. général de toutes les finances de la reine; nommé led. jour (remplacé 1418/8/14 **)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 50, 52 **)

Pelle, Perrin
1414-1415: valet de porte du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
autres du nom:
Pele, Jaquet
1404: valet de fruiterie du duc de Bourgogne (Phe.-le-H.) (Mirot: Annales de Bourg., t. 11, p. 134)

Pelletier, Mahieu le: Du Fourny en parlant de ce chapellain du duc de Guyenne semble avoir mal lu le nom: Sellier, Mahieu le (voir)

Pelletot, Robert de
1415: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)
probablement le même personnage que:
Pelletot, Robert sgr. de
Laniers, sgr. de (mouvant de: Ponthieu, le comté de) fait hommage au roi pour lad. sgrie. 1404/6/6 (AN P 15 no. 5325)
1399: chambellan du roi et: Costentin,

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bailli de; bailli jusqu'à 1411
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 182-4 *)
1400, 1402: Carentan, capit. de (*)
1401/11/22: chambellan du roi et
Costentin, bailli de
(BN P.O. 2223 Peletot ** no. 2 (signature))
1409/1/3: à Gavray (BN P.O. 1545 Hue en Norm. no. 10)
1410/9/24: à Avranches (BN fr. 26037 no. 4372)
1411/10/17: Costentin, bailli de; à 20 s.t.
par jour (BN fr. 26288 no. 192 (signature))
1411/11: cons. & chambellan du roi et
Ponthieu, maréchal héréditaire de
(BN fr. 26038 no. 4534)
1412/10/10, 1413/5/31: cons. & chambellan
du roi et mtre. et enquêteur des Eaux & Forêts de
Normandie & Picardie; à Rouen led. jour en 1412
(BN P.O. 2223 Peletot nos. 13, 15)
1415/8/9: abandonne ses prétentions à l'office de:
Costentin, bailli de; après avoir plaidé au
Parlement contre: Montauban, Guillaume sgr. de
(BN P.O. 2007 Montauban no. 6)
voir pour son mauvais gouvernement comme:
Costentin, bailli de: Baye, Journal, II, p. 217 n. 2

Pellimoine, Jacquet (Poillemoine *)(Poillemonne **)
(Pelivoine ***)
1406, 1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6 **, 11 *)
1413/10-1414: valet de garderobe du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414-1415, 1415/10-12: 1er valet de chambre du duc
de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 23, 26v)
1415: 1er valet de chambre & garde des deniers
des coffres du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)

Pelourde, Estienne
1413/5/4: échanson du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 23v)
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Pelourde, Estienne
1386: anobli avec son père: Pelourde, Regnaut
(BN lat. 18345 p. 115, ref.: AN JJ 129 no. 248))

Pelourde, Jehan
1410/6/24-1411/6/24: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne au
pays du Dauphiné; nommé aud. an
(BN fr. 22365 p. 11)

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autres du nom:
Pelourde, Philippon
1387, 1389: sergent d'armes du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 710, 718)

Perle, Anthoine du
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Perroquet (voir Poulain)

Pet, Symonnet (Simonnet *) (le Pet **)
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 58v)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 102 * & **)

Petaut, Colin
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 89v)

Petit, Colin
1414-1415: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
led. C. avait un aide et travaillait avec: Beausou (*)
(AN KK 228 fols. 105v & 109 *)

Petit, Estienne
1412, 1412-1413: receveur du bois Malesherbes
pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 7, 11)

Petit, Jehan
1407, 1412, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 10, 40v, 89)
autres du nom:
Petit, Jehan
1387, 1389: garde des deux sommiers de forge
du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 722)
Petit, Jehan
1387, 1389: hasteur de cuisine du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)
1392: hasteur de cuisine du roi
(Pichon: Taillevent, p. 270)
Petit, Jehan
1414: queux du ct. de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 (cat.))
Petit, Guillaume. mtre.
1413/12/24: secrétaire du duc de Berry et

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receveur des aides aux comtés d'Étampes & Gien et dans la ville & châtellenie de Dourdan; remplacé led. jour comme receveur par:

Fauvre, Guillaume le
1413: secrétaire du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 32)

Petit, Guillemin
1392: enfant de cuisine du roi
(Pichon: Taillevent, p. 270)

Petit, Nicolas
1412/6: receveur des aides à Paris
(Pocquet du Haut-Jusse: Fr. Gouv., no. 99)

Petit Gay
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 69)

Petit Jehan
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 77v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Bizet, Jehan, dit Petit Jehan
1416: de l'hostel du duc de Berry
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)

Petitpas, Herbelet
1407-1408: valet de chambre de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 142 n. 59)
1414: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
clerc d'offices (naguères) du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1414/11-12: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne pendant le voyage a Bourges & Mehun-sur-Yèvre
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)
1415/10-12: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Petitpreau, Jehannin
1414-1415: porteur de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 80v & 83)

Phelipeau, Jehan
1415: clerc d'Estienne Bongré secrétaire du roi pendant l'expédition de Normandie
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)

Philipes, Herve (Hervy *) (Philippe **)
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fol. 74 * & **)
1414-1415: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
probablement le même personnage que:
Philippes, Henry
son prénom a été mal lu au 17e siècle semble-t-il
1415/11/7: Montlhéry, capit. de; nommé par le
duc de Guyenne led. jour (BN fr. 21405 p. 71) &
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 117)

Picart, Jehan le
secrétaire du duc de Guyenne dont il signe une lettre
sans date d'année (AD Nord: 657 no. 15226.3)
1413/10/14: secrétaire de la reine dont il
signe une lettre led. jour à Paris
(AN T 167(5))
1421: 1er secrétaire du dauphin Charles
(Chartier: Chronique, III, p. 304)
autres du nom:
Picart, Jehan le. mtre.
1414/3/25: licencié en lois, avocat au
Parlement, & cons. au trésor à Paris; nommé cons. led. j.
(AN Z.1f 7 A fol. 148)
1416: cons. au trésor
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr., 1935, p. 275)
Picart, Jehan le
mort av. 1401/7/10
cons. & avocat du roi au Parlement
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr., 1935, p. 275)

Picquet, Jehan (voir Haye, Jehan de la)

Pierre, Thomassin ("Pierre" *)
1410, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415:
(barbier & valet de chambre) du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 26v, 42 & 50v, 58 & 67v, 108)
1412/6-7: [barbier & valet de chambre]
du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1414-1415: barbier & valet de chambre
du duc de Guyenne quand il "eu la premiere seignee"
dudit duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1414-1415: 1er barbier & valet de chambre
du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)

Piet, Hervy
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104v)

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Piet, Jehan (Johan **) (Johannin ***)
1381, 1383: sommelier de la chambre aux deniers du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 29 & 184, 206 ** & 231 ***)
1407/10/1: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Guyenne; commence son 1er compte led. jour (AN KK 228 fol. 13)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413, 1413/6/20-1413/8/4, 1413/12/1: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Guyenne (* remplacé 1413/12/1 par: Bragelongne, Adam de) (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5, 7, 11, 13v, 15 *)
1412/6-7: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 112)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12 deux fois)
(BN P.O. 2274 Piet nos. 3, 4 (signature))

Piet, Martin
1381: clerc de fourrière du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 88)
1381, 1383: clerc de l'écurie du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 84, 231 & 233)
1387, 1389: clerc de l'écurie du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721)
1390/10: clerc de l'écurie du roi (BN P.O. 2274 Piet no. 2)
1405: mtre de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Guyenne; remplacé 1407/9/30 (*) par: Piet, Jehan (**) (AN KK 228 fols. 1, 7v *, 13 **)

Piet, Thevenin (Pyet *)
1413/3: chevaucheur de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 142v *)

Pioche, Jehan
mort av. 1422/12/4 (X.2a 16 fol. 441v)
Onay, sgr. d'
1405/6: chlr., mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne en Artois avec led. duc (AD Côte-d'Or: B 11886)
1410/2: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (BN P.O. 2287 Pioche (**) no. 5)
1410/3: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (AN JJ 164 fol. 93)
1410/9/14: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne quand le roi lui donne 200 fr. pour "lui aidier a soy armer et estre...en nre. compaignie en l'armee que nous faisons" (** no. 4)
1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne à 400 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fols. 5, 7, 11)

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1411/1/1: cons. & mtre. d'hostel du duc
de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 191)
1411/6/6: mtre d'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(** no. 3 (signature))
1412/6-7: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1415/9: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne;
envoyé par led. duc chez le duc de Bourgogne
(Juvenal des Ursins, p. 299)
1415: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres mentions: (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fols. 128-v)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 7v)
épousa: Blado, Marguerite de (latin pour Blay ?)
vivante 1422/12/4 (AN X.2a 16 fol 441v)
enfants:
1. Pioche, Jehan
(AN X.2a 16 fol. 441v)
1414: écuyer tranchant du comte de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 (cat.))
1421: 1er écuyer tranchant du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 231)
2. Pioche, Philibert; viv. 1422/12/4
(AN X.2a 16 fol. 441v)
3. Pioche, NN; 1412-1413 le duc de Guyenne donne aud. J.
500 l.t. pour "l'accroissement du mariage" de cette fille
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)

Piovelot, Anthoine
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68)

Pisseleu, Robinet de (Robin *) (Robert **)
1406, 1407, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415:
de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 5 *, 8v *, 36v, 62, 89 **)
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
autres du nom:
Pisseleu, Jehan de. mtre., dit le Besgue
1380-1381, 1387: 1er maréchal du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 27),
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713)

Plainel, Hainsselin
de l'écurie de Louis d'Orléans
1409/7/17: valet de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
quand le duc Charles d'Orleans lui donne 15 escuz d'or
pour "l'accroissement du mariage de sa fille"
(BN P.O. 2239 Perrier no. 7)

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Plessis, Michelet du
1407-1408: sommelier de la chapelle du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 48 fol. 155)
1409-1410, 1410-1411: sommelier de la chapelle du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 5v-6)
1412: clerc de la chapelle du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)

Plotart (voir Cluys, Plotart de)

Poquelin, Henry (Poquelin *)
1414-1415: écuyer, page du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474v * & 479 *)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Polite, Jehan
1401: chevaucheur de l'écurie de la reine (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 146)
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 91)

Pons, Regnault sgr. de
appellé "cousin" par le duc de Guyenne (*)
1398: chlr. chambellan du roi (AN J 865 no. 14)
1398: conservateur des trêves au pays de Guyenne (AN J 865 no. 26)
1409: chambellan du roi et conservateur des trêves avec l'Angleterre au pays de Guyenne (AN J 865 no. 20)
1410: cons. du duc de Guyenne; envoyé avec d'autres pour prendre possession du duché de Guyenne (BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329) voir aussi: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 4v)
1410/5/7: Tallemont-sur-Gironde, capit. de; nommé led. jour par le duc de Guyenne au lieu de: Chassaigne, Mondisson de (AN J 865 no. 17 *)
1410/5/7: Rochelle, gouverneur de la; nommé led. jour par le duc de Guyenne au lieu de: Villaines, Pierre de (AN J 865 no. 18 *)
1410/8/12: le roi ordonne led. R. son "cousin" de venir armé à Paris avec autant de gens d'armes qu'il puisse trouver (AN J 865 no. 19)

Pont, Godefroy du
1413/1: valet servant du duc de Guyenne quand le roi lui donne "lettres de rémission" pour avoir volé dans l'hostel dud. duc "une escuelle d'argent"; led. G a 20 ans "ou environ"

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(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 48 (en entier), ref.:
(AN JJ 166 no. 427 fol. 265v)
autres du nom:
Pont, Bernart du
1409-1410, 1413/10-1414: Tallemont, connestable de
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 4v, 17)

Ponteaudemer, Robert de (Pontaudemer *)
(Pont-Audemer: Eure: arr. Bernay, ch.-l.)
1406, 1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6 *, 66v * nom rayé)
1412: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8v)
1412/6-7: [écuyer d'écurie] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1414/10-1415/9: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
qui lui donne 150 l.t. "en accroissement de son mariage"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 24)
armoiries:
(description d'un sceau qu'il a perdu en 1412/12):
"un escu ou il y a deux lions passans a 2 lambeaux et
un timbre dessus, et deux penons a une patte de
lyon, et autour ..(son nom).. et aux deux costez du seel
avoit un lyon et un griffon qui soustenoient l'escu"
(Mirot: Le M.A., t. 28, p. 128-9, réf.:
(BN Coll. Clairambault 763 p. 54) voir aussi:
(BN Coll. Clairambault 3 p. 4)
probablement le fils de:
Ponteaudemer, Robert de
Quesnoy, sgr. du
chlr. mort av. 1411/1/27 (AN X.1c 101 A no. 68)
1386: panetier du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes, p. 253)
1392: valet de chambre de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames (**), p. 233)
1396/2/15 v.s.?: panetier du roi auq. il fait
hommage de tout ce qu'il a acheté au comté de Dreux
du fils de feu: Crecy, Jehan de
(Fossé-Darcosse: Mélanges, p. 250 no. 611)
1398: 1er écuyer d'écurie de la reine (** p. 233)
1401-1405: mtre. d'hostel de la reine (** p. 233)
1403/9/21: chlr. chambellan du roi (** p. 237)
épousa av. 1380:
Villiers, Catherine de
1375: damoiselle de la reine Jeanne de Bourbon (** p. 235)
1389-1400: damoiselle de la reine (** p. 232)
1401: 1ere damoiselle de la reine (** p. 232)
1401-1405, 1408: dame d'honneur de la reine (** p. 232)
1408, 1409-1413: dame d'honneur de la duch. de
Guyenne (** p. 234)
1413: arrêtée à Paris par les Cabochiens (** p. 234)

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Porte, Estienne de la
1410-1411: receveur des aides à: Rochelle, la; pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411-1412: "nagueres" receveur des aides à: Rochelle, la; pour le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)

Pot, Regnier
né vers 1362 (J. Pot (*), p. 14)
mort 1432 (* p. 289)
1381: échanson du duc de Bourgogne (* p. 15)
1382: mineur (* p. 14 n. 1)
1384: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne; chlr. (* p. 14 n.1)
1389: envoyé en Prusse par le duc de Bourgogne (* p. 31)
1390: en Prusse pendant presque toute l'année (* p. 31-2)
1391/1/14: chambellan du roi (BN Coll. Clairambault 189 no. 4)
1394: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans (* p. 38)
1394/1/31: il va aller "hastivement" en Hongrie pour les affaires de Louis d'Orléans (* p. 38)
1396: en croisade (Nicopolis) (* p. 44)
1398/1/13: en Italie à Treviso led. jour (* p. 69)
1398/1/15-16: chambellan du comte de Nevers (JSP) (* p. 70)
1398/6/10: à Paris led. jour (* p. 72)
1401/12: en voyage chez le roi des romains: Bavière, Robert de (* p. 80)
1402/2: en Hongrie (Mirot: S.H.F. 1938, p. 153 n. 1)
1402/10: en Bretagne avec le duc de Bourgogne (* p. 82)
1404/4/1: envoyé par le duc de Bourgogne de Lille à Paris (* p. 87)
1405/8/19: à Paris avec le duc de Bourgogne (JSP) (* p. 94)
1405/10/1: conseiller du duc de Bourgogne à 500 l.t. par an; retenu led. jour (* p. 96)
1406/1/26: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (* p. 99)
1407/4/15: conseiller du roi; assiste au conseil led. jour à Paris (* p. 107)
1407/4/28: conseiller du roi; retenu de nouvel led. jour (Ordonnances, XII, p. 226)
1408/7/6: part en Hongrie pour traiter le mariage du duc de Brabant (* p. 117)
1408: retire sa femme du service de la duchesse d'Orléans à la priere du duc de Bourgogne (* p. 118)
1409/2: à Prague pour traiter le mariage du duc de Brabant (* p. 122-3)
1409/6: arrive à Louvain avec la fiancée du duc de Brabant qu'il avait amenée de Prague (* p. 125)
1409/6/24: à Paris (* p. 126)
1409/7: à Bruxelles aux noces du duc de Brabant (* p.126)
1409/11/8 env.: envoyé en Bohême par le duc de Bourgogne (* p. 129)
1409/12/15: à Paris (* p. 129)
1410/1/8: cons. & chambellan du roi; et Dauphiné, gouverneur du; nommé gouv. led. jour par le roi (BN fr. 4604 fols. 13-v)

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1410/2/11: nomination comme gouv. confirmée par le duc de Guyenne (Dussert: États, p. 160 n. 2)
1411/6: va à Bruxelles chez le duc de Brabant pour le duc de Bourgogne (AD Nord: B 1903 fol. 84)
1411/7/20: cons. & chambellan du roi (BN Coll. Clairambault 189 no. 6)
1413/2: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 148v)
1413/10/31: en Dauphiné (* p. 162)
1414/2/8: en Dauphiné (* p. 163)
1414/7/26: Dauphiné, gouverneur du; remplacé led. j. par: Angennes, Jehan d' (BN fr. 22365 p. 20)
1414/11/8: retenu au service du duc de Bourgogne (* p. 167)

épousa 1392/11/29 à Vincennes (contrat: 1392/11/20): (* p. 36, 313-6)

Angousolle, Catherine d'
1392: damoiselle de la duchesse d'Orléans (* p. 36)

fils de:

Pot, Guillaume
mort av. 1381/12/17 (* p. 14)
Prugne, sgr. de la (Indre: cne. Ceaulmont) (* p. 14)

épousa (1350):

Guenant, Radegonde; veuve de:
Tremoille, Guy de la; leg. mourut 1350/8/18 (* p. 13)

Poulain, Pierre, dit Perroquet (Poulin *) ("Parroquet" **)
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 83 **)
potagier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 7853 p. 1146 *)

Poupart, Jehan
1414-1415: commis à la dispense & gouvernement de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 20v)

autres du nom:

Poupart, Charles
1386, 1388: valet de chambre du roi (BN P.O. 2362 Poupart nos. 11, 14)
1390: argentier du roi (BN P.O. 2362 Poupart no. 15)
1414-1415: argentier du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
armoiries: un lion rampant (BN P.O. 2362 Poupart no. 21 (sceau))

Preaux, Marguerite dame de
1403/6-12, 1404/1-12: au service de la reine (AN KK 45 fol. 171v) & (AN KK 46 fols. 13v-14), (AN KK 46 fol. 55)

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1405/8: gouvernante du duc de Guyenne
(Mirot: L'Enlèvement, p. 22)
epousa A.:
Riviere, Jehan sgr. de la
leq. mourut av. 1377/8
(BN P.O. 2496 La Rivière no. 11)
1364/10, 1365: 1er chambellan de Charles V
(BN P.O. 2496 La Rivière nos. 4, 12)
leq. etait le frère aîné de:
Riviere, Bureau de la (voir ci-dessous)
épousa B.:
Bourbon, Jacques de
leq. mourut av. 1416/10/17
(BN fr. 20395 fol. 31)
Preaux, sgr. de
Thury, sgr. de
1397/7/26: grand bouteiller de France; nommé led. jour (Godefroy, p. 785); remplacé 1402/4/29 par: Melun, Guillaume de; Tancarville, ct. de (ibid., p. 786)
1409/12: Rouen, capit. de; remplacé aud. mois par: Cramenil, le sgr. de
(BN fr. 20395 fol. 24)
1415: conseiller du roi
(BN fr. 26041 no. 5027v)

Pres, Jehan des (de Prez *)
1414-1415: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 73v *)

Prevel, Guillaume
1406, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6, 41, 56v & 57 & 66v, 95v)

Prevost, Adam
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51, 68, 105v)

Prevost, Jehan
1406: clerc de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6v)
autres du nom:
Prevost, Jehan
1407-1408: prestre & 1er chapellain de Catherine de France (AN KK 48 fol. 156)
Prevost, Jehan. frere
1414: Saint Denis, religieux dans l'abbaye de; en procès au sujet de la trésorerie de lad. abbaye

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(AN X.1a 1479 fol. 297)

Prevost, Jehan
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 62, 81)
autres du nom:
Prevost, Jehan, dit Fouet
1419/6: valet de chambre & garde de la tapisserie du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 297 et al.)
Prevost, Gilet
1414: sergent à cheval du roi au Chastellet
1416: sergent d'armes du roi (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 623)
1422: sergent d'armes du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Prevost, Girart
1422: enfant de cuisine du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Prevost, Guillot
1387, 1389: potagier du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)
1392: souffleur du roi (Pichon: Taillevant, p. 270)
Prevost, Hutinet (Hustinet *)
1414-1415: panetier du roi (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
écuyer de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI (BN fr. 5233 fol. 84v *)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Prevost, Simonnet, dit Hubinet
1416: de l'hostel du duc de Berry (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 780)
Prevost, Perrin
1387, 1389: chauffe-cire du roi (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721)

Primaut, Colin
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 89v)

Puis, Pierre du (Perrin *) (Perrinet **) (Puys ***)
1406, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 6 **, 51, 71, 105 ***)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1415: fourrier du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26 * & ***)
autres du nom:
Puis, Arnoulet du
1430: queux d'Isabelle de Portugal duchesse de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 251)

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Puis, Estiennot du
1383: chevaucheur de l'écurie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 221)
1390: chevaucheur du roi
(Graves: Pieces, p. 51)
Puis, Guillaume du
1419/6: valet de fourrière du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1220)
Puis, Jehan du
1389: fourrier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 722)
Puis, Jehan du
Gevisy, sgr. de (en partie) (1427/1434)
Mons, sgr. de (en partie) (1427/1434)
Athis-sur-Orge, sgr. de (en partie) (1427/1434)
1427/1434: écuyer (Sauval, III, p. 586)
Puis, Katherine du
1407-1408: femme de chambre de Msgr. de Ponthieu
(Charles VII) (AN KK 48 fol. 157v)
Puis, Regnault du
1387: fourrier du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714)
1402: de l'hostel du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)

Quarelet
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 108)

Quarre, Fleuret
1412: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne; envoyé à Grenoble remporter au roi 2000 fr. qui y étaient en depot; en compagnie de: Pot, Regnier
(BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 257)
autres du nom:
Quarre, Jehan
1407: orfèvre qui fait des travaux pour le roi
(Chantilly: Musée Conde: ms. 1127 fol. 14v)
Quarre, Jehan
av. 1404: garde huche du ct. de Nevers (JSP)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 236 n. 1, réf.:
(Mirot: JSP, p. 140)
1418: sommelier de l'échansonnerie du duc de Bourgogne (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 236)
Quarre, Jehan
1430: garde huche d'Isabelle de Portugal duch. de Bourgogne (Delabarre: État, p. 251)

Quenalar, Jehan
1414: valet de chambre & tailleur de robes du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras

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(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)

Quenore, Adam (Quenorre *)
1412: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 41v & 49v *)

Quesneau, Jehan
1413, 1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 66, 90)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Quesneau, Jehan
1422/7: valet de fruiterie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 434)
autres du nom:
Quesneau (Caresneau *)
1387, 1389: garde de fruit du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 713, 721 *)
Quesneau le jeune
1422: de la fruiterie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 704)

Quitry, Msgr. de (voir Chaumont, Guillaume de)

Raguier, Hemon
mort 1433/11/2 à Tours (***)
1393: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du dauphin Charles (* p. 200, ref.: AN KK 41 fol. 2)
1393/5/25-1403/1/31 : argentier de la reine
(Rey: Finances (**), p. 240)
1399/8/5-1409/12/7: trésorier des guerres
(** p. 388)
1405/4: anobli par le roi (Moranvillé: Songe (*), p. 201 ref.: AN JJ 159 fol. 163)
1409-1418/1/31 : trésorier de la reine
(** p. 256-7)
1411/4/30: trésorier général de la reine et naguères trésorier des guerres
(BN P.O. 2425 Raguier no. 24)
1412-1413: trésorier de la reine
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v)
1413/8/17: trésorier des guerres; institué led. jour
(** p. 388)
1413-1422: mtre. de la chambre des comptes du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 781 n. 2)
1414-1415: trésorier des guerres
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
1415/10-12: cons. & trésorier de la reine et cons. & mtre. lay de la chambre des comptes du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
la généalogie suivante vient (sauf exceptions notées)

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de la copie d'un document écrit par led. H. publié par:
(Vallet de Viriville: L'Investigateur, 1857, p. 313-8 ***)
épousa A.: Fontaine, Gillette de la; morte 1404/9/19
enfants de A.:
1. Raguier, Jacques; né 1394/3/15
2. Raguier, Jehanne; née 1395/3/4
3. Raguier, Isabelle; née 1396/9/4; filleule de la reine
4. Raguier, Gerarde; née 1398/2/18
5. Raguier, Charlotte; née 1399/6/4; filleule de:
Albret, Charles d'
6. Raguier, Charles; né 1400/12/6; filleul de:
Savoisy, Charles de
7. Raguier, Loys; né 1402/2/12; filleul de:
Orléans, Loys duc d'
8. Raguier, Jehan; né 1403/4/24; filleul de:
Montagu, Jehan de; et de: Bretagne, Jeanne duchesse de
(* p. 201, ref.: AN KK 43 fol. 31)
9. Raguier, Nicolas; né 1404/9/2; mort 1404/9/9
épousa B.: 1405/5/5: Vitry, Guillemette de; veuve de:
Blanchet, Pierre. mtre.
enfants de B.:
1. Raguier, Antoine; Esternay, sgr. d'
2. Raguier, Hemonet

Raguier, Raymon
mort 1421/8/12 à Bourges; enterré à Marcoussis
(Moranvillé: Songe (*), p. 204)
1381, 1383: (clerc ?) en la chambre aux deniers
du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 99 & 100 & 103, 231)
1389/9/9: notaire du roi à partir dud. jour
(Rey: Finances, p. 58)
1391/1/10: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du
roi; nommé led. jour (Rey: Finances, p. 57)
1391/5: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(BN P.O. 2425 Raguier no. 3)
1410/10/9, 1411/2/7: mtre. de la chambre aux
deniers du roi (BN P.O. 2425 Raguier nos. 20, 21)
1414-1415: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du roi
et cons. & auditeur des comptes du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1415/10-12: cons. & mtre. de la chambre aux
deniers du roi et retenu "de nouvel"
cons. & mtre. lay en la chambre des comptes du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 25v)
1417/4: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 781)
1418/11/13: déclaré séditieux par le roi
(Ordonnances, X, p. 489)
1418/11/18: excepté de l'amnistie accordée par le roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 781 n. 2)
voir aussi: (Fauquembergue, I, 16, 17, 55, 195)
1420/1/24: cons. du roi & du dauphin Charles
(BN P.O. 2425 Raguier no. 26)

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épousa:
A. une fille de: Blanchet, Jehan
B. Saint Saulge, Jehanne de, dite la Pelletiere
vivante 1441; fille de:
Pelletier, Jacques le: 1er phisicien du roi
(* p. 205)
enfants de B.:
1. Raguier, Michel; mort sans enfants (* p. 205)
2. Raguier, Gillette; épousa (contrat 1415/2/23):
Boucher, Bureau
1415/2/23: cons. du roi en la chambre des enquêtes
du Parlement (BN P.O. 433 Boucher d'Orsay no. 295) voir
aussi: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 20v).

Raineval, Raoul sgr. de (voir Ailly, Raoul d')

Rambouillet, Msgr. de (voir Angennes, Regnault d')

Ramburelles, Freminot de (Freminoz *) (Rambures **)
(Ramburelles: Somme: arr. Abbeville, c. Gamaches)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42 * & **, 58 **, 68)
1413/10-1414/10: écuyer, huissier d'armes du duc de
Guyenne; va prendre possession de Chinon au nom du duc
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v)
1414-1415: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v **)
Rambures, Colin de (Colinet *) (Colard **)
Neelle en Ponthieu, sgr. de
1405/1/28: écuyer; fait hommage au roi de lad.
sgrie. mouvant de: Ponthieu, le comté de
(AN P 15 no. 5320 *)
1411: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 34)
1412/11/14: chlr. chambellan du roi
(AN P 15 no. 5394 *)
1413/4/14: vivant (AN X.1c 103 B no. 155 **)
fils de: Rambures, Andrieu sgr. de (voir ci-dessous)

Rambures, David sgr. de
Rambures, sgr. de (deja 1405/1/28) (*)
(Somme: arr. Abbeville, c. Gamaches)
mort av. 1416/1/8 (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 114)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 112)
1398/11/15: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 307)
1399/11/28: chambellan du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 189 no. 115)
1406/1/18: chlr. chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
qui lui donne 1000 l.t. pour sa rançon car il avait été

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prisonnier des Anglais
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 21v)
1406/4/24: chambellan du roi à 1200 l.t. de
pension par an (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 113)
1407: chambellan du roi à 1000 l.t. de pension
par an (BN P.O. Rambures no. 85)
1410/4/29-1410/8/6 (**):
cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne; envoyé
par led. duc en Guyenne avec d'autres
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v & 4 & 4v & 6v **)
1410/4/4: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
1410/8/31: le roi l'envoye "presentement" pour "aucunes
besognes" devers: Bretagne, Jehan duc de
1410/9/1: quittance signée dud. D. pour 300 fr. pour le
voyage susdit (BN Coll. Clairambault 189 nos. 117, 118)
1410/11 env.: parmi ceux qui faisaient partie du conseil
qui devait avoir plein pouvoir (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 385)
1410/12/11: cons. & chambellan du roi et
Airaines, capit. du chastel d'; recevant comme capit.
200 l.t. par an "par provision...jusques autrement en
soit ordene" (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 114)
1410-1411: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 800 l.t. de pension par an
du duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1411/4/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 229-30)
1411/5/12: le roi donne 300 fr. aud. D. "en recompense
de la finance ou raencon" de: Bascle, Robinet le
fait prisonnier par led. D. "a la destrousse par luy et
autres noz gens et officiers derr' faite a Claye des genz
de": Lespine, Philippe de; Polifer; Grison;
Rodrigo; et autres "cappitaines de pillars"
(BN Coll. Clairambault 189 no. 119)
1411/9/18: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 57-v)
1411/11/7: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 344-349v)
1411: dans l'armée des ducs de Bourgogne & Guyenne
marchant sur Dourdan (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 581)
1411 vers la fin de l'année: gouverne l'office de
mtre. des arbalétriers avec: Longroy, Jacques sgr. de
(BN fr.n.a. 20528 p. 209)
1412/2/20: mtre. des arbaletriers de France; nommé
led. jour (BN fr. 20684 p. 35) &
(BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 75, réf.: 7e Mémorial de la
Chambre des Comptes fol. 182) &
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5877 (Menant XIII) fol. 129v, réf.:
Mémorial G fol. 181v)
1412: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne
à 1000 fr. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412/6-7: fait partie de l'expédition de Bourges
(Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 665)
1412-1413: va par l'ordonnance du duc de Guyenne en

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Champagne et Bourgogne "faire vuider les gens d'armes qui lors estoient sur le pays" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 13)
1413/2/1 : à Talmont-sur-Gironde recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 123)
1413/7/20: à La Charite-sur-Loire recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 116)
1413/9/25: mtre. des arbalétriers de France et ambassadeur du roi à Leulinghen pour négocier les trêves avec l'Angleterre; bientôt après il perd son office de mtre. des arbalétriers (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 336 n. 5)
1414/11/10: mtre. des arbalétriers de France; se donne ce titre dans une quittance signée pour ses gages comme mtre. pour le terme de Toussaint 1413; il reçoit 2000 l.t. par an pour led. office et promet de rembourser la somme au receveur d'Amiens "ou cas quelle ne lui seroit entierement alouee en ses comptes" (BN P.O. 2429 Rambures no. 86)
1415/7/25: à Valognes recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 117)
1415/8/10: à Saint Quentin recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 119)
1415/9/2: cons. & chambellan du roi et mtre. des arbalétriers de France quand il reçoit la "reveue" d'une compagnie d'arbalétriers à Touque (BN Coll. Clairambault 17 no. 118)
1415/9/5: à Paris recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 121)
1415/9/23: à Rouen recevant monstres (BN Coll. Clairambault 93 no. 120)
autres mentions dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 7v, 8, 11v)

épousa: Auxy, Catherine d'; fille de:
Auxy, Enguerran d'; Marigny, sgr. de

enfants:
1. Rambures, Jehan de; tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
2. Rambures, Philippe de; tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
3. Rambures, Hue de; tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
4. Rambures, Andre sgr. de; épousa: Crequy, Peronne de; fille de: Crequy, Jehan sgr. de (BN P.O. 2429 Rambures no. 156 (geneal. du 18e siecle))

fils de:

Rambures, Andrieu sgr. de
mort av. 1405/1/28 (AN P 15 no. 5320 *)
1387: Flandres, capit. général de tout le pays de west (BN P.O. 2429 Rambures no. 41)
1397/5: chambellan du roi et: Gravelines, capit. de (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 556)
1398/2/1: Gravelines, capit. de (BN Coll. Clairambault 189 no. 102)
1398/10/28: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 291)
1400: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne à 500 l. par an (BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 21v)
1401/6/13, 1402/1/27: quittances signées; avec sceaux

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(BN Coll. Clairambault 93 nos. 110, 111)
épousa A.: Chamberon, Jehanne de
enfants de A.:
1. Rambures, David sgr. de (voir ci-dessus) il n'est pas certain que D. est né de ce mariage
(BN P.O. 2429 Rambures no. 156)
épousa B. av. 1389/3: Berny, Jehanne de
(Beauvillé, II, p. 107-8 ***)
Berny, dame de (en partie); sgrie. mouvant de Bove qui appartenait à: Lorraine, le duc de (***)
morte av. 1412/11/14 (AN P 15 no. 5394)
enfants de B.:
1. Rambures, Colinet de (voir ci-dessus)
(BN P.O. 2429 Rambures no. 156)

Rapine, Denisot
1414-1415: oublayer du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73v)

Recourt, Jehan de (Reucourt)
Recourt, sgr. de
Camblain, sgr. de
Lens, chastellain de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (Monstrelet, III, p. 113) &
(Feuchère: Olhain, p. 34 **)
1413/1-7: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 59)
épousa: Nielles, Alix de; fille de:
Nielles, Jehan de; Olhain, sgr. d' (voir ci-dessus)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Recourt, Marie de; Lens, chastellaine de (**)
autres du nom:
Recourt, Charles de, dit de Lens (Raucourt *)
1413/4-5: parmi les Cabochiens qui arrêtèrent les ducs de Bar & Bavière (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 171 *)
1413/5/26: chlr., chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 58v)
1418/8/16: chambellan du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 60)

Regime
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)

Regnart
1413: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 66)
1414-1415: aide de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne

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(AN KK 228 fol. 90)

Regnart, Guillemin
1413, 1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 66v, 96)

Renart, Colin
1409-1410, 1410-1411: receveur du bois de Malesherbes pour le duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 3, 5)

Ricart, Guillemin
1414-1415: porteur de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 80v)

Ridel, Perrin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82)

Riencourt, Riolet de (Rioulet *) (Rincourt **)
1411, 1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 33, 38v & 47v, 53v *, 61v, 75v **)
échanson du duc de Guyenne et écuyer d'honneur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI (BN fr. 5233 fol. 84v)
écnanson du roi
(Bib. Vienne: Ms. 51 fol. 47v (ref. CB))
peut-être le même personnage que le suivant:

Riencourt, NN sgr. de (Rincourt *)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; son nom apparait sous "Fourrière" (AN KK 228 fol. 104v *) et il pourrait être le Riolet susdit apres avoir hérité lad. sgrie. et changé d'office chez le duc

Rinel, Jehan de. mtre. (Raynel *) (Rivelle **)
son nom de famille vient semble-t-il de Rinel (Reynel), qui était un des six archidiaconés du diocèse de Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle)
(Lepage: Dic. Meurthe, p. 143)
1405/9/20: clerc du diocèse de Toul ("Tullensis") notaire impérial et de l'Université de Paris
(Bib. Sorbonne: Mss., carton 1, liasse 1, no. A.1.i)
1407: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(Rel. St. Denis, III, p. 515 **)
1407/7: ambassadeur du roi à Rome devers le pape (Valois: BEC, t. 63, p. 233)

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1411/3/7 : secrétaire du roi
(AN X.1c 101 B no. 212)
1413: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68 *)
1418/8/2: secrétaire du roi; nommé led. jour
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv. (***), no. 612 n. 2
ref.: (Ordonnances, X, p. 463)
1419: notaire & secrétaire du roi
(*** no. 901)
1419: anobli (BN lat. 18345 p. 187, ref.:
(AN JJ 171 no. 111)
1420: signe le traité de Troyes
(*** no. 612 n. 2, ref.: (Cosneau: Grands Traités, p. 114)
1424: secrétaire du duc de Bedford
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5875 (Menant XI) fol. 130v)
autres mentions:
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 400)
(Fauquembergue, I, p. 358; II, p. 67; III, p. 97, 272)
(Longnon: Paris, p. 45, 107, 341)
(Du Fresne de Beaucourt, III, p. 93, 107, 205)

Rion, Alan
1404: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
anobli aud. an (BN lat. 18345 p. 169, ref.:
(JJ 159 no. 125)
autres du nom:
Rion, Guillaume (Riou *)
1400/5/1: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166 *)
Rion, Henriet (Riou *)
1397: chasublier du duc de Berry
1416: clerc de chapelle du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. xiii *)
Rion, Jehan
1413: écuyer, valet de chambre du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 30v)
Rion, Ouzenne
1407-1408: damoiselle du ct. de Ponthieu
(Charles VII) (AN KK 48 fol. 157v)
(voir Ousanne ci-dessus)

Rioust, Jehan (Riout *)
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 72 *)
1414-1415: clerc d'office [de la paneterie] du duc
de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)
autres du nom:
Rioust, Robert
1403: chlr.; mtre. d'hostel de Louis d'Orléans;
il doit accompagner led. duc en Lombardie
(BN P.O. 2568 Roust (sic) no. 2)

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Ripault, Guillaume
1415/10-12: clerc d'Estienne Buignet, argentier du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)

Riviere, Charles de la
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 895)
Riviere, sgr. de la (à partir de 1400)
(Nièvre: arr. Cosne-Cours-sur-Loire, c. Donzy)
(Prinet: Le M.A., t. 42 p. 210)
Souppy en Laonnois, sgr. de (1402 *)
Dampmartin, comte de (déjà 1404/6/7)
(Dammartin-en-Goele: Seine-et-Marne: arr. Meaux, ch.-l.)
(AN P 15 no. 5326)
Dammartin etait un franc alleu des le 10e siècle et appartint a la 1ère femme dud. C
laq. mourut vers 1415-1417 et le comté passa au fils de sa cousine: Chastillon, Marguerite de; laq. avait épousé: Fayel, Guillaume de
(Mélaye: Mém. Soc. Senlis, 4e sér., t. 3, p. 181, 199-200)
1402: écuyer d'honneur du roi
(AN X.1c 101 B no. 165 *)
1404/6/7: écuyer d'honneur du roi & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans (AN P 15 no. 5326)
1406, 1407, 1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 6, 11, 57v & 68)
1408/12/1: 1er chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Clairambault 191 no. 30)
1412/11/8: disna chez le duc de Bourgogne à Paris
(Petit: Itin., p. 395)
1412-1413: 1er & grand chambellan du duc de Guyenne à 3000 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1413/1/1: le duc de Bourgogne lui donne en étrennes un petit hanap d'or (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fols. 43-v)
1415/3/20: cons. & chambellan du roi & 1er chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(AN X.1c 114 no. 75)
1415/10/25: pnt. à Azincourt et ne fut ni pris ni tué (Monstrelet, III, p. 124)
1416: Melun, capit. de; remplacé av. 1418/7
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 144)
1423: de l'hostel de Charles VII
(Lebeuf, IV, p. 472)
mort sans enfants 1429
épousa:
A. av. 1404/6/7: Irie, Blanche de; Dampmartin, csse. de
(AN P 15 no. 5326)
B. Tremoille, Isabelle de la
fils de:
Riviere, Bureau sgr. de la
mort 1400; enterré à Saint Denis
(Lebeuf, V, p. 214)
1366: chambellan de Charles V et du comte de Blois

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(BN P.O. 2496 la Rivière no. 9)
1377/8: 1er chambellan de Charles V;
led. B. est déjà sgr. de la Rivière
(BN P.O. 2496 la Rivière no. 11)
1382/7/2: 1er chambellan du roi; retenu led. jour
à 6000 fr. de pension par an à commencer 1382/7/1
(BN fr. 6537 fol. 53 (orig.))
1384: 1er chambellan du roi à 4000 fr. de
pension par an (Fawtier: Docs. Fin., II, p. 113)
1394/1/31: le roi lui rend ses biens qui avaient été
confisqués après son emprisonnement qui eut lieu vers
1392/10 (Moranvillé: J. le Mercier, p. 157-9. 161)
voir aussi: (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 117)
épousa (1361 **):
Auneau, Marguerite d'
1388-1392: demeura continuellement auprès de la reine
et assiste: Preaux, la dame des; laq. a le gouv. des
enfants royaux (Grandeau: Dames, p. 170 **)
enfants:
1. Riviere, Charles de la (voir ci-dessus)
2. Riviere, Jacques de la (voir ci-dessous)
3. Riviere, Jehanne de la; épousa:
Chastillon, Jacques de;
Dampierre, sgr. de (voir ci-dessus)
4. Riviere, Perrette de la; épousa:
Roche-Guyon, Guy sgr. de la (voir ci-dessous)
(Luce: Fr. Guerre 100 Ans, II, p. 169)

Riviere, Jacques de la
Aunel, sgr. d'
(Auneau: Eure-et-Loir: arr. Chartres, ch.-l.) (*)
1403: écuyer, chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
qui lui donne 200 fr. pour s'habiller et l'accompagner
en Lombardie (BN P.O. 2495 la Rivière no. 2)
1412-1413: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne; recevant 1000 l.t. de pension
par an du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
après 1412/8/22: chambellan du duc de Guyenne;
retenu après le traité d'Auxerre
(Le Bouvier: Chronique, p. 425 *)
1412, 1413: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 57v)
1413/3/13: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Pannier: Joyaux (à part), p. 60)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fols. 11v, 25v)
1413/4/28: arrêté par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 109)
1413/6/4: son corps décapité exposé au public auquel on
disait qu'il s'était suicidé en prison; mais le Rel. de
Saint Denis dit qu'en réalité il fut tué en prison par:
Jacqueville, Elion de (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 55-9)
fils de: Riviere, Bureau de la (voir ci-dessus)

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Robastre, Guillaume (Rabastre *) ("Robastre" **)
1405-1406, 1406, 1407, 1413, 1414-1415:
de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 3v **, 6v **, 11 *, 69v **, 106 **)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v **)
valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
1414-1415: fourrier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)

Robelot, Pierre
1384/3/18: clerc des offices du duc de Bourgogne
retenu led. jour (BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 25)
1411/4/21: cons. du duc de Bourgogne; envoyé
d'Arras à Paris "tres hastivement devers le chancelier
de Guyenne pour choses secrettes"
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 25v)
1412/1: cons. en la chambre des comptes du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1412: garde des chartes & cons. en la chambre
des comptes du duc de Guyenne à 300 fr. de gages par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412-1413: garde des chartes & mtre. des comptes
du duc de Guyenne à 300 fr. de gages par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 11v)
autres mentions: (BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
il serait le même personnage que le suivant si le
copiste du 17e siècle s'est trompé en appelant
celui-là Robert:

Robelot, Robert
mtre. des comptes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471v)
(voir: Robelot, Pierre); qui pourrait être
le même personnage

Robichon
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 54 & 62, 81v)
autres du nom:
Robichon, Jehan
1396: de l'hostel du ct. de Nevers (JSP) pendant
la croisade de Nicopolis (Atiya: Crusade Nic., p. 146)

Roc, Jehan de la (voir Roe, Jehan de la)

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Roche, Guy de la (voir Roche-Guyon, la)

Roche, Philipot de la (voir Rocheguyon, la)

Rochefoucault, Guy sgr. de la
(Rochefoucauld, la: Charente: arr. Angoulême, ch.-l.)
1414-1415: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 20 deux fois, 22v, 23)

Rochefoucault, Guyon de la
1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pnt. aux joustes de la Pentecôte (BN fr. 21809 no. 49) &
(BN Coll. Clairambault 194 nos. 48 & 49)
1410-1411, 1412-1413: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 6, 11v)
1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Etampes & Dourdan (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/6-7: [écuyer d'honneur] du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1413/7-12: [écuyer d'honneur] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 69)
1414: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 16v & 17)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 35, 42, 50v, 101v)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8v, 9v)

Rocheguyon, Guy sgr. de la (Roche *) (le jeune **)
Rocheguyon, sgr. de la (1412 ***)
(Roche-Guyon, la: Val d'Oise: arr. Pontoise, c. Magny-en-Vexin)
Moranvillé se trompe en disant qu'il n'est pas le même personnage que: Roche, Guy de la; son frere Philippe est appellé tantôt "de la Roche" tantot "de la Rochequion" (voir ci-dessous). (Moranvillé: Songe, p. 162)
1411/5/6: chlr.; le fait que l'on l'appelle ici "le jeune" indique qu'à ce moment son père est toujours vivant (BN Coll. Bastard d'Estang no. 610 **(cat.))
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v ***)
1412-1413: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne recevant 1000 l.t. de pension par an du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51, 58 * & 68, 111)
1414-1415: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v *)
1415/2/26: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne (AN X.1c 109 no. 108)
1415: Tougues, capit. de

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(BN fr. 20684 p. 58)
1415/10/25: tué à Azincourt
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 621-2 ****)
épousa 1409: Riviere, Perrette de la
(Luce: Fr. Guerre 100 Ans, II, p. 169)
enfants (****):
1. Rocheguyon, Guy VII sgr. de la
2. Rocheguyon, Charles de la
fils de:
Rocheguyon, Guy sgr. de la
1393/12: chambellan du roi
(BN fr. 6212 no. 280)
épousa: Rocheguyon, Jehanne de la; morte av. 1403
enfants (****):
1. Rocheguyon, Guy sgr. de la (voir ci-dessus)
2. Rocheguyon, Philippe de la (voir ci-dessous)
3. Rocheguyon, Jacques de la
4. Rocheguyon, Guillemette de la; épousa 1403/6/18: Martel, Jehan; Bacqueville, sgr. de (voir ci-dessous)

Rocheguyon, Philipot de la (Rocheguion *) (Roche **)
1407, 1412, 1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 11 **, 51v *, 58 **)
1410-1411: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne 100 l.t. pour aller "au voyage d'outremer ou brievement il doit aller" (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v **)
1412: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 10 **)
fils de: Rocheguyon, Guy sgr. de la (voir ci-dessus)

Roe, Jehan de la (Roc *)
1414-1415: aide du sert de l'eau du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474 *)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 107v)
autres du nom:
Roe, Adam de la
1422/7: de la cuisine du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 432)

Rohez, Thomas
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96)

Rolant
1414-1415: garde harnois du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105v)

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Rommenieres, Claux de
1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 66v)

Rommenieres, Pierre de (Romenieres *)
1412: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 43 & 43v *)

Rose, Robin de la
1411, 1413: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 31, 56v & 66v)
autres du nom:
Rose, Jehan de la
1420: échanson du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1277)
Rose, Pierre de la. mtre.
1421: greffier des présentations au Parlement
(Favier: Contrib., p. 80)

Rosny, Msgr. de (voir Ivry, Jehan d')

Roussay, Jehan sgr. de (Rossay *)
Roussay, sgr. de (deja 1407/7/7)
(BN fr. 31961 fol. 59)
Germaines, sgr. de
1397/2/22: le duc d'Orléans lui donne 2000 fr. "pour lui aidier a paier le chastel et terre de G. qu'il a nouvellement achetez mouvans et tenuz de noz en fie a cause de nre' chastel et chastellerie d'Espinay"
(BN fr. 6212 no. 316)
1389/1/2: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2562 Roussay(**) no. 4)
1389/12/31: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans pendant le voyage de Languedoc (** no. 8)
1394-1395: Baugency, capit. de; à 100 l.p. de gages par an (** no. 41)
1399/2/24: chambellan du roi & de Louis d'Orléans
(BN Coll. Clairambault 98 no. 74)
1402/3/12: cons. & chambellan du roi et de Louis d'Orléans à 1000 fr. de gages par an comme cons. du roi pour l'année 1401/5/1-1402/4/30
(BN Coll. Clairambault 98 no. 72)
1402/7/18: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans et: Brie-Comte-Robert, capit. de (** no. 44)
1403/3/31: mtre. des Eaux & Forêts en Champagne & Brie nommé led. jour (BN fr. 20684 p. 20)
1403/12/1: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans qui lui donne 40 l.t. de gages pour un mois pour le voyage de Lombardie (** no. 46)
1404/1: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à

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500 l.t. de pension par an (** no. 45); le duc lui avait assigné lad. pension 1393/2/27 (BN fr. 6212 no. 309)
1407/4/10: Beaucaire, sénéchal de; nommé led. jour au lieu de: Faye, l'Ermite de la (BN fr. 20684 p. 22)
1409/10/31: cons. du roi et grand mtre. d'hostel de la reine (** no. 55)
1409: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 4)
1411/7/26: souverain mtre. d'hostel de la reine & Melun, capit. de (BN Coll. Clairambault 98 no. 73)
1412/8/23: chambellan du roi & du duc de Bourgogne; led. duc le remet en possession de ses tres. en Bourgogne qu'il avait confisquées durant la guerre civile (BN fr. 31961 fol. 59v)
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 21 & 21v *)
1415/11/3: Meaux, capit. de la ville & marche de; nommé led. jour (BN fr. 20684 p. 57); il ne tient plus cet office 1416/11/6 quand le capit. est:
Sisse, Guichart de (voir ci-dessous) (AN P 15 no. 5410)

épousa 1390-1391:

Chepoy, Jehanne de
1390-1391: docs. concernant son mariage (BN P.O. 2562 Roussay nos. 14, 16, 23, 31) & (BN Coll. Clairambault 31 fol. 2311 no. 3)
1395: marraine d'une fille de: Jouvenel, Jehan (Batiffol: Jouvenel, p. 321)
1409: dame de la reine (AN KK 48 fol. 21)
laq. etait fille de: Chepoy, Jehan sgr. de (voir)

frère dud. Jehan de Roussay:

Roussay, Guiot de
mort à Nicopolis semble-t-il (voir ci-dessous); en tout cas il mourut av. 1399/2/24 (BN Coll. Clairambault 98 no. 74)
1389/11/5: Louis d'Orléans lui donne 100 fr. pour accompagner l'expédition en Prusse (BN P.O. 2883 Trie no. 47)
1390/5/7: échanson de Louis d'Orléans qui lui a donné 50 fr. pour accompagner l'expédition en Afrique conduite par: Bourbon, Loys duc de (BN P.O. 2562 Roussay (**) no. 9)
1391/1/4: écuyer tranchant de Louis d'Orléans (** no. 17)
1391/11/16: à Tours avec Louis d'Orléans (BN fr. 6212 no. 330)
1392/5/1-13 env.: à Amiens avec Louis d'Orléans (BN fr. 6212 no. 304)
1396/5/1: écuyer tranchant de Louis d'Orléans quand il reçoit 200 fr. que le duc lui avait donnés 1396/4/17 pour l'expédition de Hongrie (Nicopolis) (** no. 43)

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Rousseau, Guillemin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 81v)

Rousseau, Pierre
1412: huissier de la chambre des comptes du roi
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 106)
1414-1415: huissier des comptes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
son fils:
Rousseau, Perrin
1414-1415: reçoit un don du duc de Guyenne pour bons services (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)

Rousseau, Robin
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)
autres du nom:
Rousseau, Andriet (Andry *)
mort av. 1419/6/8 laissant une veuve: Guillemette
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 720 (**) *)
1412, 1412-1413: marchand & bourgeois de Paris
vend chambres de broderie au duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 7v, 11v)
1413: banni de Paris comme Cabochien (** & *)
1418/9 env.: cons. du roi après la rentrée à Paris des Bourguignons (** & *)

Rousselot, Girart
1414-1415: valet de tentes du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Rouvres, Jehanne de
1398, 1402: berceresse du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 45 fols. 26v, 155)
1407, 1408: damoiselle de la duch. de Guyenne
elle garde toujours le titre mère de lait du roi
(AN KK 48 fol. 155v)
le même personnage que:
Fournier, Jehanne (Fourniere *)
1368: mère de lait de Charles VI
vivante 1412; morte av 1418/8
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 731)
épousa:
A. av. 1382/4: Berigny, Pierre de. mtre.
B. Rouvres, Enguerran de
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, II, p. 194-5 *)
1387, 1389: sommelier d'échansonnerie du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 712, 720)
enfants: seul enfant connu:

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Rouvres, Charles de (Charlot **)
1402: clerc de fourrière du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3 **)
1412/9/23: en procès pour gages de notaire contre:
Luce, Guillaume; & Barrau, Guillaume
(AN X.1a 4789 fol. 342)
1418: clerc, notaire & secrétaire du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 731)
fille de:
Fournier, Nicolas
mort av. 1382/4/27 (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, II, p. 194-5)
autres du nom:
Rouvres, Jehan de
1390: clerc du garde des finances de
Louis d'Orléans (Graves: Pièces, p. 56)
Rouvres, Jehan de
1411/5/16: secrétaire du roi;
il signe une lettre du roi led. jour à Paris
(BN P.O. 605 Carroble no. 2)
Rouvres, Robert de
1421-1422: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du Dauphin
Charles (Chartier, III, p. 308)

Roy, Huet le
sommelier des materas et de la tapisserie du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
1414-1415: garde de la tapisserie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
1415/11/6: valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne et
Saint Saphorin, chastellain de; nommé chastellain
led. jour (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 100-1)
autres du nom:
Roy, Jacques le
1413: écuyer tranchant du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. xii)
Roy, Martin le
bourgeois de Bourges
1398, 1413-1416: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Berry
(Lacour: Gouv., p. xii)
Roy, Pierre. mtre.
1409/5-1411/5: bachelier en lois et
Malesherbes, bailli du bois de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v (voir aussi fol. 4v))
Roy, Thierry le. mtre.
1418/10: cons. & mtre. des requêtes du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 248 et al.)
1421: mtre. des requêtes du duc de Bourgogne et
Lens, bailli de (Delabarre: État, p. 194)

Rue, Coppin de la
1412/5/10: palefrenier du duc de Guyenne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 113v)

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Rue, Simon de la
1414-1415: procureur au Chastellet du duc de Guyenne à 10 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)

Ruilly, Loys de
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
fils de:
Ruilly, Jacques de (Rully)
mort 1409 (voir ci-dessous)
1384/5/23: avocat au Parlement
(BN P.O. 2593 Ruilly no. 5)
1391: cons. du roi au Parlement
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 69)
1393: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du roi
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 69)
1409: président au Parlement; remplacé après sa mort par lettres du roi 1409/10/9 & 1409/11/19 par:
Nanterre, Simon de (BN fr. 20684 p. 25)
épousa: Giffard, Jehanne
enfants:
1. Ruilly, Morice de (Morisse) (Rully)
lequel mourut sans enfants 1422 (*)
Pontarmé, sgr. de (près de Senlis)
acheta lad. sgrie. 1415 des enfants de:
Choisel, Guy (*)
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 69)
1410/3/28: 1er valet de chambre du roi et garde des deniers des coffres du roi; nommé garde led. jour au lieu de: Cassain, Guillaume
(BN P.O. 2593 Ruilly no. 8)
1411/5: dénoncé par le duc d'Orléans comme son ennemi
(Monstrelet, II, p. 118)
1413/2: garde des coffres du roi quand les Parisiens demande sa démission
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 295 n. 1) et il perd l'office 1413/2/24 (ibid., p. 297, réf.: Ordonnances, X, p. 59-60)
1415: échanson du roi
(Dupuis: Soc. Senlis, 3e sér., t. 9, p. 12 & 14 *)
2. Ruilly, Philippe de
Pontarmé, sgr. de (1422) (***)
1410/8/14: cons. au Parlement; nommé led. jour
(BN P.O. 2593 no. 9)
1422/6: cons. au Parlement et:
Sainte Chapelle, trésorier de la
(Macon: Soc. Senlis, 4e sér., t. 8, p. 94 n. 1 ***)
3. Ruilly, Loys de
(BN P.O. 2593 Ruilly no. 13 (généal. du 18e siecle) ****)
4. Ruilly, Ythier de (****)
5. Ruilly, Marie de; épousa:
Essarts, Pierre des; Mothe Tilly, sgr. de la
(Blanchard: Généal. Mtres. Requêtes, p. 69)
6. Ruilly, Gillette de; épousa:

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Chamigny, Gaucher de; Sautour, sgr. de; leg. mourut av. 1428 (Creuzet: Soc. Corbeil, t. 6, p. 51)

autres du nom:

Ruilly, Guillaume de. mtre.
1399-1401: controleur de la chambre des comptes du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. xiv)
1413-1414: cons. dans la chambre des comptes du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 19)

Ruilly, Jehan de. mtre.
1397-1398: mtre. de la chambre aux deniers du duc de Berry (Douet d'Arcq: Comptes (*), p. 296) et naguères controleur de la dépense de la duch. de Berry (* p. 299-300)
1399-1400: trésorier général du duc de Berry (Lacour: Gouv., p. xvi)

Ruilly, Regnault de
1416: secrétaire du duc de Berry (Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 779)

Sacquainville, Jehan de, dit Sacquet
Blaru, sgr. de (déjà en 1378)
(BN P.O. 2633 Saquainville no. 28)
1390: en Languedoc avec le roi
(Coville: États Norm. (*), p. 292)
1390/8/3: chambellan du roi & de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2633 Saquainville no. 32)
1390/8/21: ambassadeur de Louis d'Orléans reçoit 300 fr. led. jour pour aller en Lombardie devers: Visconti, Gian Galeazzo (* p. 292)
1391/6/20: ambassadeur du roi en Angleterre où il va presentement (BN P.O. 2633 Saquainville no. 38)
1391/9/30: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2633 Saquainville no. 39)
1394: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à 500 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 6212 no. 353)
1409/10/20: réformateur du royaume; nommé led. jour avec d'autres (Ordonnances, IX, p. 474)
1409-1410: cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 500 l.t. de pension par an du duc de Guyenne; cette pension avait ete "tranchee" d'une somme plus grande (**)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v, 4 **)
1410-1411, 1412, 1413/10-1414: cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 1000 l.t. de pension par an du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 5, 7, 15)
1410/2/26: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1410/4/4: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 325v-329)
1410/11/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 16v)

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1411/2/8: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 27v)
1411/6/6: dénoncé par le duc de Bourgogne comme son ennemi (Coville: J. Petit, p. 406)
1412/1/1: conseiller du roi et du duc de Guyenne; le duc de Bourgogne lui donne en étrennes 6 tasses d'argent dorées
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 208v)
1412/4/8: cons. & chambellan du roi
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 147)
1412-1413, 1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 11, 19v)
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: [cons. & chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58, 68)
1413/9/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 271-2)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 34v, 42, 52, 111)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 21, 24)
épousa: Beaussart, Ide de
enfants:
1. Sacquainville, Jehan de (voir ci-dessous)
2. Sacquainville, Ide de; epousa 1402: Ivry, Jehan d' (voir ci-dessus)
(Bertrandy-Lacabane: Blaru (***), p. 7)
fils de:
Sacquainville, Guillaume de
Blaru, sgr. de
épousa A.: NN
enfants de A.:
1. Sacquainville, Leonor de; épousa 1353: Vicomte, Wallon le (*** p. 7)
épousa B.: Comaing, Perronnelle de
enfants de B.:
1. Sacquainville, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Sacquainville, Marguerite de; épousa: Tilly, Jehan de (*** p. 8)
enfants dont on ne connait pas le nom de la mère:
1. Sacquainville, Jehanne de; épousa: Dillon, Robert (*** p. 9)

Sacquainville, Jehan de, dit Sacquet
("Saquet sgr. du Trait" **)
Trait, sgr. du (Tret)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Bertrandy-Lacabane: Blaru (*), p. 8)
1412/6-7: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1413/7-12, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 68, 102)
1413/10: chambellan du roi et:
Vernon et Vernonnel, capit. de
(BN P.O. 2633 Saquainville no. 57)

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1415/4/9: chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à Vernon led. jour pour jurer de garder la paix d'Arras (Meyer: Hist. Vernon, I, p. 172, ref.: (AN J 948 **)
épousa: Trie, la dame de
enfants:
Sacquainville, Loys de; né 1412; dont le parrain fut le duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 8 & 8v) ce fils est mentionné dans le testament dud. J. fait avant Azincourt 1415; mais mourut jeune car en 1432 on dit que Ide soeur dud. J. etait l'héritière dud. J. (AN M 539 dossier XI)
fils de: Sacquainville, Jehan de; Blaru, sgr. de (voir)

Sacquespee, Jacques. mtre.
1399: doyen de la faculté de médecine à l'Université de Paris (BN P.O. 2603 Sacquespée nos. 2 & 3)
1403/10: mtre. en arts & en médecine et:
Tournai, chanoine de; nommé chanoine à la requête du roi (Tits-Dieuaide: Lettres de Benoît XIII, II, no. 233)
1408/11/8: un des "magistri regentes" de la faculté de médecine à l'Université de Paris qui donnent des cours à partir dud. jour (Denifle & Châtelain, IV, p. 160)
1411/6: phisicien du duc de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 234)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: (phisicien) du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 36, 41v & 43v & 50v & 52v, 58 & 60 & 67v & 71v, 102v & 112)
1412, 1412-1413: phisicien du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 8v, 13)
1422 env.: mtre. en arts & médecine et ambassadeur de l'Université de Paris au pape à un temps inconnu pendant le règne de Henry VI à Paris (Bib. Sorbonne: Mss., carton 1, liasse 2 bis, AAc)
peut-être le même personnage que l'un des suivants:
Sacquespee, Jacques
1367: clerc, cons. de Charles V (Ordonnances, IV, p. 465 n. C)
Sacquespee, Jacques
1383-1384: cons. du roi dans la chambre des enquêtes du Parlement (BN P.O. 2603 Sacquespée no. 8)
Sacquespee, Jacques
1384/2/20: Arras, chanoine (?) d'; il habite une maison du cloître de lad. eglise (Guesnon: Mém. Acad. Arras, 2e sér., t. 33, p. 235)
autres du nom:
Sacquespee, Jehan
1402/2/16 v.s.?: changeur qui reçoit 200 l. pour avoir prêté 12,000 l. au duc de Bourgogne pour les noces de: Bourgogne, Anthoine de; (noces: 1402/4/25) (BN Coll. Bourgogne 26, fol. 252)
1410: cons. du duc de Bourgogne et

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naguères trésorier et gouverneur général des finances du duc de Bourgogne à 500 fr. par an comme trésorier
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 59)
1411, 1414: receveur des aides d'Artois, de Boulenois, et de Saint Pol
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1562 fol. 10v),
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1576 fol. 52v)
1412: cons. du duc de Bourgogne à 100 fr. de pension par an (Delabarre: État, p. 107)

Sacquespee, Simon
1377: bourgeois d'Arras; anobli par Charles V
(Frémaux: Bull. Nord, t. 28, p. 127-8)

Saffre, Jaquet de
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 73v)

Saint Amant, Envuyeux de
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 68v)
autres du nom:
Saint Amant, Jehan de
panetier du duc de Bourgogne (JSP)
(Delabarre: État, p. 140)

Saint Georges, Msgr. de (voir Vienne, Guillaume de)

Saint Julien, Isabeau de (voir Fauconniere, I. de la)
probablement parente de:
Saint Julien, Jehanne de (voir Villiers, Hugues de)

Saint Leger, Philibert de (Saint Ligier *)
Rulley, sgr. de (1420)
(Rully: Saône-et-Loire: arr. Chalon, c. Chagny) (**)
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 5040, index **)
Saint Leger est probablement:
(Saint Léger-sur-Dheune:
Saône-et-Loire: arr. Chalon, c. Chagny)
1406: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3472)
1409/5-6: envoyé par le duc de Bourgogne devers:
Savoie, le ct. de
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1562 fol. 77)
1410/5/16-1410/7/6: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne en voyage de par le duc de Bourgogne devers:
Savoie, le comte de
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 216v *)
1410/7/19-8/5: en voyage de par le duc de Bourgogne à Nantes devers: Bretagne, Jehan duc de

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(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 216 *)
1411: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne à 240 fr. par an (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1562 fol. 250)
1411: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne; retenu aud. an (Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3472)
1412/11: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Guyenne (BN Coll. Clairambault 53 no. 3988 (fichier))
1412/11/16: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne led. jour présent au chapitre de Beauvais pour dire la volonté dud. duc au sujet de l'élection du nouvel évêque (Delettre: Dioc. Beauvais, II, p. 530)
1412/7/30: Mâcon, bailli de; institué led. jour; remplacé 1413/9/27 (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 579)
1413/1-7: [mtre. d'hostel] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 57v *)
1413-1414: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3472)
1416/1: chambellan et mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne; il mène aud. mois la duch. de Guyenne de Lagny à Dijon (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1588 fol. 208)
1417/8: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1568 fol. 317)
1419/10: mtre. d'hostel de la duch. Marguerite de Bourgogne (après la mort de JSP) (Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 4975)
1420/9/27: Mâcon, bailli de; réinstitué led. jour (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 582)
1421: cons. & chambellan du roi (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, III, p. 582)

Saint Mesme, Guillaume de
1406: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 4v)

Saint Omer, Pierre de. mtre.
1413/7-12, 1414-1415: [secrétaire] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 68v, 102)
1414-1415, 1415/10-12: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 19v, 26v)
1415/7/17: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 97)

autres du nom:

Saint Omer, Mathieu de
notaire & secrétaire du roi (Tessier: Notaires, p. 22)
1396, 1400: secrétaire & controleur de la dépense du duc de Bourgogne (Petit: Itin. p. 246, 294)

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Saint Pierre, Jehan de ("Jehan le Seneschal d'Eu" *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25 (** p. 23-4)
Eu, sénéchal d'
armoiries: d'or à la bande cotisée de sable
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 53v)
1397: écuyer d'honneur de la reine; mineur dont
le curateur nommé 1397/8/30 fut son oncle:
Seneschal, Robert le; écuyer
(Hellot: Eu (**), p. 21)
1404/4: fait prisonnier pendant l'expédition à Dartmouth
en Angleterre (** p. 22)
1407: chlr. cons. du roi (** p. 22)
1407: chlr. chambellan du roi et: Vire, capit. de
(Queux de Saint Hilaire: C.B. Comp., p. xvii-xxi (***))
1408: chambellan du roi (** p. 22)
1411/5: à Rome; il fait partie de l'expédition de:
Anjou, Loys duc d' (Valois: Schisme, IV, p. 139)
1411/11: chambellan du roi & du duc de
Guyenne (** p. 23)
1412/1/1: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
[chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 50v, 58, 68, 102)
1414-1415: chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23 *)
ministre de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 53v)
épousa 1403/10/4: Martel, Marguerite (** p. 21)
laq. vivait 1419/4/22
(Puiseux: Rôles Normands, no. 437)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Saint Pierre, Blanche de; née 1404 (** p. 23-4)
laq. épousa 1421:
Saint Maard, Pierre de; Blosseville, vicomte de
lad. B. mourut sans enfants (** p. 24-5)
fils de:
Saint Pierre, Jehan de ("Jehan le Seneschal")
tué à Nicopolis 1396
(Queux de Saint Hilaire: Cent Ballades p. xvii-xxi ***)
Eu, sénéchal d' (à partir de 1383/2/4) (***)
1379: chlr. fait prisonnier par les Anglais devant
Cherbourg (***)
1380/9/10: le duc de Bourgogne donne à "Jehan le Petit
Seneschal d'Eu" 100 fr. pour l'aider à payer sa rançon
aux Anglais (Petit: Phe.-le-H., p. 362 n. 2)
1383: Vire, capit. de (***)
1387: va en Terre Sainte et en Egypte avec:
Eu, le comte d'; et Boucicaut, le marechal;
pendant ce voyage il compose avec Boucicaut le
Livre des Cent Ballades; il est
de retour en France 1389/8 (***)

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1390: fait partie de l'expédition en Afrique de:
Bourbon, Loys duc de (***)
1391: chambellan du roi
(Hellot: Eu (**), p. 19)
1393/3/9: chambellan du roi quand Louis d'Orléans lui donne led. jour 500 fr. pour "pluseurs grans et bons services et plaisirs a nous fais" (BN fr. 6211 no. 50)
épousa:
A. Beuseville, Marguerite de (*** où il dit qu'elle est la mère du fils héritier dud. J. nommé aussi J., mais elle n'est pas mentionnée par Hellot qui parle de:
B. av. 1383: Vendôme, Jehanne de (** p. 17)
Villepreux, dame de (** p. 17); morte 1397 (** p. 21)
mère de:
Saint Pierre, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)

Saint Sauflieu, Charles de
mort av. 1424/7/18 (*)
1412/6-7: chambellan du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 42v, 104v)
épousa: Lisle, NN de; Londe, dame de la (1424)
laq. était fille de: Lisle, Jehan de; Londe, sgr. de la (Mirot: BEC, t. 83, p. 314 n. 5 *)

Saint Sauflieu, Jehan sgr. de
Saint Sauflieu, sgr. de (déjà en 1399)
(BN fr.n.a. 15543 no. 114)
Erquery, sgr. d' (Arquery) (deja en 1396)
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 451)
1396/7/27: Caen, bailli de; institué led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 451; II, p. 10)
1398/12/4 env.: Caux, bailli de; institué env. led. jour qui est le dernier jour où il recut ses gages comme bailli de Caen (BN fr.n.a. 15543 no. 114)
1407: cons. & chambellan du roi
et Caux, bailli de
(BN P.O. 2776 Saint Sauflieu no. 4)
1411/5/9: Caux, bailli de; led. jour à Caudebec
(BN fr. 26038 no. 4451)
1411, 1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne appellé "Msgr. de Saint Sauflieu"
(AN KK 228 fols. 35, 50v)
1412/5/11: Caux, bailli de; led. jour à Caudebec
(BN fr. 26038 no. 4602)
1412/5/19: à Neufchastel aux assises dud. lieu
(BN P.O. 2776 Saint Sauflieu no. 22)
1413/2: il ne tient plus led. office de bailli
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, II, p. 11)
1413/10/7: cons. & chambellan du roi et
Caux, bailli de; à Gournay led. jour

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(BN lat.n.a. 2320 no. 197)
1415/7/31: à Arques
(BN P.O. 2776 Saint Sauflieu no. 23)
1415/8/6: à Caudebec
(BN fr. 26293 no. 400)

Saint Sauflieu, Philippe de ("Saint Saulieu" *)
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)
1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 104 * où son office n'est pas mentionné)

Saint Yon, Jehan de
1400: mineur (BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 638)
1413/6/20-1413/8/4: 1er valet de chambre & garde des coffres du duc de Guyenne pour led. temps
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 13v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 59v) (BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 546)
fils de:
Saint Yon, Jehan de
1392: valet de chambre du roi et mtre. de la grande boucherie de Paris
(BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 638 (*))
1411: échevin de Paris (*)
épousa: Rabiotte, Jehanne (*)
enfants:
1. Saint Yon, Garnier de (Garnot **)
1400: mineur (*)
1413: échevin de Paris
(BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 639v)
1413/5/8: garde de la librairie du Louvre nommé led. jour; prêta serment 1413/5/12
(BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 545 **)
1418: écuyer, panetier du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 140 **)
1419: valet de chambre du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 986)
2. Saint Yon, Jehan de (l'aîné)
1411/1/24, 1411/12/1: panetier du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 106v),
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 193)
1413: panetier du roi
(BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 638v)
1413/5/6: trésorier des deniers de l'épargne du roi nommé led. jour; prêta serment 1413/5/10
(BN P.O. 2783 Saint Yon no. 544)
1415/10/8: panetier du duc de Bourgogne à 100 fr. de pension par an à commencer 1415/11/1
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1588 fols. 142-v)

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3. Saint Yon, Jehan de (le jeune) (voir ci-dessus)
autres du nom:
Saint Yon, Jehan de
1389: 1er maréchal du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 721)

Saintes, l'evegue de (voir Chevenon, Bernart de)

Salary (Falary *)
1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 11 *)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 42)

Sanguin, Guillaume
mort 1441/2/14 n.s.?; enterré dans l'église des Innocents
à Paris (Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand: Paris (*), p. 346)
Beaumont-en-Thierache, sgr. de (* p. 342)
Bettemont, sgr. de (Bêthemont: Val d'Oise) (* p. 342)
Bormont, sgr. de
1411/4/6: les gens des requêtes du roi donnent aud. G.
lad. sgrie. qui appartient à: Clermont, Simon de
qui lui doit de l'argent et n'a pas pu payer; lad. sgrie.
est mouvant de la tour de Laon qui appartient au roi
(AN JJ 167 p. 335-6); G. fait hommage au roi pour lad.
sgrie. 1411/9/18 (AN P 15 no. 5384)
Chauvry, sgr. de (Val d'Oise) (* p. 342)
Croquetaine, sgr. de
(près de Brie-Comte-Robert) (* p. 342)
Mafflieres, sgr. de (Mafflers **) (1434 **)
(Maffliers: Val d'Oise) (* p. 342)
(BN P.O. 1322 Giffart no. 34 **)
Malmaison, sgr. de la (Malemaison, la **) (1434 **)
Meudon, sgr. de
(Longnon: Paris, p. 234 n. 1)
Neufchatel-sur-Aisne, sgr. de (* p. 342)
Ormesson, sgr. d' (* p. 342)
Rademont, sgr. de (près de Brie-Comte-Robert) (* p. 342)
1400/12/22: anobli
(Le Roux de Lincy & Tisserand: Paris (*), p. 340-1, ref.:
(AN JJ 156 no. 175)
1402: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 25 fol. 33)
1407/10/31: échanson du roi & du duc de
Guyenne (BN Coll. Bastard d'Estang no. 509 (cat.))
1411/9/18: échanson du roi & du duc de
Guyenne (AN P 15 no. 5384)
1412: échanson du roi & du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fols. 130 & 142)
1412/6-7: [échanson] du duc de Bourgogne pendant

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l'expédition de Bourges
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fol. 160v)
1413: bourgeois de Paris et échanson du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 239)
1414-1415, 1415/10-12: marchand & bourgeois de Paris; ce sont ses seuls titres dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 19v & 20 & 23v, 25 & 25v deux fois)
1416: banni de Paris comme partisan du duc de Bourgogne à la suite d'un complot (* p. 342-3)
1418: revient à Paris avec les Bourguignons (* p. 344)
1419/4: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 441)
1420/6/4: cons. & mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 1333)
1429: prévôt des marchands de Paris; nommé aud. an (* p. 344)

enfants: il ne laissa que d'enfants illégitimes:
1. Sanguin, Jehan
né vers 1392 (* p. 345)
1401: légitimé (* p. 345)
1414: anobli (* p. 345)
2. Sanguin, Perrette
1428: légitimée (* p. 345)
laquelle épousa:
a. 1434: Longueil, Mathieu de
b. Thieuville, Jehan de (* p. 345)

fils de:
Sanguin, Guillaume
changeur & bourgeois de Paris (* p. 340-1)

épousa: Rosieres, Phelippote de; une des héritières de:
Dampmartin, Bureau de
(BN P.O. 1322 Giffart no. 34)

enfants:
1. Sanguin, Guillaume (voir ci-dessus) (* p. 340-1)
2. Sanguin, Jehan; anobli 1400 (***); mort 1425 (* p. 346)
3. Sanguin, Jehanne; épousa av. 1401: Mortier, Thomas le (* p. 340-1); led. Thomas est anobli avec ses 2 beaux-frères en 1400
(BN lat. 18345 p. 161 ***, ref.:
(AN JJ 156 no. 175)

Sarnoy, Jehan de (Sarnay *) (Cernay **) (Sernay ***)
1409: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 22 **)
1410-1411: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1411: écuyer, valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes (BN fr. 32511 fol. 10)
1412/6-7: valet tranchant du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fols. 9v ** & 19v)
voir aussi: (AN KK 228 fol. 45 *)

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1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: [valet tranchant] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 53 **, 61 **)
1414/8: écuyer tranchant & garde des coffres du duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 61 Angennes no. 134: quittance ou il signe: "J. de Sarnoy")
1414/9: écuyer tranchant & garde des coffres du duc de Guyenne; nommé garde aud. mois (le document mentionné ci-dessus prouve que ces renseignements donnés dans les extraits des comptes du duc sont faux) (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15)
1415/3/1: écuyer tranchant & garde des coffres du duc de Guyenne; remplacé led. jour comme garde des coffres (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 32v *, 38 **, 47 ***, 73v ***), (BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)

Saugny, Pierre de (Chainqny *)
1406, 1407, 1407-1408: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 4v, 7v, 13 *)
probablement le même personnage que:
Chauny, Pierre de
1403/12/14: valet tranchant de la reine
(Grandeau: Amour Conjugal, p. 138 n. 58, réf.:
(AN KK 46 fol. 11)

Sausse Bernart, Hessart de (Sausebenart *)
(Saulce Bernard **) (Saulcebernart ***)
1400: écuyer de l'hostel du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 166 ***)
1406: échanson du roi
(Demay: Sceaux Clairambault, II, p. 194 * & **)
écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 80v)
fils de:
Sausebernart, Hessart [de]
mort av. 1381/9/30
épousa: Ver, Jaqueline de; vivante 1381
enfants:
Sausebernart, Hessart [de]; écuyer (voir ci-dessus)
(AD Seine-et-Marne: E 339)
autres du nom:
Sausse Bernart, le Galois de
1399: chevalier d'honneur du roi
(Demay: Sceaux Clairambault, II, p. 195)

Savale, Jehan ("Savale" *) (Savalle **)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v)
1414-1415: huissier de salle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v **)

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autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 105v *)

Scala, Bartolomeo della ("Berthelemy de Lescalle")
1410-1411: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1412/3/11: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
quand la reine lui donne 100 escus "pour soy aler en son pays"; il donne quittance 1412/3/12 (AN KK 48 fols. 116-v)
1413/10-1414: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414/3/19: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
qui lui donne 100 l.t. pour bons services etc.; il donne quittance 1414/6/29
(signée "Bertolami d. le scalla"; sceau en mauvais état)
(BN Coll. Clairambault 64 nos. 136, 137)
1414: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne 100 l.t. "pour s'habiller et estre de la compaignie de Msgr. de Baviere qui lors alloit de par le roy devers le pape" (au concile de Constance)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 42, 104v)
peut-etre le même personnage que:
Scala, Bartolomeo della
mort 1443/3/21 ayant vécu en Autriche à Vienne
fils de: Scala, Guglielmo della; leq. était un bâtard de:
Scala, Cangrande II della
(Carrara: Gli Scaligeri, p. 263)
autres du nom:
Scala, Regina della
épousa: Visconti, Bernabo
leur fille: Visconti, Taddea; épousa:
Bavière, Estienne duc de; et la fille de ceux-ci était la femme de Charles VI: Bavière, Isabeau de

Secart, Regnault
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Sellier, Mahieu le (Pelletier *)
1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1412: chapellain du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4 *, 5v, 8v)
1413: [chapellain ou 1er chapellain] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 58 & 67v)
1414: 1er chapellain du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17 & 21v)
1415: 1er chapellain du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26v)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fols. 50v, 101v)

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Seneschal, Jehan le. mtre.
1412: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 51v)
autres du nom:
Seneschal, Gillet le
1380/10: espicier & valet de chambre du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 93)
Seneschal, Guillemet le
1402: clerc de la paneterie du roi
(BN P.O. 380 Boessay 8335 no. 3)
Seneschal, Lorencin le
1368: valet de chambre de Charles V
(Petit: Phe.-le-H. (*), p. 228 n. 2)
1374: apothicaire de Charles V (* p. 297)
Seneschal, Robert le (Robin **)
1392: écuyer au service de Louis d'Orléans
(Jarry: Vie L. d'Orl., p. 94)
1396: échanson de Louis d'Orléans
(BN fr. 6212 no. 482 **)
1397: échanson de Louis d'Orléans qui lui donne
1000 fr. "pour l'avancement de son mariage"
(Caillet: Le M.A., t. 25, p. 42 (pub. en entier))
1403: mtre. d'hostel de Louis d'Orléans
(Jarry: Vie L. d'Orl., p. 292)
1405/6/13: trésorier de France; prêta serment
led. jour; suspendu 1406/2/3
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr., 1935, p. 243 ***)
1406/7/12: trésorier de France; rétabli led.
jour (BN fr. 2836 fol. 86v, réf.: Mémorial G)
1406/7/28: trésorier du domaine royal; écuyer;
nomination confirmée led. jour
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 292);
puis déchargé 1407/4/29 (BN fr. 2836 fol. 89v);
puis rétabli 1407/11/4 (***);
nomination confirmée 1408/1/1 (***); et puis
cesse ses fonctions en 1408 (***)

Sens, Jehan archévêque de (voir Montagu, Jehan de)

Sens, Pierre de. mtre. (voir Gobert, Pierre)

Sernay, Mahiet de
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76)
peut-être de la même famille que:
Sarnoy, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Sernoy, Mathieu de
1418/1/10: Château-Thierry, capit. de; nommé led. jour
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 199)

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Simonnete; Simonnet
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96v)

Sisse, Estienne de (Cisse *)
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83v *)

Sisse, Guichart de (Sissey *) (Cisse **) (Cissey ***)
(Cissay ****)
armoiries: lion rampant (BN fr. 5233 fol. 83) ainsi il
n'est pas de la famille de Cissey qui vient de:
(Cissey: Côte-d'Or: arr. Beaune)
et dont les armoiries sont:
d'azur à trois losanges d'argent
(Quantin: Mém. Soc. Beaune, 1892, p. 126)
1409: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 22 **)
1410-1411: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1411: panetier du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Étampes (BN fr. 32511 fol. 10)
1412-1413: panetier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12)
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: [panetier] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 53 **, 61 **)
1413/10/1-1414/9/30, 1414-1415: échanson du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 17, 23)
1414-1415: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 76 **)
1416: échanson du roi et: Meaux, capit. de
(AN P 15 no. 5410)
1418: Meaux, capit. de; ses biens sont confisqués
par les Bourguignons (Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 121 *)
1422/5/2: ôtage Armagnac mentionné dans le traité entre
Henry V et le marché de Meaux
(Monstrelet, VI (Chron. Anon.), p. 314)
1436: écuyer, mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII
(BN P.O. 752 Chissé no. 3 (signature))
1438 env.-1458: Bastide Saint Anthoine, capit. de la
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, IV, p. 377 **)
1458: Bastide Saint Anthoine, capit. de la
(BN fr. 22389 fol. 9 ****)
1458: écuyer, mtre. d'hostel de Charles VII et
Bastide Saint Anthoine, capit. de la; vidimus de son
testament (comme la fin manque on ne peut pas être
certain de la date du testament même;
la date donnée est celle du vidimus mais pourrait
être celle du testament aussi car G. vivait en 1458)
(AD Côte-d'Or: E 1633 ***)
écuyer d'honneur de la "cour d'amour" de Charles VI
(BN fr. 5233 fol. 83)

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épousa av. 1416/11/6: Chaule, Marguerite de; veuve de:
Chepoy, Loys de (voir ci-dessus) (AN P 15 no. 5410)
morte av. 1458 et enterrée dans l'église des freres mineurs à Paris (AD Côte-d'Or: E 1633)
il semble que led. G. ne laissa pas d'enfants, mais son testament mentionne un neveu:
Rouvroy, Anthoine de (écuyer); et une
nièce: Rouvroy, Estienne de
(AD Côte-d'Or: E 1633)
autres du nom:
Cissey, Huguette de
1398/12/5: bercerasse de Marguerite de Bourgogne ensuite duch. de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 211)

Soissons, Thibault de ("Msgr. de Mareuil" *)
Moreuil, sgr. de (Somme: arr. Montdidier, ch.-l.)
(Beauvillé, II, p. 114 (doc.))
Moreul (**), Moroeul (***), Marueil (****)
led. T. posséda cette sgrie. déjà en 1400
(Beauvillé, III, p. 298 (voir aussi p.297 ***))
1410/9/8: reçu avec sa compagnie à Saint Denis pour servir sous: Heilly, le sgr. de
(BN P.O. 2712 Soissons no. 20)
1414/4/15: chambellan du roi; envoyé led. jour par le roi de Verberie à Noyon annoncer l'arrivée du roi, de la reine et du duc de Guyenne
(Mazière: Soc. Noyon, t. 12, p. 218-9 **)
1414/11/4: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23 *)
1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 104v ****)
1415/9: envoyé par le duc de Guyenne devers le duc de Bourgogne (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 306-7)
épousa: Poix, Marguerite de; fille de:
Tyrel, Jehan; Poix, sgr. de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 823)
fils de:
Soissons, Rogues de
led. R. a pris le nom "de Soissons", son vrai nom était:
Moreuil, Rogues de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 717-8)
Moreuil, sgr. de (déjà en 1383)
(BN P.O. 2712 Soissons no. 18)
mort av. 1400 (voir ci-dessus)
épousa: Montigny, Ade de
enfants:
1. Soissons, Thibault de (voir ci-dessus)
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 823)
2. Soissons, Jehan de (Moreul, Jehan de *); viv. 1400
(Beauvillé, III, p. 298 *)

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Solet, Denis (Denisot *) (Folet **) (Follet ***)
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v *)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 48 *, 54 * & 62 *, 81 *)
1414-1415: queux du duc de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474 ** & 479 ***)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)
probablement le même personnage que:
Soret, Denisot
1422: queux de la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 426)

Somme, Colle de
1414-1415: trompette du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 479v)

Soyecourt, Charles de (Saucourt *)
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI, p. 114 **)
Moy, sgr. de (déjà en 1406)
(AN P 15 no. 5343)
Sains, sgr. de
led. C. fait hommage au roi pour lad. sgrie. qui est mouvant de la chastellerie de Montdidier 1406/4/29
(AN P 15 no. 5343)
1395: chambellan du roi
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 213)
1406: chambellan du roi
(AN P 15 no. 5343)
1406, 1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6, 11)
1408: cons. & chambellan du roi et du duc de Guyenne
(BN Coll. Clairambault 191 no. 30)
1409-1410: cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 500 l.t. de pension par an dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
1410-1411: cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 400 l.t. de pension par an dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 5)
1410/3/27: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 143-v)
1410/5/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 29v)
1410/9/10: Creil, capit. de; pour le duc de Guyenne (BN P.O. 2723 Soyecourt no. 5 (voir aussi no. 7))
1410/11/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 16v)
1411/2/8: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 27v)
1411/4/14: au conseil du duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 229-30)

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1412: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 500 l.t. de pension par an
dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412/6-7: cons. & chambellan du duc de
Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v) voir aussi: (AN KK 228 fol. 44v)
1412/9/9: Creil, capit. de; pour le duc de
Guyenne (BN P.O. 2723 Soyecourt no. 8); il ne tenait plus
cet office 1413/7/24 (BN Coll. Clairambault 104 no. 8
(fichier)); mais il fut rétabli 1413/8/24 à 400 l.t. de
gages par an (BN fr. 20684 p. 45)
1412-1413, 1413-1414, 1414-1415:
cons. & chambellan du roi & du duc de Guyenne à 1000 l.t.
de pension par an dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11, 15, 19v)
1413/4/2: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN J 369 B no. 20)
1413/5/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 61-v)
1413/8: cons. & chambellan
du roi & du duc de Guyenne; la reine donne 160 escus
aud. C. pour bons services faits pour elle
(AN KK 48 fol. 121v *)
1413/9/15: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 271-2)
1413/9/25: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AN K 58 no. 4)
1413/12/16: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 236-7)
1414/1/12: parmi ceux chassés de l'hostel du duc de
Guyenne par la reine (Monstrelet, II, p. 420-1)
voir aussi: (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 235)
1414: [chambellan] du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414/7/24: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Agny
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 69-70)
1414/12/26: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1415/1: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
1415/3/28: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Melun
(BN Coll. Doat 212 fols. 145-147v)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 43v, 57v, 67v, 101v)
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 8, 9, 11v, 15v, 20, 21v)
épousa A.: Chastillon, Isabelle de; morte 1403 (**)
enfants de A.:
1. Soyecourt, Jacques de
lequel mourut sans enfants 1428 (**)
Sains, sgr. de
lequel épousa 1405/7: Aumont, Catherine d'
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, IV, p. 873)
2. Soyecourt, Charles de; tué à Azincourt 1415 (**)
3. Soyecourt, Marie de; morte non mariée (**)
4. Soyecourt, Jehanne de; épousa 1403:

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Malet, Jehan; Corbeil, vicomte de (**)
5. Soyecourt, Isabeau de; morte non mariée (**)
6. Soyecourt, Louise de; morte non mariée (**)
7. Soyecourt, Katherine de
appellée aussi: Mohy, Katherine de *** (Moy ****)
1412/1/20: mineure (AN X.1c 103 A no. 23)
1419/4/28: damoiselle de la duch. de Guyenne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3967 ***)
1419/8/3: damoiselle de la duch. de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., no. 3997 ****)
1424: damoiselle d'honneur de la duch. de Guyenne
qui était alors csse. de Richemont
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 214)
laquelle épousa:
Vaudray, Philibert de; Montbouzon, sgr. de (**)
8. Soyecourt, Adeline de (Adine *****)
1412/1/20: mineure (AN X.1c 103 A no. 23 *****)
1423: damoiselle d'honneur de la duch. de Guyenne
qui était alors csse. de Richemont
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 214)
laquelle épousa 1425: Igle, Pierre (**)
9. Soyecourt, Loys de; mineur en 1412
(AN X.1c 103 A no. 23)
10. Soyecourt, NN de; épousa av. 1412/1/20:
Luilly, Jehan de; chlr. (AN X.1c 103 A no. 23)
il s'agit peut-être de:
Soyecourt, Marguerite de; citée 1421
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 214, ref.: BN fr. 31968 fol. 137)
épousa B. 1408:
Ortenburg, Amalie d'
1409-1417, 1435: dame d'honneur de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 212)
enfants de B.:
1. Soyecourt, Loys de
Moy, sgr. de
filleul du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 8 & 9)
mineur en 1427; majeur en 1428 (**)
lequel épousa:
a. Nesle, Blanche de (**)
b. Villiers, Marie de (**)
2. Soyecourt, Isabelle de; mineure en 1427 (**)
fils de: Soyecourt, Gilles de, dit le Borgne (**)

Tabouret ("Tabouret fourrier" *)
1405-1406, 1406, 1407: fourrier du duc de
Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 3v *, 6v *, 11 *)

Tabouret, Jehan (Tabourel *) ("Tabouret" **)
1411: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 31)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)

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1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 42 & 52, 57v & 68 & 69v, 107v **)
valet de fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471 *)
1414-1415: fourrier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v *)
peut-être le même personnage que le suivant:

Tabouret, le petit
1405-1406, 1407: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 4, 11)

Tabouret, Raoulet
1406, 1407: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6v, 11v)

Taillevent
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 91)

Talebert
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83)
autres du nom:
Taillebert
1387, 1389: chevaucheur du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 714, 722)

Tasseguin
1414-1415: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)

Tavernier, Pierre le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Testart, Guillaume
1412/12: valet servant en salle de la reine &
du duc de Guyenne (AN X.1c 105 A no. 7)
1413, 1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 62v, 82)
1414-1415: valet servant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 473v)
il faut probablement le distinguer du suivant:

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Testart, Guillaume
1401: epicier qui vend épices à la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 158)
1404: épicier & valet de chambre de la reine
(Pannier: Joyaux (tirage à part), p. 64)
1406, 1407: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6, 11)

Testart, Marcellet
1412/6-7: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 45v)
1413/1-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 57v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Testart, Marcelet
épousa av. 1435/12/23: Maulouee, Katherine la; fille de:
Mauloue, Henri. mtre. (mort av. 1435/12/23)
(AN X.1a 9807 fol. 30v)
autres du nom:
Testart, Marcel (Marcelot *)
1422/9, 1423/2: trésorier de la reine
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 427),
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fols. 229-v)
1427: trésorier de la reine
(Sauval, III, p. 326 *)
Testart, Jacques
1418/8/14: cons., trésorier & receveur général de la reine; nommé led. jour
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 52)
1419/6: trésorier de la reine qui lui a donné 500 l.t. "en accroissement" de son mariage
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1165)

Thibault, Guillemin
1414-1415: de la fruiterie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 89v)

Thibault, Olivier
1414-1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
autres du nom:
Thibaut, Bernart
1383: aide de fourrière du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Comptes, p. 221)

Thibert, Michiel
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 71v)

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Thiessart, Olivier
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 82v)
autres du nom:
Tiessart, Jehan
1422: clerc d'office du roi
(Godefroy: Hist. Charles VI, p. 705)
Thiessart, Thibault. mtre.
1421: cons. lay dans la grande chambre du Parlement
(Favier: Contrib., p. 79)

Tholemain, Yvonnet
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96)

Thomas, Rogerin
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106)

Thoriers, Simon de (Symon *) (Simonnet **) (Symonnet ***)
(Thorier ****)
1412/6-7: [huissier d'armes] du duc de Guyenne
pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46v ***)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: [huissier d'armes] du duc
de Guyenne; mentionné sous Fourrière où se trouvent les
huissiers d'armes (AN KK 228 fols. 51 **, 58v *, 103v)
1414: huissier d'armes du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Arras (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17v ****)
1414-1415: écuyer tranchant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v ****)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 73)

Thouars, Jehan de
1414-1415: soufflaur du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83v)

Thury, Girart de
1410/2: chambellan du duc de Guyenne; va avec d'autres
prendre possession du Dauphiné pour led. duc
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1410/6/6: maréchal du Dauphiné et: Albon en
Dauphiné, chastellain d'; nomme chastellain led. jour
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 191-2); il est remplacé comme
chastellain 1415/8/13 (Ibid., fols. 164-v)

Til, Msgr. du (voir Chasteauvillain, Bernart de)

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Torsay, Guillaume de
Melleran, sgr. de
1407/1/14 v.s.?: Poitiers, capit. de; nommé led. jour
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII (*), p. 70)
1408/12/25: Niort, capit. de; nommé led. jour
(* p. 70)
1412: échanson du roi (* p. 70)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie
du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 30 & 33, 47v, 53v & 61v, 75v)
1418/9/14: chlr. servant dans l'armée du dauphin sous:
Torsay, Jehan de (BN Coll. Clairambault 106 no. 141)
1423: chlr. fait prisonnier par les Anglais (* p. 70)
1429: toujours prisonnier en Angleterre (* p. 71)
épousa: Archiac, Jehanne d' (* p. 70)
enfants: seul enfant légitime:
Torsay, Marguerite de; épousa:
Rochefoucault, Guillaume de la (* p. 71)
fils de:
Torsay, Guillaume de
Saintonge, sénéchal de
Roche-Ruffin, sgr. de la
Motte-Sainte-Heraye, sgr. de la
1383/5/11: chambellan du duc de Berry
(BN P.O. 2855 Torsay no. 3)
1388/10/12: à Corenzich en Allemagne dans l'armée du roi
servant sous le duc de Berry (BN P.O. 2855 Torsay no. 5)
vivant 1405 (* p. 70)
épousa: Chastenet, Talaise; veuve de:
Vivonne, Loys de (* p. 70)
enfants:
1. Torsay, Jehan de
Lezay, sgr. de
Mothe-Sainte-Heraye, sgr. de la
Roche-Ruffin, sgr. de la
1398: chambellan du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 149)
1399/3/22 v.s.?: chambellan du roi & du duc
de Berry; le duc de Bourgogne lui donne 300 escus pour
son voyage de Constantinople (il semble qu'il va partir
et non pas qu'il vient de rentrer)
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 14)
1405: chambellan du roi et: Poitou, sénéchal de
(BN Coll. Clairambault 106 no. 138 (signature))
1406: servant en Guyenne avec: Albret, Charles d'
(Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 243 n. **)
1407/12, 1408/7/31: chambellan du roi a 600 fr.
de pension par an (BN P.O. 2855 Torsay no. 7 (signature))
1409/9: envoyé a Gênes au secours de Boucicaut (**)
1412: avec: Albret, Charles d'; ils combattent contre
l'occupation du Poitou par: Heilly, Jacques sgr. de (**)
1413/9: chambellan du roi & du duc de Berry
et Poitou, sénéchal de (**)
1414/3: cons. & chambellan

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du roi & du duc de Berry (AN JJ 167 p. 458-9)
1414: cons. & chambellan du duc de Berry et Poitou, sénéchal de; à 1000 fr. par an outre ses gages (AN KK 250 fol. 13v)
1415/12/10: cons. & chambellan du roi et Poitou, sénéchal de; servant le roi & le duc de Guyenne avec 300 hommes d'armes & 400 hommes de trait à Paris (BN Coll. Clairambault 106 no. 140)
1416/1/8: mtre. des arbalétriers de France; nommé led. jour (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 p. 114); à 2000 fr. par an (**); déstitué 1418 (par les Bourguignons) (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 70)
1418/9: mtre. des arbalétriers de France; il garde son titre même si en réalité il ne tient plus l'office; il est au service du dauphin Charles (BN Coll. Clairambault 106 no. 141)
1420/1/20: cons. & chambellan du roi & du dauphin Charles et mtre. des arbalétriers de France; en réalité il n'est plus au service du roi et ne tient plus l'office de mtre. mais il ne reconnait pas sa déstitution par les Bourguignons (BN P.O. 2855 Torsay no. 9 (signature))
1421/8: testa (AM Poitiers: carton 15 no. F. 62 (cat.))
1428: testa (* p. 70)
lequel épousa: Argenton, Marie d'; dont 2 filles (* p. 70)
2. Torsay, Guillaume de (voir ci-dessus)

Torsay, Paonnet de (Pannet *)
né 1391 (Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 26, p. 209 n. **)
1414: de l'hostel du duc de Berry (AN KK 250 fol. 36v)
1414-1415: [échanson] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76 *).
1415: échanson du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Normandie (BN fr. 32511 fol. 26)
fils de:
Torsay, Jehan de
Contre, sgr. de
Beruges, sgr. de
1415: vivant (**)
épousa A.: NN dont il eut:
Torsay, Jehanne de; epousa 1392 env.:
Vareze, Jehan de (**)
épousa B. av. 1376/6: Horric, Jehanne (Orry, Jehanne) (**)
enfants de B.:
1. Torsay, Philippe de (fille) (**)
2. Torsay, Robert de (voir ci-dessous) (**)
3. Torsay, Jehan de; Autrey, sgr. d' (1423) (**)
4. Torsay, Paonnet de (voir ci-dessus) (**)

Torsay, Robert de
1398: échanson du duc de Berry

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(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 150)
1414: de l'hostel du duc de Berry
(AN KK 250 fol. 36v)
1413/7-12, 1414-1415: [écuyer d'ecurie] du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 66v, 95v)
1414-1415: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 21v)
fils de: Torsay, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)

Toste, Richart. mtre.
1408, 1409: secrétaire du roi
(AN KK 48 fols. 20v-21)
1410/2/26: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1410/5/7: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 7-8v)
1410/5/23, 1410/7/29: secrétaire du roi
(AN X.1c 101 B nos. 200, 177)
1414: notaire & secrétaire du roi
(AN X.1c 107 B no. 196)

Trait, Msgr. du (voir Sacquainville, Jehan de)

Tremoille, Georges sgr. de la
né 1382 (La Trémoille: Chartrier, p. 13)
1409/6/11: chambellan du roi & du duc de Bourgogne (BN Coll. Clairambault 204 no. 120)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51, 58v & 67v, 101v)
1413/5/18: grand chambellan du roi; nommé led. jour (La Trémoille: Les La T. (*), p. xiii)
1413/7/9: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris quand il est accusé d'être la cause de la vie dissolue menée par led. duc; accusé par: Jacqueville, Elion de
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 79)
1413/10-11: Cherbourg, capit. de; pour le duc de Bourgogne; il ne tenait plus led. office 1414/11/13
(BN Coll. Clairambault 204 no. 123)
1414/11/13: cons. & chambellan du roi
(BN Coll. Clairambault 204 no. 123)
1414-1415: mention dans les comptes du duc de Guyenne où son office n'est pas mentionné (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
1415/10/25: fait prisonnier à Azincourt (* p. xiv)
épousa:
A. (contrat 1416/11/16): Boulogne, Jehanne de; veuve de: Berry, Jehan duc de
(BM Poitiers: Coll. Fonteneau 26, p. 337 (cat.))
B. (1427): Isle Bouchard, Catherine de l'; veuve de: Giac, Pierre de; leq. fut tué par ordre dud. G., lad. C. étant deja sa maîtresse (* p. xvii)

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fils de:
Tremoille, Guy sgr. de la
né 1343 (La Trémoille: Les La T. (*), p. ix)
mort 1397 a "Rodes" (***) pendant le retour de la croisade de Nicopolis (Servais, II, p. 250); il ne s'agit pas de l'île de Rhodes car led. G. était passé par Milan "en retournant de Barbarie" où il avait fait cadeau a 2 marechaux de: Visconti, Gian Galeazzo (La Trémoille: Comptes, p. 111 ***, 118)
1380/2 env.: envoyé en Prusse aider:
Pologne, Ladislas roi de
(Petit: Phe.-le-H., p. 355-6)
1382/4/13: 1er chambellan du duc de Bourgogne recevant 1000 florins d'or de pension par an de: Visconti, Gian Galeazzo par lres. dud. jour; pour laq. pension Guy a fait foi & hommage et a juré de secourir led. G.G. contres tous sauf le roi de France & le duc de Bourgogne & leurs enfants
(Miscellanées: Arch. Hist. Poitou, I, p. 308-11)
1383/7/19: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne peu av. led. jour eut lieu son combat ou gage de bataille contre un anglais: Courtenay, Pierre de; fait devant le roi à Paris (Prost: Comptes, II, p. 132, 136)
épousa 1382:
Sully, Marie de
Sully, dame de; Craon, dame de
morte à Pau 1409 (Joubert: Craon (**), p. 26)
fiancee av. 1382 avec: Berry, Charles de (** p. 2)
lad. M. épousa en 2e noces 1400: Albret, Charles d' (** p. 23); contrat: (AD Basses-Pyr.: E 55 (cat.))
enfants:
1. Tremoille, Georges sgr. de la (voir ci-dessus)
2. Tremoille, Jehan de la Jonvelle, sgr. de
1418: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne à 500 fr. de pension par an
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., p. 96)
3. Tremoille, Guy de la Joigny, comte de (1419)
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 1er fasc., p. 590-1)
4. Tremoille, Isabeau de la; épousa:
a. Tourzel, Pierre de; tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
b. Riviere, Charles sgr. de la (voir ci-dessus)
c. Thil, Guillaume de
5. Tremoille, Marie de la; épousa:
Chalons, Louis de
6. Tremoille, Marguerite de la; épousa:
Pons, Regnault sgr. de

Tret, Msgr. du (voir Sacquainville, Jehan de)

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Trie, Loys de
Saumont, sgr. de (1414-1415)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1402, 1406: mineur
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI (*), p. 673)
1412/6-7: [écuyer d'honneur] du duc de Guyenne
son nom apparaît parmi ceux qui étaient selon d'autres
sources écuyers d'honneur du duc (AN KK 228 fol. 45)
1412, 1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415:
de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 42 & 43v & 50v, 58v, 68, 101v)
1414-1415: chlr. chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v)
1419: chambellan du roi (* p. 673)
fils de:
Trie, Jehan de
Latainville, sgr. de (Lattainville) (voir ci-dessous)
mort av. 1402 (* p. 673)
1389/1: chambellan du roi
(BN P.O. 2883 Trie (**) no. 39)
1389/1/29: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans (** no. 40)
1389/11/5: Louis d'Orléans lui donne 300 fr. pour son
voyage en Prusse (** no. 47)
1390/5/7: chambellan du roi et maréchal
de Louis d'Orléans; il a reçu dud. L. 300 fr. pour
accompagner l'expédition en Afrique conduite par:
Bourbon, Loys duc de (** no. 49)
1391/5/24: chambellan du roi; led. jour à Gisors
pour faire hommage au roi pour la terre de Lattainville
(AN P 263.1 no. 29)
1393/6/30: maréchal de Louis d'Orléans et
Beaumont-sur-Oise, capit. de
(La Gorgue-Rosny, IV, p. 309)
1393/7/24: chambellan & maréchal de Louis
d'Orléans qui lui donne led. jour 1000 fr.
(BN fr. 6212 no. 459)
1393/9: va en Bourgogne devers le duc de Bourgogne auq.
L. d'Orléans l' a envoye "pour certaines choses touchans":
Savoie, la comtesse de (BN fr. 6212 no. 460)
1394/7/31: chambellan du roi
(** no. 41 (signature et sceau))
1395: chambellan & maréchal de Louis
d'Orléans à 1200 l.t. de pension par an
(BN fr. 6212 no. 463)
1400/3/27 v.s.?: testa (* p. 673)
épousa à Paris dans l'hostel d'Artois 1394/2/1:
Tremoille, Catherine de la
(Petit: Phe.-le-H., p. 36); la date de 1393/1/24
est aussi donnée pour ce mariage
(Circourt: RQH, 1889, p. 41 n. 1)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Trie, Loys de (* p. 673) (voir ci-dessus)
frère dud. Jehan:
Trie, Reqnault de; admiral de France (mort 1406)

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autres du nom:
Trie, Loys de
1413/3/20-1415/5/25: mineur quand son père mourut entre les deux dates données (voir ci-dessous)
1415/5/25-1417: fait prisonnier par les Anglais à un moment inconnu entre les deux dates données (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VI (*), p. 677), (BN P.O. 2883 Trie no. 97)
1417/4/1: chlr. chambellan du roi aug. il fait hommage led. jour (AN P 274.1 no. 18)
fils de:
Trie, Guillaume de
Fontenay, sgr. de (1393) (***)
Pleville, sgr. de (1393)
(BN fr. 6212 no. 467 (signature))
mort av. 1415/5/25 (* p. 677)
1393: cons. & chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à 300 fr. de pension par an (BN fr. 6212 no. 461 ***)
1403/9/24: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans qui lui donne 100 fr. pour l'accompagner au voyage de Lombardie (** no. 69)
1406/4/12: chambellan du roi & de Louis d'Orléans (AN P 274.1 no. 11)
1408/9/21: à Paris servant la duch. d'Orléans avec hommes d'armes (** no. 79)
1410/11/8: chambellan du duc d'Orléans; part led. jour de Bicêtre pour aller à Paris devers le roi et les généraux cons. des aides "pour la poursuite du don des aides" des terres dud. duc que le roi lui avait fait; il est accompagné par:
Fontaines, le sgr. de (** no. 93)
1413/4/20: chambellan du roi & du duc d'Orléans à Paris led. jour (AN P 1923.1 no. 46782)
épousa: Malet, Isabelle; laq. épousa en 2e noces:
Creully, Loys baron de
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 869)
enfants: seul enfant connu:
Trie, Loys de (* p. 677) (voir ci-dessus)

Troncon, Jehan. mtre. (Trocon *)
1414-1415: secrétaire & procureur à la cour de Rome du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 22)
1414/11: procureur à la cour de Rome de la reine (Grandeau: Enfants, p. 848 *; ref.: AN KK 48 fol. 93v)
peut-être le même personnage que:
Troncon, Jehan de. mtre.
1433: secrétaire du duc de Bourgogne
(Delabarre: État, p. 197)

Trouve, Simonnet
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 83)

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Tueleu (Thulieu *)
1406, 1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 6v, 11)
1414-1415: huissier de salle du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 106v *)
autres du nom:
Tueleu, Pierre
1409/6/1-1413/5/31: garde de l'hostel d'Artois a
Paris et des vins "estans en ycellui"
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 636)

Tur, Guillaume le. mtre.
1397: avocat du roi au Parlement
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1933, p. 201 *)
1399/1: naguères receveur de Melun; ne tient plus
led. office aud. mois (Moranvillé: BEC, t. 49, p. 410)
1400/7/5: cons. & avocat du roi aux requêtes
de l'hostel; nommé led. jour (*)
1404: conseiller du duc de Berry
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 29 n. 2)
1413/8/23: avocat du roi au Parlement; élu led.
jour au lieu de: Jouvenel, Jehan
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 366) & (Baye, II, p. 137)
1414-1415, 1415: avocat au Parlement du duc de
Guyenne à 20 l.p. de pension par an
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v, 25)
1415: avocat du roi au Parlement
(Moranvillé: BEC, t. 49, p. 421)
1422/11/25: mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel de
Charles VII (*)
1425/10/22: général de la justice des aides à
Poitiers; nommé led. jour (*)

Turel, Jehan (Thurel *) (Jenannin **) ("Thurel" ***)
1407, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 11 * & **, 108 ***)
garde de la tapisserie et sommelier des materas du duc
de Guyenne (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 470v)
1414-1415: sommelier des matheras du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474)
autres du nom:
Turel, Guillaume (Thurel *) (Guillemin **)
1397: [valet de garderobe] de la reine
fait une cotte de l'ordre des dames de Poissy pour:
France, Marie de (AN KK 41 fol. 146v **)
1399: valet de garderobe de la reine
(AN KK 41 fol. 248v *)

Turpin, Guy (Guyon *)
1414-1415: échanson du roi et écuyer
tranchant du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 23v *)

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autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 105)
probablement le même personnage que:
Turpin, Guy
mort 1432 (Bellenger: Soc. Saint-Malo, 1936 (**), p. 13)
chambellan de Phe.-le-Bon duc de Bourgogne (**)
épousa 1416: Laval, Anne dame de; dont la mère fit annuler le mariage (** p. 12)
1417/6/13: chlr. "soy disant": Laval, sgr. de; prisonnier dans la conciergerie du palais dans la grosse tour par ordre de la cour du Parlement; mené led. jour à l'hostel Saint Pol devers le roi (Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 390-1, ref.: (9e registre des matinées fol. 248; voir aussi le (registre criminel sous la date 1417/6/14)

Ust, Maubruny d' ("Maubruny" *)
1413/10-1414/10: écuyer & serviteur de Gilles de Bretagne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 106v *)

Vailly, Jehan de
mort 1435/3/19 (*)
cons. de Louis d'Orléans
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: BEC, t. 98, p. 261 (*))
1400-1412/11/2: avocat dans la cour des aides
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1933, p. 238 *)
president de la cour des aides; nommé par lres. du roi 1412/11/2 et reçu 1412/11/3; évincé en 1412/12 malgré la volonté du duc de Guyenne
(Dupont-Ferrier: Soc. Hist. Fr. 1931, p. 253)
1412/11/17-1413/3/14 : avocat dans la cour des aides (*)
1413/3/16: chancelier du duc de Guyenne; nommé led. jour et puis remplacé 1413/5/11
(BN fr. 22365 p. 17)
1413/4/28 **: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21) (Baye: Journal, II, p. 108 **)
1413/8/16: 4e président au Parlement; reçu led. jour malgré le fait qu'il était a la 3e place dans l'élection car le duc de Guyenne et autres en voyant les résultats ont (du consentement du roi) ajouté leurs voix (Baye: Journal, II, p. 133-6)
1415/9: envoyé par le duc de Guyenne devers le duc de Bourgogne (Juvenal des Ursins, p. 306-7)
1415/12/10 env. ***: president au Parlement; va avec d'autres à Lagny pour répondre à la requête du duc de Bourgogne demandant à entrer dans Paris
(Monstrelet, III, p. 129) (Petit: Itin., p. 423 ***)
1418/9/21: 1er président au Parlement de Poitiers (*)
épousa: Gillier, Jehanne
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 132 n. 3)
enfants:

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Vailly, Jehan de
1438: Orleans, évêque d'; élu aud. an
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 133 n.)
fils de:
Vailly, Richart de
notaire du roi au Chastellet
(Baye: Journal, II, p. 132 n. 3)

Vanesis, Heteguin de
1414-1415: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v)

Vanoist, Josseguin (Vaneist *)
1413/10-1414/10: fauconnier du duc de Guyenne a 200 l.t. de gages par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 15v)
1414-1415: fauconnier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 475 * & 479 *)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Varennes, Antoine de
1413/9/20: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne et Beaucaire, mtre. des ports dans la sénéchaussé de Avignon, garde de la tour du pont d' Villeneuve, viguier de; Saint André, chastellain de nommé aux offices de mtre., garde, vig., & chast. led. j. (BN Coll. Clairambault 782 fols. 90v-91);
il resta mtre. des ports jusqu'à 1418/12/11
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, I, p. 303)
épousa: Barres, Isabeau des (voir)
(BN fr. 32364 fols. 7-v)
autres du nom:
Varennes, Robin de (Robert *)
1387: brodeur, armeurier et valet de chambre du roi (Douet d'Arcq: Nouv. Comptes, p. 192 *)
1390: brodeur de Louis d'Orléans
(Graves: Pièces, p. 38)
Varennes, Robinet de
1405/8/15: écuyer emprisonné avec 2 dames de la reine par ordre de lad. reine a cause de ce qu'ils avaient raconté (Rel. St. Denis, III, p. 331)

Vasseur, Andriet le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Vasseur, Jehan le
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 96v)

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autres du nom:
Vasseur, Fremin le. mtre. (Vaicheur *)
1419/5: chapellain du duc de Bourgogne
(Mollat: Comptes, I, no. 193 (voir aussi no. 115 *))

Vassy, Thomassin de (voir Wacy)

Vaudehees, Jehan de (Vandehes *) (Vandoheez **)
1413/10-1414/10: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 16v)
1414-1415: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474v * & 479 **)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Vaudetar, Milet de (Millet *)
1413/10-1414/10, 1414/10-1415/10: 1er & mtre. veneur du duc de Guyenne à 400 fr. de gages par an
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 15v, 19v *)
1417: mtre. veneur du dauphin Jehan
(Saint Genois: Monuments Anc., I, p. 350)
1420: mourut à Melun pendant le siège de lad. ville par les Bourguignons (Longnon: Paris, p. 269 (**), ref.:
(AN JJ 173 no. 720)
fils de:
Vaudetar, Jehan de'
mort 1414/12/25 (BN P.O. 2943 Vaudetar no. 4)
son nom vient du fief de: Vaudetard à Issy (pres Paris)
(*** p. 140 n. 1)
Pouilly-le-Fort, sgr. de; sgrie. acquise par son père
(BN P.O. 2943 Vaudetar no. 2)
1372: valet de chambre de Charles V
(Guérin: Arch. Hist. Poitou, t. 19 (***), p. 139)
1373: anobli (*** p. 140 n. 1)
1377: valet de chambre de Charles V et
Louvre, chastellain & concierge du
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III), fol. 162v)
1381/9/30: valet de chambre du roi
(AD Seine-et-Marne: E 339)
1385/1/12: valet de chambre du roi
(AN P 131 no. 24)
av. 1388: mtre. des comptes du roi
(Rey: Domaine, p. 174)
1388/2/9 : général cons. sur le fait des aides; nommé led. jour avec: Plancey, N. de
(Ordonnances, VII, p. 762-3)
déchargé dud. office 1389/2/28
(Bib. Mazarine: Ms. 3044 p. 26)
1389/3/1 : cons. du grand conseil & mtre. de la chambre des comptes; nommé mtre. led. jour au lieu de: Chanteprime, Francois
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5871 (Menant VII) fols. 79-v)

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1389: cons. & mtre. des comptes du roi
(BN P.O. 2943 Vaudetar no. 4)
1393: cons. en la chambre des comptes du roi a
200 l.t. de pension à volonte par an
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5867 (Menant III) fol. 183)
1397: 1er mtre. des comptes du roi
(AN KK 27 fol. 99)
1410/7/14: mtre. de la chambre des comptes du roi
remplacé led. jour car il est vieux;
il aura 500 l.t. par an sa vie durant
(AN P 2297 p. 999-1006, réf.: Mémorial G fol. 130)
1410: cons. extraordinaire en la chambre des comptes
du roi (BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5865 (Menant I) fol. 212v)
épousa av. 1381/9/30 (****):
Landes, Pernelle des; fille de:
Landes, NN des; Palais Royal, concierge du
(BN P.O. 2943 Vaudetar no. 4),
(AD Seine-et-Marne: E 339 ****)
enfants:
source, sauf pour les exceptions données:
(BN P.O. 2943 Vaudetar no. 207)
1. Vaudetar, Charles de .mtre.
"ainsne filz" (AN P 131 no. 74)
1408/9: cons. au Parlement; où il est mtre. clerc
en la grande chambre (AN X.1a 1479 fols. 43, 49v)
1415/6/17: cons. du roi; et
Peuras dans l'église d'Orléans, archidiacre de
(AN P 8 no. 260)
1416/3/11: cons. au Parlement
(AN P 131 no. 74)
2. Vaudetar, Pierre de
Pouilly-le-Fort, sgr. de
1411/1: valet de chambre du roi
(AN X.1c 103 A no. 82)
1416/12/12: valet de chambre du roi
(AN P 128 no. 260)
lequel épousa av. 1411/1: Chanteprime, Marguerite de
(AN X.1c 103 A no. 82)
3. Vaudetar, Milet de
(Longnon: Paris, p. 269) (voir ci-dessus)
4. Vaudetar, Jehan de
1436: cons. au Chastellet; retenu aud. an
(BM Rouen: Coll. Leber 5876 (Menant XII) fols. 169-v)
5. Vaudetar, Denise de; épousa: Derian, Martin (voir)

Vaugis, Denisot de (voir Baugis)

Veau, Gilles le ("Gilles Veau *")
1412-1413, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415:
clerc, secrétaire & examinateur des comptes
du duc de Guyenne à 200 l.t. de gages par an
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 11v, 15 *, 19v)

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autres mentions:
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 12v, 16 *, 16v, 21v *, 22v, 25, 25v *)

Vendome, NN de
Chartres, vidame de
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 57v, 68v)
il s'agit de l'un des trois frères qui suivent qui etaient fils de:
Vendome, Robert de; Chartre-sur-Loir, sgr. de la
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 729)
1. Vendome, Guillaume de
Chartres, vidame de (1409)
lequel mourut sans enfants: date inconnue
lequel épousa av. 1409: Estouteville, Isabeau d'
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VIII, p. 97)
2. Vendome, Charles de
Chartre-sur-Loir, sgr. de la
date de sa mort inconnue
lequel épousa: Angennes, Jehanne d'
3. Vendome, Jehan de
Chartres, vidame de (1434)

Veneur, Jehan le
1414-1415: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 84)

Vennes, Jehan de
1413: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 71v)

Verdelet (voir Boissard)

Verdun, Estienne de
1414-1415: écuyer d'honneur du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)

Vergier, Jaquet du
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 105)

Verjus, Simon (Simonnet *) (Symonnet **)
1412, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 51v *, 104v *)
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46 **)
1414-1415: clerc des offices du duc de Guyenne

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(BN fr. 32511 fol. 23)
peut-etre le même personnage que:
Verjus, Symonnet
1409, 1410/9: valet de chambre du roi
(BN P.O. 2969 Verjus nos. 3, 2)

Vernet, Jehan (Jehannin *) (Venet **)
1414-1415: clerc de chapelle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 473v **, 477 *)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469 * & **)

Verrat, Pierre le
Crosnes, sgr. de (près de Villeneuve-Saint-Georges)
acheta lad. sgrie. 1412-1413
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 12v)
rend aveu au roi de lad. sgrie. qui est mouvant de la châtellenie de Corbeil 1413/3/22
(AN P 128 no. 254)
1409/10/5: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 2973 le Verrat (*) no. 2)
1410-1411: écuyer d'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6)
1411/6/20: échanson du roi (* no. 3)
1411/12/1: 1er écuyer du corps du duc de Guyenne nommé led. jour (BN fr. 32511 fol. 7)
1412/1/1, 1412-1413, 1413/6-8, 1413/10-1414, 1414-1415, 1415/10-12: 1er écuyer du corps du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 9, 11 & 12v, 13v, 15, 19 & 21, 25)
1411-1415/10: Villeneuve-le-Roy, capit. de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, V, p. 472)
1418, 1419: écuyer d'écurie du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., nos. 294, 808)
1422/9: écuyer d'écurie du roi
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 426)
épousa 1412/12: NN
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 41)
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., p. 83-4)
enfants:
Verrat, NN le; tenu (tenue ?) sur fonts par le duc de Guyenne et par 2 "jeunes filles" 1414-1415
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 21)

Vertaing, Jehan de ("Jehan Berdaing" *)
1414-1415: page du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 474v & 479)
autres mentions: (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471 *)

Viaut, Pierre
1413/10-1414-10: clerc d'Henry Camus secrétaire du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 16)

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Vienne, Guillaume de
mort 1434 (Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 800)
Saint Georges, sgr. de
1405/4/19: cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne; retenu led. jour à 3000 fr. par an (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1571 fols. 53v-54)
1405: à Paris avec le duc de Bourgogne quand le duc enlève le duc de Guyenne (Rel. St. Denis, III, p. 305)
1408: à la bataille d'Othée avec le duc de Bourgogne (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 153)
1409-1410, 1410-1411: cons. & chambellan du roi et 1er & grand chambellan du duc de Guyenne a 2000 fr. de pension par an dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fols. 3v, 5)
1410: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne à 3000 fr. par an (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1560 fol. 54v)
1410/3/4: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 6-7)
1410/3/8: lieutenant du duc de Bourgogne qui est lieutenant du roi et général "pour le fait de la guerre es pais de Picardie et West Flandres" (BN P.O. 1494 Havesquerque no. 9)
1410/5/3: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 196-7)
1410/5/6: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 78-9)
1410/5/7: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AN J 865 no. 17)
1410/5/8: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 257-8)
1410/5/18: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 148-v)
1410/5/23: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fols. 83-v)
1410/6/3: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 13v)
1410/9/2: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 25v)
1410/11: apres la paix de Bicêtre led. G. est choisi par les ducs de Berry & Bourgogne pour gouverner le duc de Guyenne dans leur absence (Monstrelet, II, p. 101)
1411/11/7: le duc de Guyenne nomme led. G. et d'autres députés pour prendre possession du duché de Guyenne (BN Coll. Doat 87 fols. 344-349v)
1412: Guyenne, gouverneur de; nommé aud. an (Rel. St. Denis, IV, p. 467)
1412/1/14: cons. & chambellan du roi et Languedoc, gouverneur de; à Toulouse led. jour avec l'autre gouverneur: Pot, Regnier (BN P.O. 2987 Vienne no. 82)
1412/3/31: à Montauban (BN P.O. 2987 Vienne no. 83)
1412/6/12: à Toulouse avec: Pot, Regnier (BN fr. 26038 no. 4614)

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1412/11/14: à Toulouse (BN P.O. 2987 Vienne no. 84)
1412/12: à Montauban
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1572 fol. 28)
1412-1413: cons. & chambellan du roi et
1er chambellan du duc de Guyenne à 3000 fr. de pension
par an dud. duc (BN fr. 32511 fol. 11)
1413/3: Languedoc, gouverneur de; commis par le roi
(de nouveau) avec: Pot, Regnier
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 1087)
1413/9/25: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne envoyé
à Paris où il arrive led. jour pour plaider la cause dud.
duc devant le roi (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 334)
1415: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne au concile de
Constance (Valois: Schisme, IV, p. 302 n. 4)
1415/12: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne envoyé de
Lagny devers le roi à Paris
(Monstrelet, III, p. 129)
1418/9: cons. & chambellan du roi
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 354)
1418/9: un de ceux qui accompagne la dauphine devers le
dauphin Charles hors de Paris
(Pocquet du Haut-Jussé: Fr. Gouv., no. 363)
1420: quand il n'est pas au service du duc de Bourgogne,
il demeure dans son hostel dans sa ville de Seurre
(Mollat: Comptes, II, 2e fasc., no. 5047)
mentions dans le registre des debtes du duc de Guyenne:
(AN KK 228 fols. 34v, 43, 57v)

épousa:
A. Geneve, Loyse de
B. Dauphine d'Auvergne, Marie
(Anselme: Hist. Geneal. France, VII (*), p. 800)

fils de:

Vienne, Hugues de
Saint Georges, sgr. de
mort av. 1362/5/2 (* p. 799)

épousa:
A. Faucogney, Alix de
B. Chasteauvillain, Jehanne de; veuve de:
Thil, Jehan sgr. de (* p. 800)

enfants de A.:
1. Vienne, Hugues de
Sainte Croix, sgr. de
Seurre, sgr. de
lequel mourut sans enfants et
donna ses terres à son frère en 1388;
led. H. épousa 1378: Villars, Alix de (* p. 799)
2. Vienne, Guillaume de
lequel mourut sans enfants; vivant 1395
lequel épousa 1387: Villars, Loyse de (* p. 799)

enfants de B.:
1. Vienne, Guillaume de
Saint Georges, sgr. de (voir ci-dessus) (* p. 800)

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Viesville, Jacques de la, dit Coppin (Vielzville ****)
Famechon, sgr. de (Pas-de-Calais)
Norrem, sgr. de (1422 ***)
(Norrent-Fontes: Pas-de-Calais: arr. Béthune, ch.-l.)
1401: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(BN fr. 31974 fol. 107)
1403: échanson du duc de Bourgogne
(BN Coll. Bourgogne 26 fol. 157)
1408/3-7, 1408/9/12: échanson du roi à
120 fr. de pension par an (BN P.O. 2989 la Vieuville no. 9)
1409-1410, 1412: écuyer tranchant du duc de
Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 4, 9v)
1411/10/10: Melun, capit. de; nommé led. jour
au lieu de: Roussay, Jehan de (BN fr. 20684 p. 37)
1412/2/9: général cons. sur le fait des aides
(BN fr. 25709 no. 667)
1414/9/1: chambellan du duc de Bourgogne
Henry V lui donne led. jour un sauf conduit pour 2 mois
pour venir en ambassade en Angleterre de par led. duc
(Rymer: Foedera, IX, p. 158)
1414/11/16: Henry V lui donne un sauf conduit pour 1 mois
pour venir en Angleterre (Rymer: Foedera, IX, p. 179)
1415/7: en Angleterre (Wylie, II, p. 105 n. 8)
1415/10/9 * ou 29 **: écuyer d'écurie du duc de
Bourgogne et: Aire, chastellain d'
(BN fr. 31947 fol. 57v *) (BN fr. 31974 fol. 108v **)
remplacé comme chastellain 1424/10/16 par:
Viesville, Jehan de la, dit Gauvain
(BN fr. 31974 fol. 109)
1422/8/27: chlr. cons. & chambellan du duc
de Bourgogne (BN fr. 31974 fol. 108v ***)
1423/1/10 v.s.?: Dijon, bailli de; et
cons. & chambellan du duc de Bourgogne(***)
1425-1426: Dijon, bailli de; et
Argilly, capit. d'; pour le duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 4476 cahier de 90 ff. (cat.))
1426: mtre. d'hostel du duc de Bourgogne
1426/11/26: Perriere, capit. du chastel de la
nomme capit. led. jour (BN fr. 31974 fol. 109)
1432: recoit 300 fr. de pension viagère annuelle pour
ses services aux ducs de Bourgogne depuis 35 ans
(BN fr. 31974 fols. 109-v)
1449/8/3: Aire, bailli & capit. d'
mourut led. jour (BN fr. 31974 fol. 110)
enterré dans l'eglise de: Aire, Saint Pierre d'
(Epig. Pas-de-Calais, VI, 8e fasc., p. 608)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 38 ****, 47) (BN fr. 32511 fol. 8)
épousa 1409/4/19: (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1558 fol. 119)
Spazequerin, Ourse ("Ourse de Spembeke" *****)
1408-1411: damoiselle de la reine
(Grandeau: Dames, p. 227)
1ère damoiselle de la csse. de Charollais
(AD Nord: B 3371 no. 113478 *****)

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1419/10/11: chambellanne de la duch. Michelle
de Bourgogne (Mollat: Comptes, I, p. 355)
vivante 1425
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 4796 cahier de 91 ff. (cat.))
enfants:
1. Viesville, NN de la; épousa 1423/11/7 à Dijon:
la fille de feu: Gillans, Pierre de
(BN fr. 31974 fol. 108v)
2. Viesville, Jehan ou Jehanne de la; baptisé 1412/2/11
tenu sur les fonts par le duc de Bourgogne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fol. 200v)
Coppin etait de la famille des sgrs. de la Viesville,
mais on ne sait pas de quelle branche
oncle maternel dud. Coppin:
Artisien, Guy l'
(AD Nord: B 1032 no. 15768 cahier, fol. 7)
1417: Aire, maire de la ville d'; remplacé av. 1422
(Cavrois: Mayeurs d'Aire, p. 22)

Viesville, NN de la ("le petit Vielzville" *)
1410: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 26v *)
il était peut-être le fils du Coppin susdit, ou bien
un fils de: Viesville, Pierre sgr. de la

Viesville, Pierre de la (Vielzville *)
1411: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 35 *)
probablement le meme personnage que:
Viesville, Pierre de la
Viesville, sgr. de la (à partir de 1421/8)
1434: Aire, chastellain d'
(AD Nord: B 1032 no. 15647)
épousa: Peennes, Isabeau de (Preure ?)
enfants:
fille héritière: Viesville, Marie de la; épousa:
Bourgogne, Antoine fils bastart du duc de
(Pas: Soc. Morinie, t. 33 p. 82, ref.:
(AD Nord: B 16319)
fils de:
Viesville, Pierre sgr. de la
tué à Mons en Vimeu 1421/8
(Le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, II, p. 43)
Viesville, sgr. de la (à partir de 1384-1385)
(Coussemaker: Ann. Comité Fl., t. 13, p. 132)
Nedon, sgr. de
1390, 1393: chlr. chambellan de Louis d'Orléans
(BN P.O. 2989 la Vieuville nos. 4 & 6),
(BN fr. 6212 nos. 512 & 513)
1394/9: alla en Lombardie avec: Coucy, le sire de
(BN fr.n.a 3653 no. 472 bis)
1395/4, 1396/1: en Lombardie

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(Circourt: RQH, 1889, p. 47, 116)
1396/5/1: chambellan de Louis d'Orléans à
500 fr. de pension par an
(BN fr. 6212 no. 514 (signature & sceau lisible))
1402/6/24: chambellan du roi et:
Gênes, lieut. du gouverneur de; à Savone led. jour
(Circourt: RQH, 1889, p. 133-5)
1407, 1410/2/16: chambellan du roi et
Gravelines, capitaine de
(BN P.O. 2989 la Vieuville nos. 8, 10)
1408: combat avec le duc de Bourgogne contre Liege
(Delabarre: Méms., p. 374)
1410/11-1411/1/26: à Paris au service du duc de Bourgogne
(AD Nord: B 1904 no. 54030)
1412/2/1-1412/3/4: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne
en Angleterre durant ce temps pour négocier le mariage de:
Bourgogne, Anne de; et Angleterre, Henry V roi d'
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 261 n. 1 & 2)
1413/6/12: pnt. chez le duc de Guyenne à Paris
(Champion: Inv. Papiers, no. 68)
1413/7/3: à Paris (AD Nord: B 17615)
1413/8/11 env.: arrêté à Paris par ordre du duc de
Guyenne car il est un partisan du duc de Bourgogne
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 145)
1414/3: a Therouanne dans son hostel quand le duc de
Bourgogne qui est a Lille lui envoye un messager
(AD Nord: B 1903 fol. 190v)
1414/5: ambassadeur du duc de Bourgogne envoyé
en Angleterre (Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 353 n. 2)
1414/12/23: à Gand (AD Nord: B 17616)
1415/4/21: à Famechon (AD Nord: B 17618)
1415/8/6: à Gand (AD Nord: B 17618)
1415/10/28: Artois, capit. général d'; nommé
led. jour par le ct. de Charollais au lieu de feu:
Croy, Jehan sgr. de (AD Nord: B 1906 no. 54118)
épousa (av. 1385 **):
Monchy, Catherine de
Fosse, dame de la; sgrie. qui avait appartenue à sa mère
(Pas-de-Calais: arr. Béthune, c. Laventie, cne. Lestrem)
vivante 1427
(Anselme: Hist. Généal. France, VII, p. 555)
(Feuchère: Olhain, p. 39 n.137 **)
enfants:
1. Viesville, Pierre sgr. de la (voir ci-dessus)
2. Viesville, NN de la; épousa:
Fauquemberque, le comte de; dont elle n'eut pas d'enfants
fils de: Viesville, Jehan sgr. de la, dit Gauvain
(BN Coll. Baluze 59 fol. 283 (fol. 268 des numéros rayés))

Vigne, Colinet de la (voir Buigne, Colinet de la)

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Vigne, Jacques de la. mtre.
1410-1411: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 6 deux fois)
1410/3/17: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 143v)
1410/5/25: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 29v)
1410/6/5: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3177)
1411/2/8: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne
(AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 27v)
1411: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition d'Etampes & Dourdan
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 9)
1412/3/1: secrétaire du roi & du duc de
Bourgogne (AD Côte-d'Or: B 1570 fols. 179-v)
1412/5/12: signe une lettre du duc de Guyenne à
Melun (AD Isère: B 3223 fol. 91)
1412/6-7: secrétaire du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)

Vigneux, Hemery de
1414-1415: de l'écurie du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 95v)

Vignoles, Colin de ("Colin Vignolle" *)
1414-1415: huissier de salle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v *)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 108)

Villers, Regnault de
1412: de la cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 39)

Villiers, Charles de
Breviande, sgr. de (1409 *)
(Aube: arr. Troyes, c. Lusigny, cne. Fresnoy **)
(AD Aube: Liasse nouv. acq. 97 (cote provisoire) cahier de
48 folios (**), et nouv. acq. 4 & 5)
Folie, sgr. de la (Feulie)
(Côte-d'Or: près de Châtillon-sur-Seine)
led. C. rend aveu de lad. sgrie. au duc de Bourgogne
1404/11 (AD Côte-d'Or: B 10552)
Regnost, sgr. de
(Renault: Aube: arr. Troyes, c. Lusigny, cne. Fresnoy **)
led. C. appellé sgr. de "Renost" en 1401
(BN fr. 31975 fol. 32v)
1394/4: Troyes, capitaine de; nommé aud. mois à
400 l. de gages; renonce aud. office 1398
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 94)

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1401/1-5: Troyes, capitaine de
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 94)
1401: chevalier d'honneur du roi et
mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 94)
1404/11: mtre. d'hostel de la reine et
chambellan du duc de Guyenne
(AD Côte-d'Or: B 10552 (signature))
1409/9/22: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(AN P 206 no. 20 *)
1411/10/21: Troyes, bailli de; nommé led. jour
(BN fr. 20684 p. 29)
1411: chambellan du roi
(Dupont-Ferrier: GR, VI, p. 65)
1413/2/8: mtre. d'hostel de la reine
(AN P 206 no. 2)
1413/5/22: arrêté par les Cabochiens a Paris
(Baye, II, p. 114)

fils de:

Villiers, Hugues de
mort av. 1388/7/14 (BN fr. 4490 fol. 34v ***)

epousa:

Saint Julien, Jehanne de
Breviande, dame de (***)
Folie, dame de la (BN Coll. Dupuy 620 fol. 53 ****)
Regnost, dame de (***)
vivante 1370 (****) et morte av. 1388/7/14 (***)

enfants:

1. Villiers, Charles de (voir ci-dessus) (***)
2. Villiers, Jehan de; mineur en 1388 semble-t-il car
il a un curateur (***)
3. Villiers, Catherine de; épousa av. 1388/7/14:
Pontaudemer, Robert de (voir Ponteaudemer) (***)

Villiers, Jehan de
1413/1-7, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415: de l'écurie
du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 56v, 66v, 95v)

Vincent, Jehan
1412/6-7: de la fourrière du duc de Guyenne pendant
l'expédition de Bourges (AN KK 228 fol. 46)
1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de la fourrière du duc
de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 58v & 68v, 108)
fourrier du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

autres du nom:

Vincent, Jehannin
1398: batellier du duc de Berry
(Douet d'Arcq: Choix, I, p. 153)

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Viserny, Milet de (Millet *) (Visserny **)
1414-1415: huissier de salle du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 474v * & **)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 108)

Vitry, Gilet de (Victry *)
1402-1403 jusqu'à 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne; en 1414-1415 le duc lui donne 500 l.t. pour "luy ayder a avoir une maison a Paris et en recompense de ce que durant 12 ans ou environ qu'il avoit servy led. sgr. il n'avoit eu aucuns gages ou pension de luy pour la garde des joyaux (sic)"
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 22v)
1405: valet de chambre du roi et 1er valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 3032 Vitry a Paris no. 17)
1406: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 6)
1409-1410: "mtre. de la chambre" et garde des deniers des coffres du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 3v)
1410-1411, 1412, 1412-1413, 1413-1414:
1er valet de chambre & garde des deniers des coffres du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr. 32511 fols. 5 & 6, 7 & 8 & 9, 11 & 12, 15 & 16v & 17)
1411/1/15: valet de chambre du roi et 1er valet de chambre du duc de Guyenne
(BN P.O. 3032 Vitry à Paris no. 16)
1412/6-7: (1er valet de chambre & garde des coffres) du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition de Bourges
(AN KK 228 fol. 46 *)
1413: emprisonné par les Cabochiens avec son frère
(Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21)
1414: 1er valet de chambre & garde des coffres du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Arras
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414/9: garde des deniers des coffres du duc de Guyenne; remplacé aud. mois par: Sarnoy, Jehan de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 15)
1415/3/1: garde des deniers des coffres du duc de Guyenne; réinstitué led. j. au lieu de: Sarnoy, Jehan de
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 19)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fols. 43v *, 50v *, 57v *, 68v *, 107 *)
épousa av. 1412/1/1 (**):
Alexandre, Jehannette (Batiffol: Jouvenel, p. 150 n. 3)
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 8 (où son nom n'est pas donné) **)
fils de:
Vitry, Michel de
1398: chlr., cons. & mtre. d'hostel du roi
(Batiffol: Jouvenel (***), p. 131)

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épousa: Picart, Jehanne le (*** p. 69)
enfants:
1. Vitry, Michelle de; épousa 1386: Jouvenel, Jehan
2. Vitry, Jehan de (*** p. 150 n. 2) (voir ci-dessous)
3. Vitry, Michelet de (*** p. 191) (voir ci-dessous)
4. Vitry, Gilet de (*** p. 185 n.1) (voir ci-dessus)

Vitry, Jehan de. mtre.
1408: mtre. clerc (cons.) en la gnde. chambre du Parlement (AN X.1a 1479 fol. 49v)
1412/2/11: cons. du roi; abandonne ses prétentions à la chanoinie & prébende d'Auxerre à: Dierre, Pierre de (AN X.1c 103 A no. 54)
1412-1413, 1413-1414: cons. & mtre. des requêtes de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 12, 17)
fils de: Vitry, Michel de (voir ci-dessus)

Vitry, Michelet de (Victry *)
1407: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 11)
1411: valet de chambre du roi (BN P.O. 3032 Vitry no. 53 (fichier))
1411: sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fol. 6v)
1411: sommelier du corps & garde des joyaux du duc de Guyenne pendant l'expédition d'Étampes & Dourdan (BN fr. 32511 fol. 9v)
1412-1413, 1414-1415: 1er sommelier du corps du duc de Guyenne (BN fr. 32511 fols. 11v, 21v)
1413: emprisonné par les Cabochiens à Paris avec son frère Gilet (Rel. St. Denis, V, p. 21); led. M. fut arraché des bras de la duchesse de Guyenne qui essayait de le sauver (p. 23); et il fut mis sous la garde de l'évêque de Paris (p. 131)
autres mentions: (AN KK 228 fol. 108v *)
fils de: Vitry, Michel de (voir ci-dessus)

Voignart, Robinet
1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 108)

Vuillequin
1414-1415: de la paneterie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 74)

Vymont
1414-1415: de l'échansonnerie du duc de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fol. 76v)

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peut-être le même personnage que:
Vymont, Colin de
1413/8/6: échanson de la reine
(AN KK 48 fol. 121)

Wacy, Thomassin de (Wascy *) (Vassy **) ("Vassy" ***)
1413/10-1414/10: valet servant du duc de Guyenne qui lui donne 50 l.t. à cause de "plusieurs pertes qu'il a eus et soustenus" pendant la révolte des Cabochiens
(BN fr. 32511 fol. 17)
1414-1415: valet servant du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fols. 473v * & 478v **)
autres mentions:
(AN KK 228 fol. 81 ***) (BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 471)

Wallon, Geuffroy. mtre. (voir Baillon)

Waregnies, Jehan
1415: chapellain du duc de Guyenne
(BN fr.n.a. 9175 fol. 469)

Watebuc (?)
1414-1415: porteur de cuisine du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fol. 80v)

Werchin, Jehan de
tué à Azincourt 1415/10/25
(Leuridan: M.S.E.R., 3e sér., t. 5 (**), p. 147)
Hainaut, sénéchal du (à partir de 1383 env.) (** p. 147)
Werchin, sgr. de (à partir de 1383 env.) (** p. 147)
1385/5/9: mineur (Saint Genois: Monuments, I, p. 366)
1402: lance un défi à tous qui vont sur la route de Saint Jacques de Compostelle
(Sauval, II, p. 658)
1403: jousta à Valencia devant le roy d'Aragon
(Monstrelet, I, p. 76-80)
1404: composa "Le Songe de la Barge" qui se trouve au Musée Conde (Ms. 686) (Piaget: Romania, t. 38, p. 71-110)
composa ballades pour répondre a celles écrites par:
Lannoy, Guillebert de
(Piaget: Romania, t. 39, p. 324-368)
1407/9/16: prêta hommage à Louis d'Orléans; mais s'il y a une guerre entre led. duc & le duc de Bourgogne, J. ne servira ni l'un ni l'autre
(Lehoux: Berry, III, p. 109 n.3, ref.:
(Circourt: Docs. Lux. p. 78, no. 261)
1409: jousta contre: Cornwall, John of
(Monstrelet, II, p. 5-6)
1412, 1413/7-12, 1414-1415: [chambellan] du duc

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de Guyenne (AN KK 228 fols. 51v, 68v, 104v)
1414-1415: cons. & chambellan du duc de Guyenne à 1200 l.t. de pension par an (BN fr. 32511 fol. 19v)
mort sans enfants (** p. 147)
épousa 1396/3/8 n.s.?:
Luxembourg, Marguerite de; veuve de:
Enghien, Pierre d'; Liche, comte de
fils de:
Werchin, Jacques sgr. de
Hainaut, sénéchal du
mort vers 1383 (** p. 147)
épousa 1374: Enghien, Jehanne d' (** p. 147)
enfants:
1. Werchin, Jehan de (voir ci-dessus)
2. Werchin, Philippine de (Philippotte)
née 1379/11/26; tenue sur fonts par le duc de Bourgogne (Petit: Phe.-le-H., p. 351)
Werchin, dame de (à partir de 1415/10/25)
Hainaut, sénéchale du (à partir de 1415/10/25)
laquelle épousa: Barbenson, Jehan de
(Margry: 1889-1890, p. 23 & 33)
3. Werchin, Jehanne de; épousa 1391:
Melun, Henri de; leq. mourut en 1399 (** p. 149)

Xaintes, l'évêque de (voir Chevenon, Bernart de)

Yvain, Noel
1398: tailleur de robes du dauphin Charles (AN KK 41 fols. 154v & 156)
1411, 1412, 1413, 1414-1415: de l'hostel du duc de Guyenne
(AN KK 228 fols. 32 & 36, 52v, 60 & 71v, 106v)

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