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QUEENSHIP IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Colleen Lily Mooney, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University

1977

Reading Committee:
Franklin J. Pegues
Joseph H. Lynch
Marilyn R. Waldman

Approved By
Franklin J. Pegues
Adviser
Department of History
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Professor Franklin J. Pegues at all stages of the preparation of this dissertation. I also wish to thank Dr. Joseph Lynch and Dr. Marilyn Waldman for their criticism of my dissertation.
VITA

November 30, 1950 • Born - Logan, West Virginia

1972 ............... B.A., Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia

1972-1973 ............ Fellowship, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1973 ............... M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1973-1975 ............ Teaching Assistant, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1975-1976 ............ French Government Scholarship, Paris, France

1976-1977 ............ Fellowship, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History

Medieval European History. Professor Franklin Pegues

Medieval Islamic History. Professor Marilyn Waldman

Eastern European History. Professor Carole Rogel

Nineteenth Century French History. Professor John Rothney
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN  Archives Nationales
BEC  Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes
BN Fr.  Bibliothèque Nationale, Series françaises
SHF  Société de l'Histoire de France
INTRODUCTION

Each incumbent queen of France functioned within the norms of the institution of queenship. Performance of duty and adherence to high standards of conduct were expected of a queen; and in return for her service, the queen enjoyed certain rights and honors. By definition, a queen was either the wife, mother, or widow of a king. Although the selection of a bride for the king or dauphin involved particular considerations, marriage was always the foundation of queenship. As the king's wife, the queen's chief duty was to bear children who resided for a while in the queen's household. The French kingdom took the responsibility to finance the queen's household needs, her wardrobe, and her retinue. However, the queen's security rested ultimately on her right to be assigned landed property to support her during widowhood. This dower was in effect an appanage granted to a newly widowed queen who assumed a lord's role until the land reverted to the crown on her death. Politically the queen's chief duties were to appear beside the king at royal functions, to greet foreign and local dignitaries, and to obey her
husband's will at all times. In circumstances where the
king was incapable of performing his own duties, a queen
might make alliances and treaties on her own or on behalf
of her son, the heir. In addition, the queen was considered
a natural choice to be regent for her son. Whether a
queen were regent or not, she needed to be advised and
attended by wise and loyal officers. The queen's court
consisted of ladies, damoiselles, household officers, and
servants, all of whom received either a pension or wages
from the queen's finances. Although the itinerant nature
of both the king's and queen's courts made it difficult
for any one officer to serve both, there were always
significant connections between the two households. At
public functions, the queen of France was honored with
an appropriate display of wealth, pageantry, and deference
which was taken seriously by at least some contemporaries
who felt the queen had a responsibility to maintain high
standards of personal and public behavior.

Christine de Pisan, a fifteenth century writer of
political tracts and moral advice, described the ideal
queen both in her 1404 work Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes
Meurs du Sage Roy Charles and her 1405 study of women
titled Le Livre des Trois Vertus or Le Trésor de la
Cité des Dames. In the twentieth chapter of the first
part of Christine's didactic book on Charles V, she
described "how the king Charles arranged the household of the queen."¹

In speaking of the judicious order established by this wise king, I ought not to forget . . . what magnificence, order, and perfect unity governed the court of the very noble lady the queen Jeanne of Bourbon, his wife, in the wealth of her household, in its decent ordered way of life, . . . and in the administration of her revenues and servants. Her attendants, servants, clothes and everything else were properly chosen for everyday activities as well as for the annual celebrations and the visits of high ranking princes whom the king wished to honor. The queen had such majesty when she appeared crowned or dressed in rich jewels, with long flowing royal robes and cloaks made of the most precious gold and silk cloths decorated with cords, buttons, stones, and pearls. According to the custom of the day, she changed clothes several times a day at various times. How marvelous to all this noble queen in great solemnity, accompanied by two or three queens, her relatives and predecessors, for whom she had the greatest respect as by right and reason she should!

One also saw there her noble mother and the duchesses who were the wives of the king's brothers, the countesses, the baronesses, the damoiselles and ladies, all of quality, schooled in decency and honorable conduct. Without that, they would not have been allowed at court. All were dressed in their own clothes, each according to her means and corresponding to the solemnity of the occasion.

In my opinion, there is nothing in the world today that compares with the sumptuousness and elegance of the queen's table. The bearing of this noble lady, serious and calm in her words, her manner full of assurance in the middle of this great gathering, and her beauty which eclipsed that of all the princesses were very agreeable to see.

The decoration of rooms, the chambers for visitors, the rich tapestries with great pearls, gold, and silk, the gold and silver vessels,
and all the other goods were all true marvels.

Thus this noble queen was governed by the direction of the king in her household in a manner splendid and honest in all things, as it ought to be with such a great princess. In her clothing and elsewhere a rigorous decency was always kept: the king would not allow that it be otherwise. Without order and advice from the king, no novelty of any sort was permitted. Since it is a commendable practice for a king to show himself to his barons and to delight them by his presence, Charles ate ordinarily in a common room. He wished the queen to imitate him on this point, and if she were not indisposed by a pregnancy or some other cause, she sat at the table in the midst of her princesses and ladies. During the meal, according to an old royal custom which was wisely begun to avoid vain words and ugly thoughts, a serious person stood at the end of the table and repeated without stopping the life and actions of a deceased hero. Thus this wise king governed his royal wife whom he kept in peace, love, and continual pleasure. He sent her rare and magnificent objects such as jewels: if someone showed him something and he thought it would please the queen, he bought it for her. He visited her often and always with a happy face and with gracious pleasing words. On her part, she did the same, with the respect and regard due his supreme rank. The king always kept love, harmony, and peace for her.

In this passage, Christine mentioned many ideal characteristics of queenship: the presence of a noble court, the administration by the king of household procedure and finances, the queen's audience with important visitors, the necessary display of wealth, dignity, and etiquette, and finally the affection between the king and queen.

Jeanne of Bourbon, Charles V's queen, had a model
court; but as Christine de Pisan wrote, France had another queen, Charles VI’s wife Isabeau of Bavaria, who did not follow Jeanne’s excellent example. In her 1405 Lettre à la Royne Madame Isabel, Christine wrote, “Very powerful lady, the stories of your predecessors ought to be an example to you of the proper way of life.” Since Christine championed the monarchy and depended on noble patrons for financial support, she preferred to flatter the queen while stressing the responsibilities of the office. Thus in Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames, also written in 1405, Christine asked, “Are there ladies in France who ought to be lodged in our Cité des Dames? Many are very virtuous. First the noble queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria, reigning at present by the grace of God, has shown her subjects no cruelty, extortion, or vice, but only love and kindness.” In this work, Christine described the lives of women at all stations of life, and as always with Christine, the chief concern was moral character and the attainment of perfection within the moral ideal.

The discussion of "princesses" in Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames was clearly meant for queens. If common people came before the princess to complain about her lord, she should find excuses for him and promise to do all in her power to make amends. Then she should confer
with her husband and speak favorably of the people's request. Like Queen Blanche, mother of Saint Louis, the good princess should do all in her power to prevent war. If a neighboring prince wished to make war on her husband, or if her husband wished to make war on another, the princess should remind her lord of the evils, cruelties, losses of men, and disorder that come from war. As a result, "all the subjects that know her to be of such wisdom and goodness do not regard her as a mistress, but she seems to them a goddess on the earth in whom they have sovereign hope and confidence, the preserver of peace in their country." For a daily routine, Christine recommended that a princess rise early, say prayers, give alms, attend council, dine, and say prayers again before bed. After all, Queen Jeanne, wife of Charles V, rose before daylight, lit her candle to say prayers, and after attending mass, emerged from her chapel to give alms personally to the poor who waited outside.

If the great lady were charged with government, she should go to council with such bearing and manner that when she sat in her high seat she would appear the lady and mistress of all, and each councillor would hold her in reverence as a mistress of great authority. She should listen diligently to the opinions of all and understand the principal points. Then she should consider
who spoke the wisest and whether the opinions were reasonable. When it came her turn to speak, the great lady would be so well advised that she could not be considered ignorant. For her councillors, the princess would select prudent, loyal, unselfish men who would advise her each day at a certain hour. In addition, the princess would keep good relations with men of religion, scholars, and the king's councillors. Christine also recommended that the lady be informed of her total revenues and expenses, the behavior of officers of her household and domain, the care of her children, the concerns of her husband, and the behavior of her subjects of every rank. Clearly Christine de Pisan saw that the queen's duties reached out beyond her family and court to the subjects of the realm. This study of queenship will analyze not only the common characteristics of the office but also the individual histories of the four queens of France in the fifteenth century, Isabeau of Bavaria, Marie of Anjou, Charlotte of Savoy, and Anne of Brittany. The careers of these four queens had much in common. All four had their own households complete with financial administration and attending court. The officers of the four queens kept their financial accounts in the same way, spent their revenues on the same sorts of goods and services,
and paid wages to the same types of personnel. Each of the four fifteenth century queens lived and traveled apart from her husband with whom she cohabited to produce as many healthy children as possible. At elaborate public ceremonies, the queen's presence invoked the mystique of kingship and the continuity of the monarchy. Not only were the dowers traditionally equal in value, but in the case of the last three fifteenth century queens, even the assigned lands were the same.

Nevertheless, in some aspects of the queen's career, individual personality and political circumstance were of primary importance. There were for example different motives behind the marriages of each of the four fifteenth century queens. The nature of the queen's court, whether luxurious and extravagant or pious and austere, was determined by the personalities of the king and queen and the economic health of the realm. The status of ladies and officers at the queen's court varied with the queen's original family, her individual prestige, and the policies of the king. Another variable in the careers of fifteenth century queens was the political power they possessed. The queen played a formal role in the government only if the king were incapable of performing his own duties; otherwise, her influence at the king's court simply depended on her relationship with the king as his wife and mother of his
children.

Queenship, then, concerned characteristics common to all queens as well as the specific circumstances each queen faced. In discussions of marriage and politics the diversity of the queen's role is more evident, while discussions of finances, officers, and court life point more clearly to the queen's office itself. To begin, a brief biography of the four fifteenth century queens of France will be useful.

Isabeau of Bavaria

The daughter of Stephen III, duke of Bavaria, and Thadea Visconti of Milan, Isabeau of Bavaria was fourteen in 1385 when she was brought from Munich to Amiens to meet Charles VI, the king of France. Duke Philip of Burgundy planned to solidify his German alliances by the marriage, but his nephew Charles did not make his decision until he had seen the girl. Isabeau's early years as queen were quiet and isolated, livened only by travel and pregnancies, until in 1392, Charles VI suffered the first of many attacks of insanity. At first, Isabeau used the opportunity to secure her own financial base and to frustrate, with the help of Burgundy, the Italian and German ambitions of the king's brother, Louis of Orleans. When the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans nearly
came to arms in 1403, Isabeau mediated the dispute and was later named the president of the king's council.

What followed was an endless agony of factionalism, civil war, revolution, and foreign conquest in which Isabeau was a central but thoroughly inconsistent figure. She had an intimate relationship with Louis of Orleans until he was murdered in 1407; by 1409, she had signed an alliance with the murderer, the duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless. When John fostered the Cabochien Revolution in 1413, the queen was so humiliated by charges of her extravagance and the mismanagement of her household that she welcomed the return of the Orleanist Armagnacs. In spite of this, she maintained a correspondence with John until the suspicious Armagnacs accused her of scandalous, immoral behavior and in 1417 exiled her to Tours. From there, John rescued her and took her to Troyes where a rival government was set up. After the Burgundians retook Paris in 1418, they tried to negotiate with the Armagnacs who were now led by Isabeau's only surviving son, the dauphin Charles; but instead, Charles chose to murder John the Fearless at Montereau in 1419. In the meantime, the king of England, Henry V, had succeeded in conquering most of France.

Charges of extravagance and immorality aside, it was her actions while maintaining the shadow government at
Troyes that earned Isabeau her notorious reputation. In return for financial support, she agreed in 1420 to disinherit her son, to marry her daughter to the English king, and to provide that Henry and then his son would rule over both France and England. Widowed soon afterwards, Isabeau moved to English-occupied Paris where she lived as a recluse until her death in 1435. Many considered that the long-suffering queen had herself been the cause of all the suffering, and her passing was not mourned.

Marie of Anjou

Marie of Anjou, the daughter of Louis II, duke of Anjou and king of Sicily, and Queen Yolanda of Aragon, was only nine in 1413 when her marriage was arranged. The designated husband, ten year old Charles, count of Ponthieu, was then third in line, behind his two older brothers, to the throne. That the boy was not considered a likely prospect for the crown was apparent when his mother, Isabeau of Bavaria, allowed Yolanda to take the young couple to Provence. There Charles, always in need of advisers, fell under the considerable sway of Yolanda and his Angevin in-laws. The estrangement from his mother eventually led her to refer to Charles as the "so-called dauphin" and to support the claims of the
English to the French throne. On his succession, the mere king of Bourges appeared a weak, ineffectual sovereign who did not seem anxious to do battle with the English. The situation turned around with the help of Joan of Arc, a reconciliation with the Burgundians, and English weaknesses. Even when Charles became an active campaigner, the king and queen were together enough to produce twelve children.

Charles VII could not rule France without the aid of close, powerful advisers, and he could not live without the pleasures of women. In fact a succession of powerful aides from Yolanda of Aragon, Charles of Anjou, and Joan of Arc to Pierre de Brézé, Jacques Coeur, and the grand mistress Agnes Sorel became the central figures of Charles' reign. The dauphin Louis considered his father's behavior so unacceptable that Louis rebelled openly and later exiled himself from France until the king's death. Without question, Charles VII's long affair with Agnes was interpreted by contemporaries as a deep embarrassment and personal defeat for the unhappy queen. Her pregnancies continued however and culminated in 1443 with the wonderful success of a healthy son who could be used to frighten the errant dauphin Louis.

Although Marie was estranged from the king, whose conduct became increasingly promiscuous, she was not
drawn to her son the dauphin. Long before the dauphin's exile, Marie and the king had formed a close attachment to Margaret of Scotland whom they had married to the dauphin. Marie, who kept Margaret in her household, loved the dauphine, but the dauphin was unimpressed. When Margaret died suddenly, the king and queen were convinced that Louis had had her poisoned. At the same time, Louis never embraced Angevin interests in the way Charles VII had. Along with his Angevin wife and her mother Yolanda, Charles welcomed to his court Marie's brothers, King René of Sicily and Anjou and Charles of Anjou. While the king of France helped the Angevins to arrange good marriages and to fight their enemies, the Burgundians, the dauphin Louis sided with the Burgundian duke. Thus when her husband Charles VII died in 1461 and Louis returned from exile to be crowned king, Marie retired to a convent. When she died in 1463, Marie was contemplating a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Her son Louis XI went into mourning: later, as the sole heir of his mother, he would claim half the Angevin domain.

Charlotte of Savoy

The granddaughter of the antipope Felix V and the daughter of Louis, duke of Savoy, and Marie of Cyprus, Charlotte of Savoy was only six in 1450 when the dauphin
Louis asked for her hand. Unfortunately the situation was highly irregular: the dauphin's father King Charles VII disapproved strongly of such a marriage and never gave his consent. Entirely on his own, Louis pursued the marriage in order to favor his Italian politics, to aid his finances, and no doubt to demonstrate further his contempt for his father. When first approached, Charlotte's delighted father promised Louis a great deal of money, but the final price, agreed to at Geneva by the duke and the dauphin, indicated that Savoy had come to doubt the wisdom of aiding the son against the father. After the secret marriage ceremony at Chambéry, Charlotte returned to her parents and then lived in the Dauphiné while Louis fled to the Burgundian Netherlands. In 1457, the dauphin sent for Charlotte to join him at Namur where the marriage was consummated and her pregnancies began. When Charles finally died in 1461, Louis returned to France, and later Charlotte joined him to be crowned at Reims.

Charlotte of Savoy was a most isolated, reclusive queen. During and after the revolt by the League of the Public Weal, she stayed at Amboise which became, by the standards of royal itinerancy, a nearly permanent residence. Unlike his father, Louis XI did not generally enjoy the company of women and preferred to avoid the queen except for the problem of producing a healthy son.
When this was finally accomplished in 1470 with the birth of the prince Charles, the king was already in his late forties. Before his death in August 1483, Louis named his favorite daughter Anne and her husband Pierre of Beaujeu regents for the young Charles VIII. The queen had a legitimate, well preceded right to serve in a regency, but her increasing estrangement from Louis had only strengthened his resolve to exclude this foreign woman from any role. Louis instructed Anne of Beaujeu to keep her mother as far away from the boy as possible. In fact, Louis had come to suspect his wife's loyalty, and on his deathbed he refused to see her for fear she might poison him. On her part, Charlotte had always professed to have no interest in the regency.

After Louis XI's death, Charles VIII issued letters for his mother's dower. However, before her officers had collected any revenues, Charlotte herself died from a sudden illness at the age of thirty-eight. On her deathbed, she made a brief will which underlined her simplicity and charity. Afterwards, the king issued letters that allowed Charlotte's officers to collect revenues from the dower for one year to pay for the funeral and the execution of the will.
Anne of Brittany

As heiress to the duchy of Brittany, Anne of Brittany was a sovereign in her own right. When it first became apparent that the marriage of Duke Francis II and Marguerite of Foix would produce no sons, the fortunes of Brittany rapidly declined. France, under Louis XI and the regent Anne of Beaujeu, was a constant threat. Already in 1484, rebel barons in Brittany had declared their intention to return the duchy to the king of France if there were no male heir. Finally the assembly of Estates meeting at Rennes in 1486 swore to uphold the succession of Anne, then nine, and her younger sister Isabelle. Tensions between France and Brittany continued to escalate however especially when Louis, duke of Orleans, took refuge in Brittany from his sister-in-law, Anne of Beaujeu. Therefore, although she was only eleven when her father died, Anne's immediate problem was to find a husband to protect her from France.

When Anne planned to marry Maximilian of Austria, the French claimed that their right, by a treaty signed with Francis, to approve her choice had been violated and invaded the duchy. In addition, the barons of Brittany were ready again to revolt. After Anne sought and received help from old allies such as England, Castile,
and the Empire, the king of France sued for peace, and the revolt also ended. Anne then married Maximilian by proxy, but France invaded again. Defenseless, she had no choice but to meet the French demands that she marry King Charles VIII himself. Both Anne and Charles had to rid themselves of the Austrians to whom they were nominally wed: Anne dissolved the ties to Maximilian, and Charles dissolved his to Margaret of Austria, who was none other than Maximilian's daughter. Needless to say, the Empire, England, Spain, and the barons of Brittany quickly allied against France. Then in 1498, after returning from the Italian wars, Charles VIII suddenly died without heirs.

The widow at twenty-three mourned her husband very dramatically, but she was not in distress. Anne had already agreed if the king died without heirs to marry his successor, Louis of Orleans. After Louis XII quickly divorced his wife Jeanne, he and Anne were wed in 1499. Since she was already the queen of France, Anne made the second marriage contract much more advantageous for herself. When she had married Charles, she had promised that Brittany would revert to France if there were no heirs; by the contract with Louis, she herself governed Brittany, and if she died without heirs, the duchy would revert to her own family. The independence of Brittany
was recognized because the duchy's rights were now protected by the powerful queen of France.

Anne and Louis XII were happily married, but inevitably their interests clashed. She wished to marry her daughter and heir Claude to the future heir of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, but Louis would never have approved such a project. In fact, since Claude had no brothers and was more or less the heiress to all of France, it was decided that her husband would be king. Accordingly, she was given to Francis of Angoulême, much to the displeasure of the queen. Louis insisted however that Anne approve the marriage and agree that Claude be subject to other tutors besides her mother.

Although she was queen of France, the duchy of Brittany remained the single most important influence in Anne's life. Besides the large number of Bretons on her household staff, the queen was attended in France by an honor guard of one hundred Breton knights. As a result of her sovereign rights in Brittany, Anne took a serious interest in the craft of government. Even her patronage of arts and letters often aided her talented countrymen. Anne died in 1514 at the age of thirty-seven, a year before her husband. She was buried at Saint-Denis, but in accordance with her wishes, her heart was taken to Brittany for burial. Under Francis I, Brittany was absorbed into the realm.
The queen in chronicles

Fifteenth century historians rarely ignored a queen, but their information was often affected by bias and style. Froissart's history, for example, has been described as surface history in which "characters can never be immediately apprehended as subjects."\(^{11}\) Thomas Basin, who wrote histories of the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI, had openly sided with Charles in the conflict against his son, whom Basin angrily described as malicious, pernicious, and cruel.\(^{12}\) Commynes on the other hand was Louis' counselor with a six thousand pound pension. In their respective histories, Froissart described processions and balls in great detail, Basin sought universal truths and classical allusions, and Commynes was obsessed with the decline of his age. For the most part, chroniclers preferred to write about the exceptional, extraordinary aspects of a queen's life. Her grand public appearances, especially her entries, processions, and celebrations and occasionally her marriage, coronation, and funeral, were related in great detail. Any political action or influence was usually mentioned. Thus while most chroniclers described and commented on the queens of their era, none were really concerned about her office.
Isabeau of Bavaria's dreadful reputation was strongly reinforced by the chronicles. Since rumors against her were often floating around Paris, one cannot really fault a historian for recording them. When she and Louis of Orleans levied an extraordinary tax, pamphlets appeared accusing them of an incestuous relationship and of the theft of royal funds. The Religious of Saint Denis, the semi-official chronicler of Charles VI's reign, believed that Isabeau, wanting to impoverish France and enrich Germany, had sent six horses each loaded with gold toward Bavaria.\(^{13}\) When an Augustinian friar named Jacques Legrand charged that Venus ruled at Isabeau's court and that her ladies had made knights effeminate by telling them to avoid war, the Religious recorded each accusation. He even suggested that Isabeau disguise herself and walk through Paris to hear the rumors spoken against her.\(^{14}\) Worst of all, the Religious believed that she went months without seeing her children who had insufficient food, clothing, and education.\(^{15}\) As late as 1416, the chronicler was reporting that Isabeau's lover, Louis de Bosredon, shared her taste for corruption and pleasure, that she refused him nothing, and that she slept with him among others.\(^{16}\)

Isabeau of Bavaria's political role was also frequently examined. Froissart wrote that Charles V had suggested on his deathbed that a German princess would
be best for his son. Isabeau's role as an arbitrator in the conflict between Orleans and Burgundy was discussed by the Religious of Saint Denis while the Burgundian Monstrelet and the Orleanist Juvénal des Ursins told their sides. Monstrelet related how Louis of Orleans advised Isabeau to turn against the king and to retire with her children to his own Luxembourg in 1402. This historian remained suspicious, even contemptuous, of the queen until 1417 when he told in detail how the duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, rescued her from exile at Tours. Monstrelet was happy to report that Isabeau professed her love and loyalty to the duke who had proven his love for the king, the royal family, and the kingdom. The historian also took Isabeau's orders to set up a government at Troyes seriously. On the other hand, Juvénal des Ursins, the Armagnac, gave a detailed account of the queen's actions at Troyes when she signed in 1419 her infamous agreement with Henry V of England and then attended the marriage of her daughter Catherine to the English king.

Isabeau's presence at public ceremonies was often described in great detail by the chroniclers. Froissart wrote a lengthy account of the week long ceremonies that marked her first entry into Paris and coronation in 1389. The order of the procession, the route, the church
services, the meals, the gifts were all carefully recorded. Isabeau's subsequent entries were also described by the Armagnac chronicler Jean Juvénal des Ursins, who wrote that her 1405 re-entry into Paris was "a beautiful and noble thing to see," and the Burgundian Monstrelet, who in 1408 saw Isabeau re-enter with her son to the cries of "noel." The Bourgeois of Paris felt her re-entry in 1409 even more splendid than her first entry in 1389. In fact, Isabeau's entries, which often came after a shift in the political alliances of the civil war, were as frequent as they were grand.

Unfortunately the public successes did not last throughout Isabeau's lifetime. The Bourgeois of Paris reported that she spent her last days "as a widow ought to do" in seclusion at her household in English-occupied Paris. She lived so poorly that she could barely provision herself, but no one in Paris cared because most believed that she was responsible for all the trouble. He reported further that no women of rank and few gentlemen were present at her funeral.

Marie of Anjou also knew how contemporaries could transmit stories about a queen's personal life. Jean Chartier, the chronicler of Saint Denis in Charles VII's reign, considered Marie very pious and happily reported her childbirths. By 1448 however there was much more
interesting news to discuss. According to the Bourgeois of Paris, "a young lady arrived in Paris who was loved publically by the king of France without regard for the good queen."26 The other woman, Agnes Sorel, acted like a duchess and often traveled with Marie who had much grief in her heart. It was a great pity, continued the Parisian, that the king gave such a poor example to his people.27 Basin also described Charles VII as a man excessively devoted to pleasure. Agnes was by no means the king's only mistress; in fact, he had a band of concubines who cost the kingdom infinite sums as they traveled with great pomp and royal luxury in a retinue much more costly than the queen's.28 Basin continued that Marie surely knew that these women received all sorts of favors and were even lodged in her own castles, but that she dared not complain.29 It was, after all, a capital offense to speak badly of Agnes Sorel. According to Jean Chartier, Agnes herself did not feel comfortable in this situation and preferred, in the daytime at least, to see the king only in the company of others. Chartier also passed on reports from "knights, counsellors, and physicians that, during the five years Agnes lived in Marie's household, the king did not sleep with the queen."30 The chroniclers were shocked, and Marie deeply embarrassed; Charles had broken rules of propriety when he refused to protect
his wife or to hide his mistresses.

Chroniclers also mentioned briefly Marie of Anjou's ceremonial and political role. Chartier's report of the marriage in 1436 of Marie's son the dauphin Louis and his first wife Margaret of Scotland described how Marie walked "four or five steps toward Margaret and kissed her" before taking her to the queen's chamber.31 Marie also held a place of honor at the mass and the feast which followed. The Burgundian chronicler Mathieu d'Escouchy told how Marie, who was present at negotiations between the king, the duchy of Burgundy, and her brother René of Anjou, influenced her brother to make peace with Burgundy.32 When Jacques Coeur was ordered "not to approach the king or the queen by ten leagues," d'Escouchy's reference to Marie was by no means casual: she had had financial dealings with the great merchant.33 The Milanese ambassador to Paris, Prospero da Comagli, reported in 1461 that "the influence of the duke of Burgundy was counterbalanced at Louis XI's court by that of the queen mother Marie of Anjou."34

For her contemporaries, Charlotte of Savoy was very much in the shadow of her husband Louis XI. Although she was a "good, honest, and very noble woman," the king did not find her, and perhaps any woman, particularly attractive.35 Philippe de Comynnes at least was sympathetic
with this king whom he had "never seen without troubles and care." In 1472 and 1473, when Commynes was with Louis, the king had just lost another son and was in great sorrow because there was no heir. Suddenly, the king made a vow never to touch any woman except the queen, his wife. This was no more than what he should have done, continued Commynes, according to the laws of matrimony, "but it was still particularly commendable to have had so much will power as to persevere so firmly in this promise, especially considering that the queen was not the kind of person in whom one might take great pleasure, although she was a good lady." In any event, Louis was dedicated to keeping her out of the public eye. In her residence at Amboise, Charlotte was, according to rumors, so secluded that she saw almost no one and could barely talk. Louis' enemy Thomas Basin, who felt Charlotte was good and honest, remembered that divine law dictated that a husband show his wife charity. Louis, on the other hand, even on his deathbed, remained "the most cruel, savage beast" who not only refused to allow Charlotte to visit him but also ordered her to leave his kingdom. Basin continued that Charlotte dared not disobey the inhuman order and left for the frontiers where she hoped to hide. The historian believed that Charlotte's grief at the ignominious rejection hastened
her own death.

In spite of her isolation, Charlotte was reported by her contemporaries to have enjoyed festivities in her honor and to have had some political influence. Mathieu d'Escouchy described Charlotte's retinue of eighty horses, the celebrations, and the gifts of wheat, wine, and jewelry that accompanied her journey to join the dauphin in the Netherlands. Charlotte's later entry into Paris as queen, treated at some length by Jean de Roye, involved the customary pageantry as well as most of the dignitaries of the city. Charlotte's political influence was alluded to by Commynes himself who wrote that Charlotte "protected and favored" her sister Marie of Savoy who became the wife of Louis of Saint Pol, the count of Luxembourg. Commynes also wrote that both Louis and the queen were desirous of a marriage for their son Charles with Elizabeth, daughter of England's Edward IV. The significance of Charlotte's Savoyard background was indicated by the Milanese ambassadors.

Anne of Brittany received a most favorable account by the historians of her time. Guillaume de Jaligny, a secretary to the regent Pierre de Beaujeu, commented on her marriage to Charles VIII that it had "been a long time since any woman had brought as much wealth to the crown as she did." Besides being a most noble and
powerful woman in virtue as well as in wealth, Anne was also pretty, young, full of grace, and a pleasure to behold. When Charles died, she cried for days and could not eat. The historian Jean de Saint Gelais noted that Anne shared her second husband Louis XII's joys and sorrows in his military campaigns. One needed only to look at her face, happy or troubled, to see how the wars were going. When Anne died young at thirty-seven, the historian of the seigneur of Bayard described "a sorrow unequalled for France and perpetual mourning for Brittany. The nobility of both countries suffered an inestimable loss when this most magnanimous, most virtuous, wisest, and most liberal woman died. No more accomplished princess had ever worn the crown of France since there was the title of queen." Although the king had never been overly generous with his people, the historian continued, Anne had satisfied them, and there were few people of virtue in her countries who had not received a gift from her at least once. Since contemporaries could not describe their grief, it was necessary to cite Cicero in Latin and Jean de Meung in French.

Jaligny described Anne's coronation at Saint Denis in 1492 and her first entry into Paris the next day. It was remarkable, he wrote, to see people of all classes: the men of Parlement and the chamber of accounts, the
generals of justice, the treasurers, the provost of Paris, knights, merchants, and the bourgeoisie of the city. With Anne, as she went to join her husband, Charles VIII, were the dukes of Orleans, Angoulême, Alençon, and the regents Pierre and Anne of Beaujeu who saw the queen received with great honor. Later, after she had married Louis XII, Anne, in order to promote her plans to marry her daughter Claude to an Austrian, would do it all again. Godefroy in *Le cérémonial français* described the great preparation that went into this entry. Anne was first recrowned at Saint Denis, and then nearly everyone with an official position in Paris turned out for a procession. Mystery plays and enactments of religious and political themes lined the route as her cortege, with its displays of gold, silver, and rich cloths, moved into the city. Lords, officers, and people of wealth then attended a sumptuous feast at which the queen sat at a marble table flanked by several princesses and great ladies.

Anne of Brittany's political role was best cataloged by Jean d'Auton who usually accompanied her husband Louis XII. Anne patronized d'Auton, and in a dedication to her, d'Auton wrote humbly that he was the least of men but that Anne had encouraged him and dropped crumbs from her table for his poor body. D'Auton described
how Anne received the king's councillors and officers in her chamber when Louis was ill in 1505. Godefroy described in great detail the visit to Paris of the Austrian archduke Philip who figured strongly in the queen's personal politics. However, Breton interests were difficult to promote in France. Jean de Saint Gelais told how Louis XII wrote with joy to his wife of the sire of Trémoille's great success in the Italian campaigns. Anne's reply was that she still remembered how the sire had defeated her father, the duke of Brittany. When Louis' next letter insisted that "no king of France had ever had a more loyal and better servant than Trémoille," Anne, seeing the king's affection, "said nothing to the contrary but began to exalt the sire."

A modern study of queenship

In 1968, Marion Facinger's "A Study of Medieval Queenship, Capetian France 987-1237" became, according to the author, the first "unified study of queens over any period of time" and the first "attempt to analyze queenship as an office." The claim was essentially true. True also was Facinger's assumption "that somewhere behind the transitory, behind the multiple roles played by individual personalities, there lay an office
with prerogatives, norms, and limits within which each incumbent functioned." From the inception of the Capetian dynasty, the queen was chosen by the king, his family, and councillors from the higher nobility and royalty of western Europe. Of the thirteen queens who reigned between 987 and 1223, four were the daughters of kings and one of a grand duke; two were fathered by dukes and six by counts. The earliest Capetian marriages were designed to bring vassals into a sphere of interest with the kingdom of France. In 988, Hugh Capet married his son Robert to Susanna, the dowager countess of Flanders, and thereby brought the county into alliance with the king of France. The first mention of a dowry of money occurred when Robert II married a niece of the count of Anjou, Constance of Arles, in 1005. It was not until 1137, when Louis VII married Eleanor of Aquitaine that any French queen brought landed property into the royal domain. In this case, there was simply the expectation that Aquitaine would become a part of the domain for the first born male heir to the throne. Adele of Champagne, the third wife of Louis VII, who was thought to be of Carolingian lineage, was selected primarily for an alliance with the county of Champagne. Philip Augustus married Isabel of Hainaut because the promised dowry comprised most of southwest Flanders and
the new allies in Flanders and Hainaut would be useful against his mother and her Champagnois relatives. In preparation for an English invasion, Philip married his second wife Princess Ingeborg in order to receive 10,000 marks of silver from her brother the king of Denmark.

According to Pacinger, early Capetian queens were consecrated in their office by a simple ceremony of three elements: nuptial vows, imposition of the crown, and a special blessing. By the mid twelfth century, theunction of the queen and the recrowning of the king became a part of the ritual. Toward the end of the twelfth century, the marriage ceremony had been separated, although not permanently, from the coronation itself. After his marriage, a Capetian king enumerated, by charter or pledge, the lands and rights within the domain which would form the queen's dower settlement. The dower granted usufruit only: the property, which could not be alienated by the widow, returned undiminished at her death to the crown. Unlike the fifteenth century, there was little consistency in the assignment of dowers to the Capetian queens.

For Pacinger, Hugh Capet's designation of his wife Adelaide as his partner in governing and her participation in the early reign of her son were typical of early
Queen Constance of Arles dominated the court of her husband Robert II in the same way that Robert's mother Adelaide previously had. The fluid nature of early Capetian government made it possible for the queen to share in the routine discussions and decisions of the king's council and to play a public part in the ritual and ceremonial aspects of the monarchy. According to Facinger, it was the intimacy of court life, the fact that the queen was there, that allowed this partnership with the king.

The reign of Adelaide of Maurienne, the wife of Louis VI, was the high point in this early concept of queenship. Adelaide's name, her seal, and even her regnal year appeared on charters which concerned royal protection to churches, communal privilege to towns, serfs, justice, fairs, and mills. Facinger continues that for the first one hundred and fifty years of the Capetian dynasty the queen shared the royal power.

During the reign of Louis VII in the middle of the twelfth century, the queen's position suffered a diminution in its official status. On the one hand, Louis VII's mother Adelaide of Maurienne was excluded from her son's court by a rival, the abbot Suger of Saint Denis, and on the other hand, Louis VII's wife Eleanor of Aquitaine considered her inheritance, the
duchy of Aquitaine, to be her first loyalty. Eleanor's large personal retinue and organized bureaucracy tended only to lessen her personal contact with the king. At the same time, the beginning of the separation of the queen's household from the king's pointed to the dissolution of the intimacy of court life. Widowed queens engaged more in the administration of their dower holdings than in roles at court. Thus, the queen was slowly excluded from her share in the royal power.

As the kingdom consolidated and became more complex, royal authority came to be centered more and more in the person of the king. All rivals to the prime authority of the king were undermined. By the thirteenth century, Facinger concludes, queenship had been shorn of all public functions except the decorative and symbolic: the queen's role was limited to private influence as the wife of the king.

This study of fifteenth century queenship will test Facinger's conclusion that "by the close of the twelfth century the office of the queen had assumed its ultimate shape." Facinger himself qualified slightly his position that by the twelfth century all pretense of partnership had been abandoned, and the "queen was no longer granted any official status in the government."
In the following centuries, he wrote, the queen's main role was enacted in the social and ceremonial sphere, and although she might still be regent, these "great extensions of power . . . would not be a part of the norms of her office but merely the result of extraordinary circumstances."70 Were the norms of queenship at the close of the twelfth century the same as the fifteenth century norms? Facinger has seen the establishment of the queen's own household only as a diminution of her power and has not examined what the queen's own court and separate financial management brought. Is it necessary, when isolating the norms of queenship, to take away the all important extraordinary circumstances? Saint Louis' mother, Blanche of Castile, was recognized in her own time both as an exceptional and as a model queen. Later, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the norms of any royal office were often irrelevant to the turbulent reality of life.
INTRODUCTION


3*Ibid.*, p. 23. The word reigning, regnant, referred to Isabeau's control of finances granted on July 1, 1402, and presidency of the king's council granted August 24, 1403.

4Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 236-258. Kelso follows Christine's discussion of the good princess "chapter by chapter." Kelso writes that Christine explained that she was referring to "powerful ladies, queens, duchesses called princess by common usage of the place as in Italy and elsewhere, and countesses, not all of them called princesses in all countries, but all covered here by the term princess," Kelso, p. 258. Since Isabeau was in power in France at the time Christine wrote and since there was disorder and the threat of war, the passage was meant for the queen. Naturally Christine would not openly single out Isabeau whose personal conduct was already under attack.

36

6Ibid.

7Ibid., p. 240.

8Ibid., p. 241.

9Ibid.

10Ibid., p. 242.


12Ibid., p. 89.


14Ibid., 269. The Religious is considered a semi-official chronicler, but he tended to be pro-Burgundian as were many Parisians.

15Ibid., 291.

16Ibid., v. IV, 71.


19Ibid., v. IV, 51.


21Froissart, v. XII, 1-30.


24Ibid., pp. 193-197.

25Ibid., p. 298.

26Ibid., pp. 366-367.

27Ibid.


29Ibid., 283.


33Ibid., 289.


37Ibid.

38Ibid.


40Ibid.


42Jean de Roye, pp. 177-180.
43 Commynes, v. I, 259.

44 Ibid., v. II, 377.


47 Ibid.


49 Seigneur de Bayard, Le loyal serviteur, from L'histoire de France racontée par les contemporains, La Tres Sainte Ligue, ed. B. Zeller (Paris: Hachette, 1889), pp. 145-146. The historian was Jacques de Mailles.

50 Ibid.


53 Ibid.


56 Godefroy, Cérémonial, from Louis XII et Philippe le Beau, ed. Zeller, p. 83.


59 See Appendix A.

60 Facinger, 3.

61 Ibid., 20. There was no straight development in the marriage and coronation process. "During the eleventh century neither the place of the wedding, the officiating clergy, nor the form of the ceremony seems to have developed a tradition," Facinger, 16. Facinger implies it was misleading for A. Luchaire in his Manuel des institutions françaises (Paris, 1892), p. 477, to base his argument for the queen's royalty on her anointment at her coronation and then to cite only one example, the twelfth century Constance of Castile, Facinger, 18. Evidence that a ceremony happened once does not make a tradition. This is also a problem in dealing with the queens in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The wives of John II and Charles V were
both already married to their husbands at the time of
the king's coronation, and in both cases the queen was
crowned at Reims with the king. Isabeau of Bavaria and
Anne of Brittany married kings and were crowned
separately at Saint Denis. Marie of Anjou was on her way
to Reims but did not join her husband and was probably
never crowned. Charlotte of Savoy left for Reims and
supposedly joined Louis XI at his coronation, but she
is not put there by the chroniclers. On the other hand,
the sixteenth century queen Claude, wife of Francis I,
was already married before Francis was king, but she
still had a separate coronation at Saint Denis.

62 Facinger, 27. Unlike the fifteenth century during
which the last three queens received the same dower, and
the first queen received a dower like that of another
previous queen, these queens received different dowers.

63 Ibid., 24-25.

64 Ibid., 27. The italics are after Facinger's.

65 Ibid., 31.

66 Ibid., 35. The usual reference for the beginning
of the queen's official household is the 1261 ordonnance
of Saint Louis for his wife Marguerite of Provence.
L. Douet-d'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France aux
XVe et XVe siècles (Paris: J. Renouard, 1865), pp. v-vi.

67 Facinger, 40.

68 Ibid., 45.

69 Ibid., 46.

70 Ibid., 47.
CHAPTER I

MARRIAGES

Marriage was the fundamental institution that made a queen. The choice of a future queen went beyond the necessity of a wife for the king and an heir to the throne. A royal marriage was expected to strengthen the crown by political alliance, territorial expansion, or economic profit. Since the queen would be of Europe's higher nobility, she would share a "proximity of lineage" with the king without an incestuous relationship. The backgrounds of medieval French queens varied considerably. In 1051, king Henry I married Anne, the daughter of Yaroslav I, grand duke of Kiev, and in 1200, Louis VIII married Blanche of Castile, daughter of Alphonso IX of Castile. Philip III married his first wife Isabelle, the daughter of James I king of Aragon, in 1262, and in 1274 Philip took for his second wife Marie, the daughter of Henry III duke of Brabant. In 1284, Marie secured for her stepson Philip IV the hand of Jeanne, heiress of Navarre and Champagne, and the guardianship of the kingdom of Navarre during Jeanne's minority. Philip IV's
nephew, Philip VI of Valois, married Jeanne, the daughter of the Burgundian duke Robert II. Their son John II took for his second wife Jeanne, countess of Boulogne, the widow of Philip of Burgundy whose son was the last Capetian to rule the duchy. By his first wife, Bonne of Luxembourg, John had a son Charles V, who in 1350 married Jeanne of Bourbon, the daughter of Pierre I, duke of Bourbon.

The four fifteenth century queens of France came to their office under different circumstances. In 1385, Isabeau of Bavaria's sudden marriage to King Charles VI brought neither dowry nor political advantage to the kingdom, but the king's guardian Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was satisfied that his interests had been served. In 1413, the two mothers, Yolanda of Aragon and Isabeau of Bavaria, arranged the marriage of Yolanda's daughter Marie to Isabeau's third living son Charles, who went to live with his Angevin in-laws at Angers. In 1451, without his father's consent, the dauphin Louis arranged his own second marriage to Charlotte, the daughter of Louis, duke of Savoy, who promised the dauphin financial and political support in return for the marriage. In 1491, her duchy threatened by French armies, Anne of Brittany agreed not only to marry Charles VIII but also to marry his successor in the case that Charles died.
without heirs. Thus in 1499, in accordance with the terms of her earlier marriage contract, Anne married Louis XII and assured again that the heirs to Brittany would also be the heirs of the king of France. Broadly speaking, political alliance was the motive behind the marriages of Isabeau of Bavaria and Marie of Anjou, economic profit was the motive in Charlotte's marriage, and territorial expansion was a strong enough motive to make Anne of Brittany the queen of France twice.

Isabeau of Bavaria

According to Froissart, Charles V requested on his deathbed that his son marry a German princess in order to acquire a German alliance as Richard II of England had done when he married Anne of Bohemia.¹ A German marriage for Charles VI had long been the goal of his uncle and chief guardian, Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy. In addition to Burgundy, Philip controlled Flanders, Brabant, and Limburg and hoped to form close relations with the Wittelsbach who possessed Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, and Frisia. At the same time, the French had reason to believe that some support for the Avignon pope against the Roman Urban V might come from the Wittelsbach. To these ends, Philip had already contracted a
marriage for his young son and heir John to Margaret of Bavaria, the daughter of Albert of Wittelsbach, duke of Holland, Hainaut, Zealand, and Frisia.

Since the Munich branch of the Wittelsbach family was distant and isolated, Philip had only learned of Isabeau's existence when her uncle Frederick visited the west in 1384. Frederick returned to Bavaria to negotiate with the father, Duke Stephen III, who was apprehensive to hear that Isabeau would be examined nude by French ladies to confirm her fertility and that the seventeen year old French king would not make a final choice until he had seen her. Stephen only partially covered this great risk to his daughter's honor by sending her westward under the pretext of a pilgrimage. When the fifteen year old Isabeau visited Brabant and Hainaut, she was given expensive French dresses and jewels and taught the basic etiquette of the French court. Finally on July 13, 1385, she arrived at Amiens where two members of the king's council greeted her. The next day she was led before Charles VI who decided to marry her immediately although she had said nothing and knew no French. There exists today no copy of the hastily drawn up marriage contract: the only known feature of the agreement is that there was no dowry. Charles would not even accept money that the Bavarians had brought as a gift.
The marriage ceremony on Monday July 17 was made in such haste that there were none of the public entertainments usually associated with royal marriages. Since there had been no popular participation, Frenchmen were surprised to learn that an unknown German had suddenly become their queen. A few days after the marriage was consummated, Charles left Amiens for a military campaign, while Isabeau traveled with guardians to Creil where she received some information about France and some instruction in the French language. By 1386 she had set up a household at Vincennes and continued her travels within a small zone of castles in the Paris region. Isabeau received mention in the chronicles only in connection with celebrations she attended such as the April 1389 festivities at Saint Denis for the two sons of Louis of Anjou who were going on an expedition to conquer Sicily and the August 1389 marriage at Melun of the king's brother Louis, then duke of Touraine, to Valentina Visconti, the only daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan and Isabelle of Valois.

By far the greatest celebration in 1389 was in honor of Isabeau herself. Although she had been queen for four years, Isabeau had not been officially received by Paris nor had she been crowned. Charles VI now planned to make a magnificent seven day event of
Isabeau's first entry into Paris and her coronation. On August 22, 1389, the dukes and duchesses of Berry, Touraine, Burgundy, and Bourbon as well as many foreign visitors and huge crowds watched the queen enter Paris in a display of wealth and pomp. The next day she was crowned queen of France by the archbishop of Paris in the Sainte Chapelle. Isabeau had difficulty attending all the week's events because she was seven months pregnant. At the age of nineteen, after four years of marriage, she had already given birth to a son and a daughter, but both were already dead.

**Marie of Anjou**

Charles, the count of Ponthieu, was only four, and Marie of Anjou only three when her mother Yolanda, the queen of Sicily, first suggested a marriage in 1407. Later after the Armagnacs had driven John of Burgundy from Paris in 1413, the Angevins among the liberators proposed the marriage again. The French queen Isabeau of Bavaria had already married her oldest son, the dauphin Louis, to Marguerite of Burgundy, Duke John's daughter; and the queen's second son had already been sent to live in Holland with his chosen wife Jacqueline of Bavaria. Since the dauphin Louis was firmly established
to succeed his father, Isabeau had no objections to the marriage proposal for her third and youngest son. Accordingly, Yolanda and Marie arrived at Marcoussis on October 21 to meet with Isabeau and to negotiate the contract. No copy of it exists today, but the details were that Marie's dowry would consist of 100,000 livres tournois and the revenues from her Spanish territories; Prince Charles would keep his appanage of Ponthieu and receive a pension from the royal treasury. After the agreement, Marie, then nine, made her first entry into Paris to meet the insane King Charles VI and her eleven year old fiancé. On December 18, 1413, the marriage was celebrated by the archbishop of Paris in Notre Dame, and the next day there were further celebrations at the Louvre.

Since Paris was threatened by John of Burgundy's army and was not securely in Armagnac hands, Yolanda of Aragon left in January 1414 with the young couple for Angers, where the Angevins held court. Unexpectedly, the dauphin Louis died within two years and was followed within another year by his brother John. When Charles was proclaimed dauphin in April 1417, Isabeau naturally hoped to take him away from Yolanda. Soon after Marie and Charles returned to Paris however, Isabeau was exiled to Tours for scandalous behavior. John of Burgundy
freed her and in 1418 retook Paris forcing the Armagnacs, the dauphin, and Marie to flee separately. For the next four years, Marie waited at Bourges while Charles met with even more disaster. In 1419 the dauphin's men killed John the Fearless during a reconciliation meeting at Montereau, and in 1420, the dauphin's mother Isabeau of Bavaria disinherited him.

Charles' military advisers knew that the Angevins already exerted a strong influence over the weak, troubled dauphin and were not anxious for him to rejoin Marie and Yolanda at Bourges. As a result, Charles was twenty and Marie eighteen when he finally returned to Bourges in February 1422 to consummate the marriage. A wedding benediction was given in April by the archbishop of Bourges in the presence of a papal legate, prelates, and many princes of the blood including the duke of Alençon, the counts of Clermont, Vendôme, La Marche, Étampes, Armagnac, and Nemours, and others. A banquet was given afterwards. All this pomp for the consecration of the marriage was designed by Yolanda as an answer to the magnificent marriage of Isabeau's daughter Catherine to the English king Henry V who also claimed the kingdom of France. Eight months after the ceremony at Bourges, the insane Charles VI finally died, and Charles VII and Marie of Anjou became king and queen of France. However
the infant son of Henry V and Catherine, Henry VI, was proclaimed king of France and England in English-occupied Paris.

Marie of Anjou was never given the formality of an official coronation. Throughout his reign, Charles VII's court was characterized by rivalry among his chief advisers who normally dictated policy to the weak king. With the consummation of the marriage and the birth of the dauphin Louis the next year, Marie and especially her mother Yolanda of Aragon became powerful influences at court. The two women were especially supportive of Joan of Arc, who in turn often addressed and praised the young queen. It was natural then that Joan's plans to take Charles to Reims in June 1429 would include a proposal that the queen should accompany him to be crowned. Charles actually ordered that Marie be brought to him at Gien for the voyage to Reims, but soon she mysteriously returned to Bourges. The reason apparently was that Georges de la Trémoille, the current power behind the throne, feared that his enemies, the Angevins, would be warmly received by the king and people at Reims. However, the weakness of Charles and his need for advisers always gave the Angevins a powerful influence at court. In 1431, an alliance between the houses of Brittany and Anjou led to the fall of La Trémoille and
prepared the way for the elevation of Marie's brother, Charles of Anjou, to La Trémoille's former position. Three possible reasons why Marie was never given a separate coronation similar to Isabeau's 1389 coronation at Paris were the constant state of war in the realm, the unusual circumstances behind the king's own coronation at Reims in 1429, and the failure of the king's armies to enter Paris until 1436.

Charlotte of Savoy

The marriage of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy was unique among French royal marriages. As the dauphin, Louis negotiated and conducted his own marriage without the consent of his father who, in fact, objected strenuously. Actually the original cause of tension had been the dauphin's alienation from his father's system of court favorites who kept the son isolated. An agreement was reached finally that Louis would leave Paris and attend to the government of the Dauphiné, but there, Louis, like many other bored French princes before and after him, got involved in the colorful complexities of Italian politics. When the dauphin notified his father in 1451 that negotiations for his betrothal to Charlotte of Savoy were already well advanced, the
furious king tried unsuccessfully to recall his son from the Dauphiné. Although the reason for the king's anger was the dauphin's boldness in negotiating the contract himself, Charles' primary objection was that Charlotte was too young and the need for children too urgent. ¹⁰ Charlotte's age at the time of her marriage is usually given as twelve, but she was probably only seven. ¹¹

A copy of the marriage contract between the dauphin Louis and Charlotte's father the duke Louis of Savoy is extant. ¹² Signed on February 14, 1451, at the convent of the Friars Minor at Geneva, the contract promised Louis much less than the 400,000 écus the financially pressed dauphin had originally hoped to receive. Instead the negotiators agreed that the duke would pay 200,000 écus on an installment plan: 15,000 paid at the betrothal, another 15,000 six months after the ceremony, and then 20,000 after a second six months. The rest of the total sum, 150,000 écus, would be paid primarily by the gabelle of Nice in the form of 15,000 écus annually. ¹³ These sums were beyond the duke of Savoy's capabilities. Even before the contract was signed, the dauphin admitted the need to "moderate and reduce the sums, to prolong the payments," and to defer some portions of the money to assure Charlotte's dower. Ultimately the duke paid only the initial 15,000 écus,
and the annual payment was reduced to 5,000 écus.\textsuperscript{14}

However, an account book for 1459 entitled "The Dowry of Charlotte of Savoy" shows Louis' collectors taking as much as 5,625 écus from the gabelle of Nice, 283 écus from Turin, and enough from other Savoyard towns to equal 17,356 écus.\textsuperscript{15} Louis used the money almost exclusively to pay wages to his knights and soldiers, to buy supplies for his army, and to give gifts to other influential military men.\textsuperscript{16}

In spite of its financial benefits, the marriage was an immediate disaster for Louis. When King Charles heard about the plans, he sent an envoy to the duke of Savoy and expressed "astonishment" that the marriage would be negotiated without royal approval.\textsuperscript{17} For his part, the duke claimed that the king's consent had been given through a papal legate and that the protests had not been received until one day after the ceremony. Charles was furious enough to threaten to disinherit his son who was soon deprived of his pension and his French lands. When, in the summer of 1452, French troops moved southeastward toward both the Dauphiné and Savoy, the frightened duke disassociated himself from the dauphin, met with the king, and on October 27, 1452, signed a treaty putting himself under French protection and renouncing the dauphin. Only an English invasion of
Guillaume saved the dauphin from his father's army.

After the marriage ceremony on March 8, 1451, at Chambéry, the seat of the Savoyard court, Charlotte began her voyage to the Dauphiné. On her way, she rejoined the dauphin and on April 2 entered Grenoble where she received the usual gifts and reception. After an unsuccessful attempt to take Genoa, Louis found himself isolated and his father free of the English. The dauphin desperately sought to humble and perhaps win back Charlotte's father by attacking the duke's province of Bresse. By December 1455 however, the king and his army were again moving southeastward. Leaving Charlotte at the treasury house in Grenoble, Louis fled in August 1456 to Brussels where he joined the court of his uncle Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy. The king then took the resources of the Dauphiné into his own hands on April 8, 1457.

In spite of the fact that he was thirty-four years old and childless, the dauphin did not seem anxious to consummate his marriage. With Charlotte left behind in the Dauphiné, her father sent his confessor Antoine Piochet, the provost of Lausanne, to inform the dauphin that she was of age. Finally in the spring of 1457, with Philip the Good himself paying 1,000 écus of gold for the expenses, Louis sent the sire of Montaigu and
the prince of Orange to escort Charlotte through the Burgundian marches to Namur. She arrived at Metz on July 10, 1457, and then rested before her arrival, with eighty horses, to join the dauphin at Namur in January 1458. Although Charlotte was well received, there were no further marriage ceremonies similar to Marie of Anjou's wedding benediction in 1422. On July 27, 1459, Charlotte gave birth to her first son who soon died, but within two years a daughter, the future regent Anne of Beaujeu, was born. When Charles VII finally died in July 1461, the excited Louis XI left so quickly for Reims that Charlotte was again left behind. She borrowed horses from the countess of Charolais to make the trip to Reims where she and Louis were crowned on August 15.

Anne of Brittany

During the reign of Louis XI and Anne of Beaujeu's regency under Charles VIII, France and Brittany were often at war. Duke Francis II of Brittany also had difficulties with his own barons who did not wish to see a female, the duke's daughter Anne, succeed to the duchy. Before Francis died, he had at least received oaths from the Estates of Brittany to support Anne, who would not marry without their consent. Then, to make peace with
France, Francis promised in the 1448 treaty of Verger that the consent of the French king would also be required before Anne married. The duke had originally promised Anne to the English king Edward IV's young son, but the boy died in 1483. When her father died in 1488, the eleven year old Anne, heiress to Brittany, was the prize catch of Europe.

When Anne's counselors decided that Maximilian, duke of Austria, king of the Romans, son of the Emperor Frederick III, and widower of Mary of Burgundy, was the most favorable husband, war with France and rebellion among the barons greeted the decision. With the help of Spanish and English troops, Anne forced a withdrawl of the French army and then paid out large pensions to the rebellious barons, especially the marshal of Rieux who supported Anne's marriage to the old sire of Albret. On December 19, 1490, however, the bishop of Rennes celebrated a mass, and later, at the ducal palace, Anne lay on a bed surrounded by her counselors, ladies, and officers. Maximilian's ambassador Wolfgang de Polham, holding in his hand a signed and sealed letter of procuration from the Austrian duke, momentarily placed his nude right leg under Anne's bed linens to symbolize the marriage. As a result, the French army again moved into Brittany with the aid of such Bretons as Alain
of Albret. This time the duchy was in serious trouble: the countryside was devastated by famine, the English, German, and Spanish troops were not well paid, and the French army laid siege to Rennes.

On October 27, 1490, with Brittany almost entirely in French hands, the French king Charles VIII proposed marriage to Anne. It was an idea she had heard many times before, and she promptly refused. Charles then offered Anne a choice of three French husbands, Louis of Luxembourg, the duke of Nemours, or the count of Angoulême, to which Anne replied that she was already married. Charles even offered to pay Anne 100,000 écus if she would simply abandon Brittany to him. Desparate, Anne, who felt herself betrayed that Maximilian sent no aid, received assurance from Breton theologians that her marriage was completely illegal and irreligious. Finally, she had no real choice but to marry Charles VIII. After the engagement was announced, Wolfgang de Polham rode north to inform Maximilian, who had not only lost his wife but also regained his daughter Margaret who had been living at the French court since 1483 when she was promised to Charles VIII. The marriage of Anne and Charles, held on December 6, 1491, at the chateau of Langeais and conducted by the bishops of Albi and Angers, was hurried but magnificent in its display of pomp and
wealth. The twenty year old Charles VIII and Queen Anne, fifteen, consummated their marriage and then traveled together into France. There were two pieces of unfinished business however: the marriage contract had not been finalized, and the papal dispensation for all this marital juggling had not yet arrived.

Although Anne and Charles got along well, their marriage contract was a reflection of what had really happened. France had conquered Brittany and forced the duchess to wed the king. The contract sealed on December 16, 1491, at Tours was drawn up at Langeais by Jean de Chalons, the prince of Orange. According to the agreement, if Anne were to die before the king and without heirs, she would cede the duchy of Brittany to the French crown. If on the other hand, Charles died before Anne and without children, the duchy would revert back to her. In order to avoid wars and misfortune however, the lady would subsequently marry the next king of France so that their son might inherit the duchy. Thus, Brittany was Anne's dowry to the king and France. Charles VIII then promised that if he died before her, Anne would receive a dower identical to that of his late mother Charlotte of Savoy, that Anne's moveable wealth would be hers, and that her household would still be maintained. After having been witnessed
by such lofty nobility as the prince of Orange, Louis of Orleans, Pierre of Beaujeu, Charles of Angoulême, Jean of Foix, and the bishops of Albi and Angers, all on the king's side, and the prince of Orange, Philippe de Montauban, the chancellor of Brittany, and the sire of Coetquen, grand master of Brittany, on Anne's side, the contract was sealed. Anne and Charles themselves did not sign it.

Meanwhile at Rome on January 10, Pope Innocent VIII absolved both Charles and Anne from any charge of excommunication which would have been the punishment if Charles' agreement with Margaret of Austria had been more than verbal, or if there were any consanguinity between Charles and Anne, or any other problem. The pope added that he preferred to see peace and harmony between peoples and that his fee for the dispensation was 1,000 écus of gold. From Tours, the royal couple moved on to Saint Denis where Anne was crowned on February 8, 1492. The next day, she made her first entry into Paris where she was met by members of the Parlement, the chamber of accounts, the treasury, the various officials of the city, and the bourgeoisie. Within seven years Anne of Brittany gave birth to three sons and one daughter, but all four children soon died. Then on April 18, 1498, Charles VIII himself died.
suddenly at Amboise.

The new king, mentioned so precisely in Anne's first marriage contract, was Louis, duke of Orleans. Louis had been in exile in Brittany when Anne was duchess, he had helped to convince her to marry Charles VIII, and he had held the crown over her head at her coronation. On August 19, 1498, Anne recalled the clause in her first marriage contract that she should marry the succeeding king if there were no heirs from Charles VIII and declared herself ready to do so as soon as it was correct legally and religiously.\(^{25}\)

Unfortunately, Louis XII was already married to Jeanne of Valois, the daughter of Louis XI, who had realized that Jeanne was crippled and probably sterile and so had cleverly married her in 1473 to the duke in order to end the Orleans line. The marriage had been consummated, and a divorce was necessary. Lawyers went to work for both Louis and Jeanne, and the Borgia pope Alexander VI assigned the cardinal of Luxembourg and the bishops of Albi and Ceuta to hear the case. The trial dragged on for months and featured many witnesses including the unfortunate Jeanne who was forced against her will to defend herself. Louis claimed that he had been forced into the marriage, that he had never accepted a dowry, and that he had not slept with Jeanne nor considered
her his wife for a long time. Finally on December 26, 1498, Louis declared that he had been married to Jeanne without his consent by Louis XI, that the divorce was necessary for the good of the kingdom, that the judges and papal delegates had recognized that the marriage had no value, and that he was now free to enter into another marriage. There were many however who felt that Jeanne was, by right, the queen, and that, without the political ambitions of the Borgia pope, she might well have held the office.

Although the divorce was not yet proclaimed, Louis married Anne at Nantes on January 8, 1499. The marriage contract between Louis XII and Queen Anne was substantially different from her contract with Charles VIII. Far from being a conquest this time, Anne would add legitimacy, prestige, and honor to the king's new regime. The contract, signed by both Louis and Anne one day before the ceremony, was as short as it was clear. The name of the principality of Brittany would remain forever. The second son of their marriage, or daughter if there were no sons, would be prince of Brittany in the same manner as all the dukes that preceded him. If there were only one son, then his second son would succeed to the duchy. If the king died before Anne, she would have a new dower equal to her old one under Charles VIII,
which she would continue to enjoy. If on the other hand, the queen died without heirs before the king, he would enjoy the rights to Brittany only during his own lifetime after which the duchy would revert to Anne's family in Brittany, her "true heirs." Thus the independence of Brittany was the major issue involved: clearly Anne had dictated the terms of her second marriage.

Eleven days after the marriage on January 19, 1499, Louis XII issued a sweeping declaration of Brittany's rights and privileges. He promised to protect the liberties of Brittany as they were under the former dukes and duchess. Anne, who was explicitly given control of officers and other patronage, regained by implication the exercise of power that she had lost with her first marriage. Louis XII also confirmed the vitality of the Parlement, the chancery, the church, the coinage, the Estates, and even the borders of Brittany. At the same time, he declared that Bretons would not have to fight, under normal circumstances, outside their country and that no mandate would be executed inside the duchy without first being reviewed by the Breton council. Louis XII called Anne "La Bretonne," and her loyalties were truly divided. This was apparent when Anne carried out her own second coronation at Saint Denis in 1503 to publicize her desire to marry her daughter Claude to the future German emperor Charles V.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>QUEEN</th>
<th>AGE AT MARRIAGE</th>
<th>AGE FIRST CHILD­BIRTH</th>
<th>AGE LAST CHILD­BIRTH</th>
<th>AGE AT DEATH</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILD­BIRTHS</th>
<th>DAUGHTERS SURVIVING QUEEN</th>
<th>SONS SURVIVING QUEEN</th>
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<tr>
<td>Isabeau of Bavaria 1371-1435</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Marie of Anjou 1404-1463</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Charlotte of Savoy 1445-1483</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anne of Brittany 1477-1514</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
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Conclusions

The queen obtained her office by marriage to a king or to a man who would be king. She was selected for marriage by the king, his family, and counselors. The selection process was not standardized and in fact could be haphazard. Isabeau of Bavaria's marriage to Charles VI, which featured no quid pro quo or reason of state, was sponsored by the king's uncle and guardian Philip of Burgundy, but Philip himself could only arrange a meeting between the king and Isabeau. Charles VI made his decision to marry her only after he had seen her and refused to accept a dowry because he felt her beauty was enough. Marie of Anjou's marriage to Charles VII was not negotiated as a marriage between a future king and queen. Charles was third in line to the throne, and his marriage to an Angevin, whose family was already committed to the Armagnac cause, brought little gain to the crown. The dauphin Louis actually negotiated his marriage to Charlotte of Savoy against the interests of the crown. Anne of Brittany's two marriages were the initial steps in the union of Brittany with France, but both marriages took place under clouds of previous marital commitments and the absence of a choice for Brittany. Thus in the fifteenth century there were no typical circumstances behind the choice of a queen.
Likewise, no tradition had developed for a queen's marriage ceremony or her coronation. In the fifteenth century, once the decision to marry had been made, the marriage was performed without delay at no particular place and with no particular ceremony. The queen's coronation was always separate from her marriage in the fifteenth century. Unlike the marriage, the coronation was not a necessity and at worst seemed an afterthought or an excuse for a big celebration. In the fourteenth century, John II's wife, Jeanne of Boulogne, and Charles V's wife, Jeanne of Bourbon, both went to Reims for the coronations of their husbands. The *Chronique des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V* referred to the queen in its description of these coronations.

After the death of the king Philip of Valois, his oldest son John reigned for him and was crowned in the church of Reims, Sunday, September 26, 1350. And the queen Jeanne, wife of King John, was also crowned that day. 34

The year 1364, the Sunday of the Trinity, which was the nineteenth day of May, the king Charles and Madame Jeanne of Bourbon, his wife, were consecrated at Reims by Mons. Jean de Craon, archbishop of Reims. 35

Although the nature of Jeanne of Bourbon's participation is vague, it is clear that the queen's presence at both coronations was important. Of the fifteenth century queens, only Charlotte of Savoy was present at her
husband's coronation, but she was not mentioned in
descriptions of the event. Isabeau of Bavaria and Anne
of Brittany, both of whom married kings, enjoyed their
own coronations at Sainte Chapelle in Paris and Saint
Denis respectively. The oaths made by the fifteenth
century queens at their coronations are not known today. 36

Thus, in discussing the marriages and coronations
of queens, the contrast described by Facinger between a
queen who associated strongly with the king and a queen
who did not is again relevant. In any event, the
circumstances were not of the queen's making. The nature
of her relationship with the king dictated the queen's
role when tradition did not.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1Froissart, v. IX, 93.

2Ibid., 94. If a king were anxious to see his bride before the ceremony, a portrait was the usual means.


4J. Juvénal des Ursins, 368.

5Froissart, v. XII, 1-30. This long passage of Isabeau's entry into Paris and coronation is well known among Froissart's writings.

6M. Frager, Marie d'Anjou Femme de Charles VII (Les Éditions de Paris, 1948), p. 10. Marie's Spanish revenues were from the estate of her grandfather John I of Aragon. It was not customary that Charles would reside with the family of his fiancée, but his brother John of Touraine had already gone to Holland with his in-laws. Paris was not safe both militarily and hygienically, due to plagues.

7Ibid., p. 116. Henry V married Catherine of Valois in the cathedral of Troyes on June 2, 1420. Catherine was crowned queen of England in London in December 1420.
The Angevin connection with Joan of Arc is discussed in the chapter on politics.

Frager, p. 186.


Frager, p. 186.

M. Vale, *Charles VII* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1974), p. 164. Charles VII's major objection was that the twelve-year-old Charlotte was not of childbearing age, but Vale doubts the king's sincerity.

P. Champion, *Louis XI* (Paris: H. Champion, 1927), v. I, 204. Champion gives Charlotte's age as twelve. P. Kendall, *Louis XI* (New York: Norton, 1971), p. 75. Kendall also gives Charlotte's age as twelve. If Charlotte were twelve, the king's objection was groundless. Louis had consummated his first marriage to Margaret of Scotland when she was thirteen. In addition, Louis married Charlotte on March 8, 1451, and fled to Brussels in August 1456 with the marriage still not consummated. If Charlotte had been seventeen before Louis left for exile, he would have consummated his marriage already. Louis was notified in 1456 when he was in exile that Charlotte was of the proper age. The dauphin sent for her to come to Namur in the summer of 1457, but she did not arrive to consummate the marriage until January 1458. In any event, Charlotte's age at the time of her death in 1483 is usually given at thirty-eight. (Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*. Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1726). This would make her six at the time of her marriage. These discrepancies in the dates of Charlotte's life have been noticed by historians, but the problem has not been resolved. It is possible that Louis XI intended that people think Charlotte was older than she actually was at the time of their marriage.

Fr. 20176, fols. 21-23.

Ibid.
14 Champion, v. I, 204.

15 BN Fr. 6737, fols. 43-47.

16 Ibid., fols. 48-67.

17 Vale, p. 164. Louis did not really fear that his father would disinherit him, because his father had himself been disinherited and felt it was an unwise action.

18 Champion, v. I, 216. This was characteristic of Louis XI's personality.

19 Ibid. Kendall gives July 1457 as the date of Charlotte's arrival at Namur. According to Les chroniques de la ville de Metz (Metz: J.F. Huguenin, 1838, p. 287), Charlotte arrived at the city on July 3 with the sire of Montaigu and a retinue of more than eighty horses. She was greeted by the gentlemen of the city with gifts of meat, wheat, wine, and a ring worth more than 500 livres. The city also paid her expenses. She was also in the city on July 10, 1457.


21 K 74, n. 33, fol. 1. Marriage contract between Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany is published by G. Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne (Paris: F. Muguet, 1707), v. II, 1535-1546. See Appendix B.

22 K 74, n. 33, fol. 2.

23 BN Fr. 20366, fol. 78. Papal dispensation for the marriage of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany is published by Lobineau, v.II, 1546-1549.

This document is discussed in the chapter on the queens in politics.

Le Roux de Lincy, v. I, 166. Before entering the service of the church, Rodrigo Borgia had a wife by whom he had two sons. Louis XII promised the ambitious second son Cesare a pension of 20,000 écus gold, the duchy of Valentinois, and the hand of one of his relatives. Pope Alexander VI accepted this for his son and hoped to become allied with France. The papal dispensation for the marriage of Louis XII and Anne is published by Lobineau, v. II, 1554-1555.

The marriage contract between Anne and Louis is published by Lobineau, v. II, 1560-1561. See Appendix C.

All dates in the chart are from Père Anselme. The dates vary according to sources.
36 P. Barry, *La reine de France* (Paris: Editions du Scorpion, 1964), pp. 84-95. "In general, the chroniclers of the Middle Ages have neglected to inform us about the ceremonies of the queen's coronation," p. 84. Barry has some information on the coronation of Jeanne of Bourbon however. Jeanne sat dressed in a red robe like the king. When she was crowned, she held in her left hand a little gold baton and in her right hand a little scepter. The king sat on a throne higher than the queen's. In his left hand was the hand of justice and in his right hand a very long scepter decorated with a little statue of Charlemagne, p. 86. Barry has published the words of the archbishop at the ceremony for Marie de Medicis.
Wealth, both its necessity and its display, was an integral part of queenship. The queen needed steady, regular funds to supply her household, to pay her employees, and to purchase the most luxurious items in the kingdom. In the fifteenth century, the queen's financial affairs were managed by four institutions, the treasury, the chamber of deniers, the hôtel, and the argenterie. Isabeau of Bavaria instituted her own treasury in order to reform and centralize her finances. The queen's treasury collected all her revenues and then distributed them to her other bureaucracies. The queen's chamber of deniers, which consisted of a master, controller, and two clerks, received revenues and made the accounts for the queen's hôtel, or household. The queen's household was a highly departmentalized institution that purchased the queen's everyday needs of an impersonal nature such as food, wax, sacks, tableware, and equipment for the queen's stables. In addition, the household was the major employer of personnel among the queen's bureaucracies. Isabeau of Bavaria was also the
first queen to have her own argenterie, which consisted of an argentier, a controller, and perhaps two clerks. The argentier made purchases of wools, silks, furs, linens, jewels, tapestries, and shoes for the queen, her children, and sometimes her ladies. Since the argenterie was not highly structured or controlled and since it dealt with personal items for the queen, it reveals more about an individual queen than the hôtel. In any event, the revenues received by the master of the chamber of deniers to finance the hôtel were not significantly different from the revenues received by the argentier to finance the argenterie. The amount of money a queen needed simply to maintain herself was reflected by her dower settlement which would support her through widowhood and would theoretically be used only after her husband's death.

The queen's hôtel

Facinger sees the beginning of the separation of the queen's hôtel from that of the king's during the reign of Louis VII (1137-1180). Apparently, Louis' first wife Eleanor of Aquitaine had a larger personal retinue and a more formally organized group of functionaries than any previous queen. In this case, the queen of France was also the duchess of Aquitaine and needed a more structured
retinue to administer and maintain her holdings. The development of the separate institutions, the hôtel of the king and the hôtel of the queen, can be seen as early as Louis VII's second marriage to Constance of Castile in 1154 when royal charters began to document provisions for separate tables for the king and queen. In 1261 when Louis IX issued ordonnances for the hôtel of his wife Marguerite of Provence, he was concerned mostly about the money his wife spent, the company she kept, and the amount of charity she gave.

It is ordered by the king that the queen has for all her alms and obligations 400 l.p. annually and no more. . . Item. She will have for all the gifts she will give 40 l.p. annually and no more. . . Item. She will hold court with ladies and other great persons, and when they come, she will not keep them a long time, and she will not talk lightly with them, but she will excuse herself properly. . . Item. She will not order or command anything to the baillis or prévôtes of the king, or others who hold office for the king. And she will not annul anything that has the king's authority. Item. She will not promote or retain anyone in the hôtel of the queen or her children without the consent of the king. . . Item. She will give alms to four poor people each Saturday, and for this day she will receive 4 s.p. . . Item. She will have for the dresses and other necessities of six ladies, for each 30 l.t. And for the dresses and other necessities of twenty other ladies, for each, 20 l.t. . . 4

In 1316, an ordonnance for the hôtel of Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip V, indicated the basic household system used throughout the fifteenth century. This
ordonnance named the offices of the masters of the hôtel, clerks, notaries, chaplains, and then the six trades included in the mises de métiers: the paneterie, or pantry, the échansonnerie, or cup-bearers, the cuisine, or kitchen, the fruiterie, or fruit-loft, the écurie, or stables, and the fourrière, or the pound. The 1316 ordonnance also provided for hôtels for the royal children who were usually in some way connected with the queen's own household. Unfortunately the queen's hôtel accounts were done with such a great rigidity that they are a difficult measure of individual behavior and wealth. At the beginning of each account the receipts from the treasury of France or the receiver general of France were listed and totaled. Then the expenditures were divided into four parts, totaled separately, and finally together at the end. Although the divisions and subdivisions and time lengths varied with each queen, the general outlines of a hôtel account are easily seen.

The amount of revenues a queen could acquire to support her household varied with the political and financial situation of the realm as well as the queen's personal status. If she were pregnant or living with her young children, her revenues would be higher than otherwise. In the same way, no fifteenth century queen could match the revenues of Isabeau of Bavaria when she was in virtual control of the government itself. In the later years of
her reign, Anne of Brittany might possibly have rivaled Isabeau, but there are no existing household accounts for Anne. In any event, while Isabeau's income for the 1400 July to December term, 36,581 l.p., was the height for household receipts of fifteenth century queens, her total lack of revenues for the four month account of 1421 show how fleeting such affluence could be.

For their hôtel revenues, the queens received royal funds collected by order of the king and his bureaucracy. The hôtel receipts came to the queen's chamber of deniers from the treasury of France and the receivers general of the king's finances. At various locations, which were not the same for each queen, the king's collectors sought the assigned taxes that the receivers general would then collect and turn over to the queen. However, if the queen left it to the king and his bureaucracy alone to collect her assigned revenues, she would never have received all the assigned funds. The ultimate responsibility for the collection of the queen's revenues rested with the queen's own horsemen and messengers, who, armed with letters from the king and the queen's financial officers, frequently rode out to find the collectors who had not met their obligations. Isabeau of Bavaria, Marie of Anjou, and Anne of Brittany took an active role in securing and maintaining the revenues that the king had assigned them.
Isabeau of Bavaria's hotel accounts, which are available from January 1398 to June 1406 and from October 1420 to June 1422, are the most comprehensive series of accounts for any fifteenth century queen. Isabeau's accounts were made by Jean le Perdrier, her master of the chamber of deniers, and Jean de Chastenay, her controller of the chamber of deniers until January 1400 when Pierre Floriot replaced Chastenay as controller. When Jean le Perdrier died in 1403, the king named Floriot on July 13, 1403, to replace him as the master of the queen's chamber of deniers, while Jean d'Essoye became controller. For the 1420 to 1422 accounts Marcel Testart replaced Jacques Testart as the queen's master of the chamber of deniers and Etienne Bruneau was controller. From 1398 to 1405, Isabeau's largest source of receipts was Michel du Sablon and then Alexandre le Boursier, who served successively as the receiver general of aides ordered by the king for the wars. For example, in the second term of 1401, le Boursier turned over to the queen 23860 l.p. while her total receipts for the term were 29075 l. 9 d.p. Another important source of revenues was Jean Chaux, changer of the king's treasury, who sent the queen receipts from the treasury of France. Chaux typically sent the queen from 1000 l.p. to 1500 l.p. for each six month term until the second term of 1405 when he sent 3973 l. 6 s. 8 d.p. This second term of 1405
demonstrates the political power Isabeau had achieved as president of the king's council during his "indispositions," for in this same term, Isabeau instituted for herself a new officer, Adam de Bragelongne, as receiver general of the queen's finances. Bragelongne received only 8000 l.p. out of the total 30937 l. 17 s.p. in the second term of 1405, but by the next term he was doing the job once done by both Chaux and le Boursier and receiving the sum of 16957 l. 19 s. 4 d.p. out of the total 19835 l. 11 s. 2 d.p. According to Marcel Rey, Bragelongne had left his post as receiver of aides at Sens and come to Paris to serve in this capacity for the queen in her first attempt to centralize her receipts, but the experiment ended in September 1407 without a clear reason. 

In contrast to the powerful years of Isabeau of Bavaria, the hôtel receipts for Marie of Anjou's reign do not show a great capacity to tap the resources of the kingdom. Naturally the accounts from Marie's earliest years, 1423-1427, would reflect the inability of even her husband, "the king of Bourges," to tax the English-occupied areas or to profit from the generally poor state of the French economy. In this series of accounts from November 17, 1422 to March 1427, Marie's highest revenue total, 22,442 livres parisis, was received in the second term of 1423 not long after the young king had returned to "good money." Marie's
master of the chamber of deniers Guillaume le Baudreyer and her controller Philippe Berthier received livres tournois and converted them in the accounts to livres parisis with the usual formula of 8 d.p. equals 10 d.t., but the livres tournois used by Charles VII were not worth as much as those used by the English or the Burgundians in France. After the inflated 22,442 l.p. received in the second term of 1423, Marie's revenues declined to 6621 l.p. in the second term of 1425 and 6664 l.p. in the same term of 1426. In these early accounts, the sources of Marie's revenues were limited to those parts of France under her husband's control such as Angers, Chinon, Loches, Le Mans, Bourges, Lyon, Touraine, Berry, Bourbon, and Languedoc. These revenues were collected by Guillaume Charrier, receiver general of all royal finances, and Pierre Chastelain, receiver general of Languedoc. Marie of Anjou's hôtel revenues never rivaled those of Isabeau of Bavaria. Even as late as 1457, Marie's master of the chamber of deniers, Jean Berthelot, and controller, Jean Gaudete, received only a modest 13200 l.t. for a six month term. In 1457, Mathieu de Beauvarlet, the receiver general of finances for the king, and Jean Bochetel, the king's notary, whom the king had named to receive the revenues of the queen, were the only sources given for the entire 13200 l.t. that Marie received.
The hôtel accounts available for Charlotte of Savoy differ from Isabeau's and Marie's accounts in ways that make comparisons difficult. Unlike the six month terms of her predecessors, the two available accounts for Charlotte, which run from October 1469 to September 1470 and from October 1470 to August 1471, were on an annual basis. However the greater difficulty lies with the inclusion of the argenterie accounts with the hôtel accounts in the first of the extant accounts. Charlotte's master of the chamber of deniers, Pierre Artault, and controller Jean Damont introduced their 1469-1470 account as a hôtel account, but then they wrote that the argenterie expenses also would be included. In this term, Charlotte's officers received 28550 l.t. in receipts with 10,000 l.t. coming from Jean Briçonnet, the receiver general of finances for the king, 9000 l.t. from Matthieu Beauvarlet, the king's receiver general of revenues from the Seine and Yonne, 4000 l.t. from the receiver general of Normandy, and 5550 l.t. from the receiver general of Languedoc. In the next term, which lasted eleven months from October 1470 to August 1471, Artault and Damont did not make the argenterie account, but they still received slightly greater revenues. In this 1470-1471 term, the queen's officers received 31,014 l. 4 s. 9 d.t. including 10964 l. 4 s. 9 d.t. from Briçonnet,
10,000 l.t. from Beauvarlet, 5550 l.t. from Languedoc, and finally 4500 l.t. from Normandy. 13

Although no hôtel accounts exist for Anne of Brittany, the total receipts obtained to pay wages to her hôtel officers can serve as an example of Anne’s sources and amounts of revenues. Since Anne’s entourage was so large, Charles VIII had allowed her separate accounts to pay her hôtel officers and thereby to remove the burden from her ordinary hôtel accounts. 14 Simply to pay wages of hôtel officers, Jacques de Beaune, who was the queen’s treasurer, received 36,500 l.t. for a nine month term from January 1492 to September 1492. The 36,500 l.t. was the result of 10,000 l.t. from the king’s receiver general of Normandy, 12,000 l.t. from the king’s receiver general of Languedoc, 12,500 l.t. from the king’s receiver general of Brittany, and 2000 l.t. on the king’s receiver general of the revenues of the Seine and Yonne. 15 This nine month account, which was made in the first year of Anne’s reign, is only an indication of the types of revenues available to her.

In the absence of any extant accounts made by Anne of Brittany’s chamber of deniers for her hôtel, her treasury accounts can be used. Since the queen’s treasury centralized her revenues and then turned them over to her other bureaucracies, the expenses of the
queen's treasury were the receipts of her chamber of deniers, argenterie, and wage accounts. For the year ending September 30, 1493, Anne's master of the chamber of deniers, Nicolas de Marchy, received 49,560 l. 1 s. 9 d. ob. p. t. "for his office," for the term ending September 30, 1494, Nicolas received 32,700 l. 10 s. 8 d. t., and in the year ending September 30, 1496, Pierre Morin, acting as master of the queen's chamber of deniers, received 38,656 l. 17 s. 3 d. t. It is probable, though of course not certain, that the accounts made by Anne's chamber of deniers for her hôtel were similar to those made for other queens. Although Anne's revenues are impressive, her annual terms show amounts on the level of Isabeau of Bavaria's six month terms. In addition, Isabeau used the livres parisis which were more valuable than Anne's livres tournois. It will be easier to judge the real wealth of the queens in terms of their expenditures.

The hôtel accounts of the fifteenth century queens nearly always showed a tendency for expenditures to exceed receipts. Of the twenty-one hôtel accounts for Isabeau of Bavaria, only four, the second term of 1398 and the first terms of 1401, 1403, and 1405, show a surplus. In spite of the deficit, with the exception of two accounts, one in the first term of 1404 and the
other in the first term of 1420, there is little disparity in Isabeau's total receipts and expenses. Likewise of Marie of Anjou's ten available accounts, only two have surpluses, and the rest show her slightly in debt. The accounts of Charlotte of Savoy and Anne of Brittany also show this tendency toward a slight debt and a delicate balance in the queen's budget. The queen's master and controller of the chamber of deniers, who made the hôtel accounts, also had to present the accounts to the king's court for an audit. Apparently this was an incentive to keep the queen's accounts as balanced as possible.

The queen's hôtel expenditures were divided into categories which could be mere formalities without great relevance. The hôtel departments were a tradition that the accountants kept faithfully, even though the actual purpose of the department might be nominal. The expenditure categories used in most of the fifteenth century queen's hôtel accounts were as follows:

First gross
Dépenses des journées (Daily expenses)
Gages de clercs (Wages of clerks)
Menues (Commons)
Robes and Manteaux (Cloaks)

Second gross
Harnois (Harnesses or trappings)
Dîmes (Tithes)
Messages
Mises de métiers (Trades)
Paneterie (Pantry)
Echansonnerie (Cupbearers)
Cuisine (Kitchen)
Fruiterie (Fruit-loft)
Ecurie (Stables)
Fourrière (Found)

Chambre la Reine (Chamber of the queen)
Chambre aux deniers
Querre deniers (Search for deniers)

Third Gross
Dons (Gifts)
Offrandes (Offerings)
Grande écurie (Grand stables)

The largest expense of each hôtel account was the dépenses des journées, a figure often calculated to the day. At the first of each month and usually in the presence of at least two masters of the hôtel, these daily expenses were calculated and then divided by the number of days in the month for a daily total. Although there is no indication as to what was purchased under this category, one assumes that foodstuffs were the principal item.

Douët-d'Arcq has found rolls of parchment which detail the king's daily expenses as bread, wine, meat, fat, poultry, fish, game, and fruits. In addition to foods for the queen and her children, the hôtel also provided meals for the queen's ladies and officers. In the ordonnance for the hôtel of Jeanne of Burgundy in 1316, the king made it clear which of the queen's officers would eat at court and which would not. A great many would. In the hôtel accounts, there was simply no place, other than the dépenses des journées, to account for the meals of servants.
and officers. Therefore, either these expenses were included with the dépenses des journées, or they were not included at all.²¹

The dépenses des journées in Isabeau of Bavaria's accounts from 1398 to 1406 ranged from about 20,000 l.p. to 34,000 l.p. for each of the six month terms.²² Isabeau's masters of the hôtel reported her highest dépenses des journées total, 34,272 l. 10 s.ob.p., in the second term of 1400. In this term, the queen had spent for October 3691 l. 3 s. 3 d.ob.p. which her accountants figured to be 119 l. 1 s. 4 d.p. per day with 1 s. 11 d.ob.p. left over.²³ In addition to this figure for the queen, the October 1400 dépenses des journées included a sum of 2208 l. 7 d.p. for the royal children, who had spent the month, as usual, apart from the queen. In October 1421, when Isabeau had lost most of her political power, her dépenses des journées were only 679 l. 6 s. 11 d.p. for the entire month.²⁴

In the available accounts of Marie of Anjou, the dépenses des journées were about half those of Isabeau's.²⁵ For example, in the first term of 1425, Marie's masters of the hôtel reported a total 12403 l. 15 s. 1 d.p. for the six month term. This included as little as 1327 l. 13 s. 9 d.p. for February and as much as 2208 l. 19 s. 3 d.p. for May; and in addition, the dauphin Louis had expenses in February totaling 306 l. 2 s. 2 d.p. and in May 349 l. 8 d.p.²⁶
Charlotte of Savoy's dépenses des journées were even lower than Marie of Anjou's. In Charlotte's dépenses des journées, the livres tournois had replaced the higher valued livres parisis (10 d.t. = 8 d.p.), the expenses of the queen's two daughters were not separate from her own, and the terms were annual instead of biannual, but Charlotte's own monthly totals and term totals were not substantially higher than her predecessors. For example, in the eleven month account from October 1470 to August 1471, the total of dépenses des journées was only 17,254 l. 11 s. 8 d.p.t. For October 1470, the queen and her two daughters had daily expenses of 1635 l. 15 s. 5 d.t., in February 1471, 1228 l. 18 s. 4 d.t., and in August, 1442 l. 7 s. 3 d.t. Since Charlotte's dépenses des journées from October 1470 to August 1471 did not mention the presence of the dauphin, who was born on June 30, 1470, one assumes that the boy's expenses were always kept outside the jurisdiction of his mother's officers. This might explain why Charlotte's revenues, even after the birth of a son, were not as high as those of the two previous queens.

After the dépenses des journées, the hôtel expenditure categories are a disappointment. In spite of their inclusive nature, the categories could be formalities without great relevance. Marie of Anjou's early accounts paid little attention to the purpose of the hôtel categories,
and the strain of the rigid formula was apparent. Marie's second account in 1424 is an example of the hôtel accounts at their weakest. Receipts were 14338 l. 16 s. 7 d.ob.p., dépenses des journées 15596 l. 18 s. 6 d.p., and the entire remaining hôtel expenses were a mere 447 l. 5 s.p. Of this 447 l. 5 s.p., 170 l. 10 s.p. were for deniers given directly to the queen, and 160 l.p. were for deniers rendered in the receipts but not received. Thus only 116 l. 15 s.p. were spent under the usual household categories. Under the category "wages of clerks" only the controller of the chamber of deniers was paid, while the master of the chamber was listed and crossed out as if he were on another payroll elsewhere. After menues, dimes, robes, dons, messages, and chambre la reine, the word "nothing" appeared. Manteaux, which was a minor category to buy cloaks for the master and controller of the chamber of deniers, again counted only the controller. Harnois and the six mises de métiers included only clerical expenses, while the chamber of deniers also recorded ink and paper costs. Thus after the dépenses des journées, there is not a single hôtel expense except those that directly maintained the bureaucracy. Even when Marie's accounts were livened by lists of voyages as in her first account in 1426, the voyages were all undertaken to obtain money for the hôtel. This self sustaining nature of Marie's hôtel bureaucracy
appears to be its only serious business. In the same way, Charlotte of Savoy's hôtel expenses for the October 1470 to August 1471 term recorded "nothing" under menues, robes, manteaux, harnois, dîmes, chambre la reine, chambre aux deniers, voyages, messages, dons, and querre deniers. The remaining expense categories recorded only the wages of the queen's ladies, secretary, master of the chamber of deniers, and officers and servants of the métiers. Of course, the queen's household had material needs, but apparently the staff often had to make do with what they already had.

On the other hand, a queen with plenty of wealth to spare could make purchases that at least gave an indication of the purpose of the expense categories. After Isabeau of Bavaria's great decline, her accountants made a short three month account in 1421 in which she had no receipts and a mere 2844 l. 9 s. 11 d.ob.p. in expenses. In this 1421 account, her dépenses des journées accounted for 2785 l. 9 s. 11 d.ob.p., and the remainder of the hôtel expense categories, still carefully listed, were 59 l.p. However, all of Isabeau's accounts in her powerful years and Marie of Anjou's fragmented 1455-1460 hôtel accounts show basic types of expenditures under the hôtel expense categories.

Isabeau's highest known hôtel account total came in the second term of 1400 when she had about 36581 l.p. in
receipts and 37549 l.p. in expenses. In this account, the dépenses des journées were 34272 l. 10 s.ob.p., and the remaining hôtel expenses were 3277 l. 3 s. 9 d.p.

Under wages, Isabeau's physician and master and controller of the chamber of deniers received wages totaling 88 l. 18 s. 8 d.p. Under menues, holy water was purchased for 4 s.p. each Sunday from the clerk of the nearest church, usually the church of Saint Pol in Paris, for a term total of 104 s.p. or 5 l. 4 s.p. (20 s.p. = 1 l.p.). In this 1400 account, Jean le Perdrier and Pierre Floriot, the master and controller of the chamber of deniers, received for a cost of 100 s.p. each and a total of 10 l.p. manteaux, which were in money, not kind. Robe money, which was paid to clerks at 50 s.p. each, went only to Isabeau's clerk of the chamber of deniers, Robin Crete.

Under harnois, Jean Testart sold the hôtel eighteen livres of wax to make twelve candles for holy days and anniversaries, such as the anniversaries of the deaths of Charles V, September 16, and Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, December 14. Testart sold his wax at 2 s. 9 d.p. the livre, which made the eighteen livres cost 49 s. 6 d.p. (12 d.p. = 1 s.p.) for each of the nine times the wax was purchased; and this, in addition to the 8 l.p. which was paid to clerks who kept the harnois accounts, brought the harnois total to 30 l. 5 s. 6 d.p. Dîmes were purchased
each month in the form of communion bread from the nuns of Yevre at prices from 12 l.p. to 16 l.p. per month and wine from the ladies of La Saussoye at prices from 32 l.p. to 40 l.p. per month, for a total in the term of 292 l.p.

Messages were carried by Isabeau's horsemen to her brother-in-law Louis of Orleans, her master of the hôtel Louis de Villiers, the dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, Catherine de Villiers, the queen's daughter Marie, Olivier de Clisson, and others for costs as low as 6 s.p. for short voyages and as high as 8 l.p. for the voyages to Brittany and Bourbon. In this term, the queen's messengers made forty-seven voyages for a total of 78 l. 12 s.p.

The six mises de métiers included the paneterie, which purchased baskets to carry bread, napkins to cover bread, and clerical needs for a total of 22 l.p., the échansonnerie, which purchased containers for wine and clerical needs for 29 l. 18 s.p., the cuisine, which purchased pots, cloths to cover foods, and clerical needs for 109 l. 16 s. 10 d.ob.p., the fruiterie, which purchased containers to hold fruit and clerical needs for a total of 8 l. 4 s. 9 d.p., the écurie, which purchased only the clerical needs for 3 l. 13 s.p., and finally the fourrière, which purchased bedding, hooks to hang tapestries, screens, and clerical needs for 30 l. 8 s.p. The chambre la reine made monthly purchases from Jean Testart for livres of
spices and drugs for the queen and her children which in this second term of 1400 totaled 178 l. 13 s. 3 d.p. The chamber of deniers purchased each month one bottle of ink for 4 s.p. and five mains of paper for 8 s. 4 d.p., which made a total of 74 s.p. for the term. The guerre deniers in this term needed to send only four men out in search of deniers: two trips to Abbeville in Ponthieu, one to Soissons, and another to Beauvais in Picardy for a total of 8 l. 4 s.p. The sommelier of the queen's chapel made offrandes every day at 1 s.p. per day for the queen, said special masses for as much as 16 s.p. on holy days such as All Saints Day, Advent Sunday, and Christmas, and also made offerings for the royal children, all of which totaled 16 l. 5 s. 8 d.p. in this term. The grande écurie accounted for many expensive purchases for the queen's stables including a horse for 54 l.p., equipment for the horses, and upkeep for the carts, all of which cost the hôtel 278 l. 16 s.p. in this second term of 1400. Finally under dons and pensions, the queen gave her ladies, confessor, master of the chamber of deniers, and servants a total of 2080 l.p.

Comparisons of the prices paid by Isabeau's hôtel with the prices paid by the hôtels of other fifteenth century queens are difficult because of the absence of comparable account books and the uncertainty of the nature
of the items purchased. Some prices were obviously fixed. The price of a bottle of ink paid by Isabeau's hôtel in 1400 was 4 s.p. while the price paid by Marie's hôtel in 1427 remained 4 s.p., and in 1456 Marie still paid for a bottle of ink 5 s.t., which was 4 s.p. The price of a main of paper increased from 1 s. 8 d.p. for Isabeau in 1400 to 2 s. 8 d.p. for Marie in 1427, but in 1456 Marie still paid 3 s. 4 d.t. which was 2 s. 8 d.p. Whether the nature of the main of paper or the bottle of ink changed from 1400 to 1456 is not discernible in the accounts themselves. In 1458, Marie's master of the chamber of deniers, Jean Berthelot, was paid the same daily salary, 6 s.p. per day, that Isabeau's master le Perdrier had received in 1400.\(^{30}\) Charlotte's master of the chamber of deniers, Pierre Artault, received, at 50 l.t. a month, higher wages, but Pierre was also listed as "dean of the church of St. Martin of Tours," which may have increased his individual worth in the eyes of the king. The absence of any ordinary hôtel accounts for Anne of Brittany makes comparisons into the later part of the century impossible. In any event, the rigidity of the hôtel format, the impersonal nature of the purchases, and the relatively minor financial base of the hôtel categories after the dépenses des journées contribute to the feeling that the queen's major business was elsewhere. Still, the hôtel
was an essential part of the official, bureaucratic side of queenship.

The argenterie

The argenterie, which purchased personal items for the queen, usually exceeded the hôtel in both receipts and expenses. Unlike the hôtel accounts, argenterie purchases were clearly itemized and priced; the various categories were all vital, active, and full, and the direct recipient of each purchase was always listed. Argenterie accounts were often characterized by an excessive number of repetitive, luxurious purchases that served to make the queen the most richly dressed woman at court. Diamonds, rubies, pearls, silks, taffeta, and golden threaded cloths were all a part of queenship.

Like hôtel accounts, argenterie receipts came from the treasury of France and the receivers general of aides, but in addition a queen often used private funds from her domain and received special funds from the king. The use of royal domain, especially those lands which would become the queen's dower, was seen in the receipts of both Isabeau of Bavaria and Marie of Anjou. This feature, unknown to the hôtel, demonstrates the personal, private nature of the argenterie purchases for which the two queens were willing to spend "their own money." However,
most of the known *argenterie* revenues for Isabeau, Marie, and Anne of Brittany, and all of the known *argenterie* revenues for Charlotte of Savoy, came from the treasury and receivers general of France.

The highest known total of *argenterie* receipts among fifteenth century queens was the 78136 l. 3 s. 2 d.ob.p. sum achieved by Isabeau of Bavaria and her son, the dauphin Louis of Guienne, in their last known account for the term from October 1, 1406, to September 30, 1407. During this term, Adam de Bragelongne, who was serving as Isabeau's receiver general of finances, received 66000 l.p. from the receivers of *aides*, the receivers of granaries, and the viscounts of Beauvais, Rouen, Evreux, and others who otherwise turned their monies over to the treasury of France. In addition, 11496 l. 3 s. 2 d.ob.p. was received from the queen's domain and dower, Melun, Moret, Saint-Dizier, Vignory, Crécy-en-Brie, Vaux-la-Reine, and Saint-Ouen, and from the receiver general of *aides* for the war. Finally, the king gave Isabeau 640 l.p. that he had taken from a Lombard merchant. With the king incapacitated and Isabeau in control of both the regency and the dauphin, her ability to tap the resources of the kingdom was unsurpassed by the other fifteenth century queens.

The one extant *argenterie* account for Marie of Anjou
was for the term from October 1, 1454, to September 30, 1455. With over thirty years in her office and the king's favorite son Charles to support, Marie was probably at the height of her financial resources, but her revenues were nowhere near Isabeau's. Even in the later years of her reign, Marie's revenues were restricted primarily to the Languedoc. In the early 1430's, Charles VII had assigned to the queen and the dauphin Louis for two years ten deniers on each quintal of salt sold in the Languedoc, and the king renewed this regularly.32 These salt revenues were the basis of Marie's revenues as late as 1455, and were a part of her dower settlement.33 In the 1454-1455 argenterie account, Marie's argentier received 26586 l. 2 s. 6 d.t., which included 3133 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. from the receivers and granaries of two of the lands from her domain, Sainte-Menehould and Chinon.34 From the treasurer general of Languedoc came 16390 l.t., and from the receiver general of all the king's finances came 7063 l.t., which was derived mostly from the salt revenues of Anjou, Poitou, and Saintonge and from a direct gift by the king for the queen to buy jewels.

Charlotte of Savoy and Anne of Brittany left no regular argenterie accounts, but there are extant argenterie documents for both queens.35 Charlotte's hôtel account for the term from October 1, 1469, to September 30, 1470,
also financed and listed argenterie expenses. For both the hôtel and the argenterie, Charlotte's receipts totaled 28550 l.t., all of which came from the receivers general of the king's finances.\textsuperscript{36} In accordance with the ideal, but not with the common practice, Charlotte's dower was not available to her during her husband's lifetime. Louis XI apparently made certain of this by not even assigning Charlotte her lands, which were finally assigned by their son, Charles VIII, after his father died.\textsuperscript{37} For Anne of Brittany, there are fragments of an extraordinary argenterie account made by Victor Gaudin, Anne's argentier, from January 1492 to September 30, 1492. Gaudin received 30673 l. 11 s. 5 d.t. for this account, but the sources of the receipts are unknown.\textsuperscript{38} As with hôtel revenues, Anne's argenterie revenues were listed as expenses in her treasury accounts. For the term from October 1492 to September 1493, Gaudin received 48401 l. 2 s. 6 d.t., from October 1493 to September 1494, he received 29071 l. 7 s.t., and for the October 1495 to September 1496 term, Gaudin received 22767 l. 9 s. 4 d.t. for both the ordinary and extraordinary argenterie. Anne's treasury receipts came from the king's treasury and receivers general.

All four fifteenth century queens divided their argenterie expenses among the same types of purchases.
Purchases of woolen cloths
Tailors wages
Purchases of golden cloths and silks
Purchases of linens
Pelts and furs
Embroyers wages
Tapestries, quilts
Coffers, trunks
Jewelry, gold, and silver items
Cutlery
Shoes
Voyages, messages
Wages and pensions
Gifts
Common things (fabrics, thread, pins, etc.)
Deniers given to the queen

Argenterie accounts were extremely long, certainly many times longer than hôtel accounts. Both Charlotte of Savoy and Anne of Brittany divided each expense category again by the month in which a purchase was made. The argenterie accounts of Isabeau, Marie, and Charlotte all included the expenses of their children. While Marie made entirely separate accounts for each type of purchase for her two children, Charles and Madeleine, Isabeau and Charlotte merely designated the recipient of each purchase. Besides the queen and her children, purchases for officers, nurses, servants, and even poor people made up a sizable portion of the expenditure. While Isabeau's argenterie bought huge amounts of cloths and jewelry, Marie's accounts included many wage payments, gifts, and pensions, all accounted separately for the queen, her son Charles, and then Madeleine. Charlotte's
accounts, which included her daughters Anne and Jeanne, were characterized by her excessive use of black for mourning, her ability to do much of her own sewing, and her charity. Unfortunately, the argenterie accounts of Anne of Brittany exist in a very fragmented, incomplete form for only the first part of her reign. Anne concentrated mostly on all types of cloths and then on the tailors' fees to make garments for herself primarily, but also for her ladies.

The queen's argenterie expenses raise questions about the uses of wealth in the fifteenth century. The queens engaged in conspicuous consumption on a grand scale and spent a great deal of money in the process. Luxurious cloths, jewels, silverware, and furs were an appropriate indication of status for queens and noble women who took pride in their purchasing power. However, there were indications that the taxpayers were not pleased with the excessive levels of royal expenses. The crisis of the Hundred Years War had given the kings of France an excuse to increase taxation with extraordinary taxes such as the "aides ordered for the wars." The Cabochien Revolt of 1413 was the response of the bourgeoisie of Paris to the increases in taxation and the mismanagement of funds. The finances of Isabeau of Bavaria were a major point of conflict for the Cabochiens.
who demanded that Isabeau not be allowed an argenterie separate from her husband's and that her accounts be audited. Isabeau was, in fact, the first queen of France to have her own argenterie, which she had been able to institute on account of the king's illness, her position in the proposed regency, and her guardianship of the royal children. In spite of the kingdom's difficulties, the style at Isabeau's court remained luxurious and extravagant. For example, Isabeau owned a headdress with ninety-three diamonds among sapphires, rubies, and countless pearls, and her dresses were so large that the doors of her chateau at Vincennes were enlarged. The argenterie accounts demonstrate Isabeau's high level of expenditures.

The last complete account of Isabeau's argenterie, from February 1, 1402, to January 31, 1403, also contained, at 49287 l. 15 s. 9 d.p., her highest known expense total. During this term, Isabeau's argentier made 113 separate purchases of wool comprising approximately 1287 aulnes which made many dresses, vests, jackets, slippers, and hats for the queen, her children, and ladies, all costing 2014 l. 12 s.p. These purchases were all from one Paris merchant, Philippe de Compans le Jeune, whose inventory included green, black, gray, red, white, and brown wools, as well as the red écarlate with its silky
finish. Prices ranged as high as 112 s. p. the aulne for black London wool or as low as 12 s. p. the aulne for white wool. With a "piece" of gold cloth costing 160 l. p. a piece, the category for gold, silk, satin, and taffeta fabrics, which contained about 96 separate purchases, mounted to 6970 l. 13 s. 4 d. p. Linens, which were all bought from Paris merchant Thomas le Borgne, accounted for about 123 separate purchases, some priced as low as 3 s. p. the aulne and others as high as 24 s. p. the aulne, and totaled in all 1068 l. 11 s. 3 d. p. Isabeau's furrier for this term, Colin de Vaubussay of Paris, supplied her with great quantities of vair, the bluish gray and white squirrel fur which adorned the garments of kings, queens, and other wealthy people. Isabeau bought 68,233 coats of menuvair at 32 l. p. and 28 l. p. per thousand, then 24466 coats of gray squirrel, at prices from 104 s. p. the hundred to 24 s. p. the hundred, the furs of black sheep, young horses, ermines, sables, and felts. After paying Jean Pincon wages of 177 l. p. to line the garments, the queen owed 4081 l. 17 s. p. for furs.

In the same account, the queen bought 2884 l. p. worth of tapestries and quilts including a series of six tapestries which told the stories of Charlemagne, Perceval, and Baudouin; numerous blankets for herself, her children, and ladies; cushions for use in church; and taffetas, cords,
and ribbons to construct the tent under which the pregnant queen would give birth. From Jean Garnier of Paris, a coffer maker, she bought for 169 l.p., thirty-six coffers of leather in various sizes for the altar of her chapel, for shoes, plates, jewels, dresses, and clothes. Of the thirty-six coffers and six trunks, sixteen were for the queen's use, eighteen were for her daughters, five were for the dauphin, and three for her youngest son. This sort of division between the queen and her children was also true for the other categories. Isabeau's primary jeweler, Jean Clerbourg of Paris, could rely on the queen to order massive amounts of gems, gold, and silver each year: for 1402, 2696 l. 16 s. 9 d.p. worth to be exact. Among the many items purchased were fifty large pearls for 640 l.p., 544 smaller pearls for 217 l. 12 s.p., five diamonds for 344 l.p., two goblets for about 47 l.p., and numerous gold plates. In addition, Clerbourg earned wages for his work as jewelry maker, goldsmith, and silversmith. He made a silver birdcage for 62 l.p., gold belts with gold buckles, and a gold crown for 340 l.p. The queen also bought from other jewelers. From Herman Ruse of Paris, she bought a gold scarf with two chains with gold, green, and white enamel and with shoulders trimmed of two pearls, a ruby, and a diamond with an emerald in the middle for 336 l.p. From Jean Carre of Paris, she bought goblets,
neclaces, and dishes for a total of 2916 l. 7 s.p., and likewise from Alexandre des Mares, another Parisian gold merchant for 844 l. 13 s. 2 d.p. Finally from Nicolas Picasse of Paris, Isabeau's argentier purchased 569 large pearls for 4244 l. 16 s.p. and 5737 other pearls for 3695 l. 7 s.p. In sum, the queen had spent 17444 l. 4 s. 2 d.p. on gems, gold, and silver during the year.

Other categories listed purchases of cups, knives, pins, gloves, ribbons, rugs, shoes, and additional items, none of which rivaled the purchases for fabrics, furs, and gems. Naturally, under messages, the queen sent many letters to tax receivers. In this account, the receivers of Reims, Melun, Gisors, Vernon, Montivilliers, Laon, Soissons, Meaux, Caudebec, La Rochelle, Picardy, Normandy, Sens, and Tours all got reminders that the queen was in need. In the final entry of the 1402 account, Isabeau had her argentier give her 11843 l. 7 s. 10 d.p. in cash. The total expenses of 49287 l. 15 s. 9 d.p. left Isabeau with a 4344 l. 14 s. 3 d.p. surplus for the term.

Marie of Anjou's only available argenterie account from October 1, 1454, to September 30, 1455, recorded total expenses of 27026 l. 9 s. 4 d.ob.t., which created a slight debt of 440 l. 6 s. 10 d.ob.t. In this term, Marie and her two children, Charles and Madeleine, spent a mere 159 l. 3 s. 11 d.ob.t. for wool, 709 l. 5 s. 9 d.ob.t.
for silks and other luxury cloths, 608 l. 19 s. 3 d.o.b.t. for furs, and 275 l. 15 s. 10 d.t. for linens. Although Marie spent 412 l. 10 s.t. on a few gold cups and goblets, her personal expenditure under jewelry, gold, and silver was only 583 l. 14 s. 9 d.o.b.t. In addition, she bought six horses, painted her riding carriage, and bought a saddle for her mule, all for about 375 l. 5 s.t. In spite of Marie's low level of expenditure in comparison to Isabeau's, Marie paid wages to officers and made many and pensions with her argenterie revenues which Isabeau did not do. For example, one of the largest categories in Marie's argenterie was entitled "expenses for wools, silks, and other merchandise" given by the queen and her children at their pleasure to ladies, knights, and others in the queen's household, which cost 2616 l. 3 s. 9 d.t. In addition, Marie paid 1088 l.t. in wages, and 3869 l. 14 s. 10 d.t. worth of gifts. Although very few of Marie's messages were financial, she still found it necessary to send to the salt granaries in Poitou and Saintonge, and to Etienne Petit, receiver general of the king's finances in Languedoc, for funds owed her. That Marie received only 1947 l. 18 s. 4 d.t. under the category of deniers paid directly to the queen is an indication that her argenterie was managed modestly and carefully.
Charlotte of Savoy's only extant argenterie account from October 1469 to September 1470 is combined with a hôtel account. If addition of the argenterie categories alone is made, then approximately 10367 l.t. were spent in the term. A good portion of Charlotte's expenses were for her two daughters Anne and Jeanne, her sister Anne of Savoy, ladies, clerks, servants, and at least two charity cases, poor children named François and Alexandre whom Charlotte kept "for the love of God." Charlotte's account combined purchases of wool with silks and luxury fabrics for a total of 2717 l. 2 s. 7 d. ob.t. From Jean Morin of Amboise she bought doubled dark red velvet for the high price of 247 s. 6 d.t. the aulne, black velvet for 123 s. 9 d.t. the aulne, écarlate for as much as 192 s. 6 d.t. the aulne, and black satin and black damask for 82 s. 6 d.t. the aulne. From René le Surellier, a merchant who accompanied the king's court, Charlotte's argentier acquired doubled black velvet for 137 s. 6 d.t. the aulne, blue velvet for 100 s.t. the aulne, and even gray, violet, and green velvets for the children. Other merchants such as Jean de Beaune and Mace Fleury of Tours and Guillot and Huguet Pelle of Amboise also served the queen. Charlotte bought 2198 l. 8 s. 1 d.ob.t. worth of furs from Michaud Tuffière, her own furrier, with black and white lamb, ermine, and menuvair the usual choices. Jean Morin and René le Surellier supplied linens from Holland, even as much as
a hundred aulnes at a time for bedclothes. Although prices for linens and cottons could be only as high as 30 s.p. or as low as 2 s. 3 d. ob.t. the aulne, Charlotte managed to spend 2888 l. 14 s. 3 d.t. in this category. Besides large totals of 930 l. 14 s. 7 d.t. for shoes and 279 l. 10 s. 10 d.t. for four horses, the extravagance in cloths was not repeated elsewhere in Charlotte's accounts. For example, she spent only 86 l. 8 s. 9 d.t. for jewels.

Anne of Brittany's only extant argenterie account, an extraordinary account, for her first year in office from January 1, 1492, to September 30, 1492, is a puzzling, fragmentary document. The total expenditure, listed at 22427 l. 11 s. 2 d.t., is especially suspect since one single expense category for gifts is 27738 l. 17 s. 11 d.t. by itself. The entire amount is overwhelmingly weighted to purchases of cloths and furs. For example, Anne bought nine and a half aulnes of dark red satin at 175 s.t. the aulne to line the sleeves of a dress for a total of 83 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. She also bought black velvet at 150 s.t. the aulne, black satin at 105 s.t., black damask at 90 s.t. and black taffeta at 50 s.t. the aulne, all to go into sleeves. A rare fabric in argenterie accounts, estamet, a light wool made at Milan, was purchased in small quantities for 192 s. 6 d.t. Many of these purchases were from Jean Georget who at various undetermined times made deliveries
worth 2628 l. 11 s. 2 d.t., 1734 l. 18 s. 9 d.t., 909 l. 7 s. 3 d.t., 844 l. 12 s. 6 d.t., and more. A fur merchant, Jean Brodeur, sold Anne two hundred sable hides at 7 l. 17 s. 6 d.t. the hide for a total of 1575 l.t., which would line the sleeves of a dress. From Simon le Maçon, a fur merchant following the king's court, Anne bought 2163 l. 7 s. 11 d.t. worth of merchandise including 254 black lamb skins from Lombardy, nine more sables, seventy ermines, and again to line sleeves.

Anne used her argenterie to make 2773 l. 17 s. 11 d.t. in gifts, all of which were either in cloth or in money, the gold écu, to buy cloth. For four of her ladies, Anne bought four dresses, each made of ten aulnes of black velvet at 150 s.t. the aulne and each lined with six aulnes of black taffeta at 4 l. 10 s.t. the aulne, which made each dress cost 90 l.t. for a total of 360 l.t. In this same term, many other ladies got similar dresses. Anne also gave her tapestry makers 140 l.t. of wool and fur as gifts and sent the prévôt and marshal of Brittany black velvet and black satin worth 76 l. 10 s.t. To the five king's heralds at arms, she sent écarlate and black velvet worth 288 l. 15 s.t. In addition, Anne gave Jean Bordicher, the king's painter, who had illustrated some stories for her, 50 l.t. to buy himself a garment. She sent Guillaume le Borgne of the church of Notre Dame at Nantes 50 écus of
gold, 87 l. 10 s.t., to buy himself fabric, and Guillaume Guillemet, a master of Anne's hôtel, also received 50 écus for this purpose, as did many other servants. Apparently Anne did not send cloths because she was in need of cash, but because she simply felt them the perfect gift.

Changes can be seen in the buying habits of the queens over the fifteenth century. Isabeau bought many aulnes of expensive woolen fabrics, nearly all of which were intended for her children, servants, and ladies. Marie bought more wool for her children than for herself as did Charlotte, but wool purchases decreased significantly over the century. All four queens bought the inexpensive linens of Reims, Hainaut, Troyes, or Holland in quantities of one hundred aulnes or more, although these were not intended for the personal use of the queen, but for bedclothes, handkerchiefs, napkins, and clothes for the poor. During the century, the queens depended more and more on light or luxury fabrics such as satins, velvets, taffetas, silks, and gold cloths for which the costs varied considerably. The queens were generous with gifts of fine cloths, but they kept the best for themselves. No one spent more than Isabeau who once paid 800 l.p. for only two purchases of gold cloth. Marie was the least luxury oriented of the four queens: her most expensive purchase was for 8 aulnes of black velvet at 6 l. 3 s. 9 d.t. the aulne for a total 49 l. 10 s.t. for a dress. Charlotte's
purchases of black velvet and black satin for herself and her two daughters Anne and Jeanne were substantial. Charlotte even bought 6 aulnes of gold cloth for 23 l. 7 s. 6 d.t. the aulne for a total of 140 l. 5 s.t. in her most expensive purchase. Anne's only argenterie account, which is for the first year of her reign, reveals no significant changes in the velvet, satin, and taffeta purchases, except that Anne bought red and white along with the black.

The examination of prices gives a better explanation for product trends than the incomplete record of the purchases made by queens. The price of the woolen fabric écarlate, for example, rose steadily through the course of the century. Isabeau paid 7 l.t. (112 s.p.) the aulne for écarlate, while Marie and Charlotte paid 9 l. 12 s. 6 d.t. the aulne, and Anne paid 10 l. 10 s.t. Écarlate was almost twice as expensive as any other ordinary cloth the queens bought, and after Isabeau, the queens bought less and less of the fabric. The most likely explanation for the decrease in purchases and the slight increase in price is that écarlate became less available through the course of the century. The price of black velvet, which varied with the quality, was usually 6 l.t. (41.16 s.p.) for Isabeau, 6 l. 3 s. 9 d.t. for Marie, 6 l. 10 s. 7 d.ob.t. for Charlotte, and 7 l. 10 s.t. for Anne. For Isabeau, black velvet was a comparatively rare purchase whereas for Marie and Charlotte
it was a basic, but this increased availability did not bring down its price. Black satin followed a different pattern. Isabeau paid 4 l.t. (64 s.p.) for an aulne of black satin, while Marie paid as little as 3 l.t., Charlotte paid from 3 l. 8 s. 9 d.t. to 4 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. the aulne, and Anne paid from 4 l. 10 s.t. to 5 l. 5 s.t. Black taffeta steadily decreased in price from 4 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. the aulne for Marie, to as low as 2 l. 10 s.t. for Charlotte, and for Anne the price went from 2 l. 10 s.t. to 1 l. 5 s.t. On the other hand, black damask kept a steady price at 4 l. 16 s. 3 d.t. the aulne for Marie, 4 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. for Charlotte, and 4 l. 10 s.t. for Anne. Menuvair also atayed at about the same price with both Marie and Charlotte paying 50 s.t. for a hundred hides, and Anne paying 58 s. 4 d.t. for a hundred.

Definite conclusions are difficult to make because of the inequality of wealth of the four fifteenth century queens. Whereas certain fabrics may have been rare and expensive early in the century, the superior wealth of Isabeau of Bavaria made it possible for her to purchase a fabric whether or not it was rare or expensive. However, it is safe to conclude that écarlate, which was a very popular item with Isabeau at the beginning of the century, was almost absent from the available accounts of Charlotte and Anne, and taffeta and damask were rare in Isabeau's accounts but common to the later
The treasury accounts

On December 30, 1407, Isabeau of Bavaria set up a treasury modeled after those of such princes of the blood as the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. The treasury was a mild attempt by Isabeau, her officers, and the central government to centralize and reform the queen's finances. The treasurer Hénon Raguier would collect massive sums of money and then pass them on to the chamber of deniers, and the argenterie. Thus expenses of the treasury would be receipts of the hôtel and argenterie. However, the queen probably continued to collect additional monies for her hôtel and argenterie which did not pass through the treasury. Marcel Rey believes that the insufficient revenues turned over to the argenterie meant that Isabeau could not have maintained her life style without additional funds elsewhere. Besides the centralization of receipts, Isabeau used the treasury to pay pensions to ladies and officers, to cover old argenterie and hôtel debts, and more than anything else, to increase her personal income.

Isabeau's treasury accounts were for three year terms: the largest extant one ran from December 30, 1408, to September 30, 1411, and the receipts were 342362 l. 9 s. 4 d.t. A quick summary of Isabeau's treasury receipts reveal the
same sources as her earlier hôtel and argenterie accounts. The primary contributors were the king's treasury with 46615 l. 18 s. t., the king's receiver general of aides for the war with 250833 l. 6 s. 8 d. t., and the queen's domain with 36162 l. 14 s. 8 d. t. Expenses of this treasury account included pensions at 36046 l. 13 s. 4 d. t., argenterie debts as old as 1406 at 13000 l. t., gifts made by the queen at 550 l. 10 s. t., wages of officers at 906 l. 6 d. ob. t., messages at 124 l. 15 s. t., and other small categories. However, the major business of the queen's treasury was to centralize and distribute her receipts, and so a total of 164649 l. 14 s. 10 d. t. was paid by the treasury to the officers of her two major bureaucracies. For her hôtel, Pierre Floriot, Isabeau's master of the chamber of deniers, received 129675 l. t., while Jean le Blanc, her argentier, received 23161 l. 8 s. 2 d. t., and Denis le Chesne, argentier for her dependent children, received 11213 l. 6 s. 8 d. t. This was hardly enough to keep Isabeau in the style she preferred, but 100400 l. t. was paid directly to her simply because "la dame veult et consent l'estre alloue sans contredit et sans aucune dificulte." In the second account of her treasury, from October 1411 to 1415, Isabeau took another 104682 l. 17 s. 8 d. t. for herself out of a total receipt of 255335 l. 9 s. 11 d. t., and in 1415-1416 she granted herself 69645 l. 15 s. 1 d. t.
On July 10, 1454, Charles VII issued letters naming Jean Bochetel to the office of treasurer and receiver of finances as well as argentier of the queen Marie of Anjou. Bochetel replaced Etienne le Vernois who had filled the same dual position for the queen in the late 1440's. Bochetel's account for the term from October 1, 1454, to September 30, 1455, for which he received 26586 l. 2 s. 6 d.t., has already been discussed as an argenterie account. In fact Bochetel used nearly all the funds for the argenterie, but he turned over 100 l.t. to one of Marie's écuyers d'écurie for the stables and 8300 l.t. to Jean Berthelot, Marie's master of the chamber of deniers, for the queen's hôtel.51 The rest of the long account was not really a treasury account but an argenterie account, and it is difficult to say if 8300 l.t. was enough to run Marie's hôtel for the year. Charlotte of Savoy had no treasurer throughout the life of her husband, but as soon as Louis XI died, Charlotte's son allowed her to name a treasurer for her finances. Charlotte issued letters on September 22, 1483, naming Pierre Burdelot her councillor, treasurer, and receiver general of all her finances and assigning him "the same wages and gifts as those given to the late Jean Bochetel, the last treasurer and receiver general of finances of the late queen Marie."52 Charlotte died before Bochetel could make what would have been the dowager queen's first
treasury account, and so his account was more a funeral account than an ordinary one.

At the end of the century, Anne of Brittany's treasury was identical in form, purpose, and wealth to Isabeau of Bavaria's. In only her second account from October 1, 1492, to September 30, 1493, she received 213902 l. 3 s. 11 d.t. and 200 royaux gold. In this account, Anne's sources of revenue were reminiscent of Isabeau's. From the king's treasury Anne received 11000 l.t., from his receiver general in Languedoc 20500 l.t., from his receiver general of the Seine and Yonne 23000 l.t., from the receiver general of Normandy 61225 l.t., from the receiver general of Brittany 20000 l.t., and from other receivers 55177 l. 3 s. 11 d.t. In the next term from October 1, 1493, to September 30, 1494, the receipts were 157117 l. 8 s. 10 d.p.t., and in another account from October 1, 1495, to September 30, 1496, the total had decreased to 87810 l. 3 s. 9 d.t.

Anne's treasury expenses, like those of Isabeau, centered on the deniers given to officers for their accounts. In the 1492-1493 term, Nicolas de Marchy, Anne's master of the chamber of deniers, received 49560 l. 1 s. 9 d.ob.p.t. for hôtel accounts, Thomas de Riou, chief accountant for the queen's stables, was given 30282 l. 10 s. 10 d.t., and Victor Gaudin, Anne's argentier, received 48401 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. This made a total of 128243 l. 15 s. 1 d.ob.p.t.
for Anne's offices for the year. If one considers that Isabeau's treasury sums were for three year periods, Anne's totals look even more impressive. The next year de Marchy received 32700 l.t., and Gaudin 29071 l. 7 s.t., while in 1495-1496 Gaudin, still argentier, received 22767 l. 9 s. 4 d.t., and Pierre Morin, the new master of the chamber of deniers, received 38656 l. 17 s. 3 d.t. In the absence of the account books these men themselves made, it is difficult to determine if Anne received other sums for the two offices and how she spent what she received. However the decreases probably did not mean a lowering of the queen's life style, and so, as with Isabeau, it is likely that Anne's argenterie and hôtel had additional sources of revenues.

Unlike Isabeau, Anne of Brittany did not divert huge amounts of money to herself personally. Under deniers paid to the queen, she received 14175 l. 15 s.t. in 1492-1493, 23725 l.t. in 1493-1494, and then a mere 3050 l.t. in 1495-1496. The only remaining treasury category in the 1492-1493 term was entitled "deniers paid by the order of the queen" and was a long month-by-month list of gifts and salaries paid to hôtel employees, officers, and ladies. Anne returned favors with money, reimbursed workers who had bought items for her, and paid wages to many jewelers. In her 1493-1494 and 1495-1496 accounts,
all sorts of purchases that actually belonged either in the hôtel or argenterie accounts were included. Purchases of cloth, garments, shoes, ribbons, medicines, wood products, horses, stable needs, religious offerings, and the voyages of boatmen and drivers who brought items to the queen were all listed. This suggests that Anne's regular argenterie and hôtel accounts could not yet keep pace with her spending. As a result, the treasury became a mixture of hôtel and argenterie accounts both in receipts and expenses.

The dower settlement

A queen was more concerned with her dower (douaire) than with any other part of her finances. This land turned over to a queen to support her during her widowhood was legally her right. In the case of the fifteenth century queens of France, the dower was never related to the dowry (dot), the gift that a king received from the bride's father. On the contrary, in the fifteenth century, the dower settlement was always in some way a precedent set by the preceding queen's lands. Although a dower was often promised to the queen as early as her marriage contract, circumstance alone determined when a king would actually name the lands to be turned over. At the death of her husband, the queen would be mistress of the lands with
full sovereignty over cities, chateaux, chatellenies, mills
bridges, ports, vineyards, fields, vassals, and all
justice. Thus since the dower was really an appanage,
the queen would, at the beginning of her reign, have to
swear allegiance to the kingdom of France. Theoretically
a queen would not enjoy her settlement until she was
widowed, but in practice she might tax the assigned lands
as part of her private domain.

Isabeau of Bavaria made her proposed dower the central
issue of at least the first twenty years of her reign. In
January 1393, the king's council ordered that Isabeau be
assigned a dower of 25000 l.t. of rent annually, the
traditional figure. Unfortunately for Isabeau, old Queen
Blanche, the widow of Philip VI, was still enjoying her
dower, and therefore the new queen could not be assigned
any lands then possessed by Blanche. The king's chamber
of accounts took more than a year before naming the dower
which included Melun and Moret in the Gatinais; Crécy-en-Brie,
Chateauthierry, Meaux, Nogent-sur-Seine, and St. Florentin
in Champagne and Brie; Pont-de-l'Arche, Montivilliers,
Caudebec, Arques, and Auge in Normandy; and Briançonnais,
Valentinois, and Viennois in the Dauphiné. Isabeau complained
that these lands were too scattered and therefore indefen-
sible and unmanageable. As soon as the dower was named
in 1394, Isabeau persuaded the king to promise in writing...
to exchange these lands for Blanche's dower once the old queen had died. Thus five years later when Blanche died, the switch was made. 58

The new 1403 dower was still 25000 l.t., but its location in Normandy and the Norman borders of the Ile de France was a vast improvement. The rents included the cities and chatellenies of Pontoise and Bray and the viscounties of Arques, Pont-de-l'Arche, Caudebec, Montivilliers, Vernon, and Gisors, all in Normandy or the Norman borders of the Ile de France, for 22570 l. 12 s. 9 d. ob.t. annually, and Meaux and Crécy-en-Brie for 2201 l. 18 s. t. 59

In addition, Isabeau acquired as private property some of the lands that had been in her first dower such as Crécy-en-Brie in 1396 and Melun and Moret in 1404. The concept of dower prohibited the queen from exploiting the lands until she was a widow, but Isabeau's private domain, which was associated with her first dower, gave her private funds while her husband lived. In any event, due to the Hundred Years War, none of these dower or private rents were available to Isabeau during her widowhood when she was isolated in English-occupied Paris. On May 6, 1424, King Henry VI of England and France granted Isabeau the city and chatellenie of Brie-Comte-Robert for her dower. 60

Marie of Anjou's dower was revealed in the documents that granted Charlotte of Savoy her settlement. In assigning
the dower to his mother Charlotte, Charles VIII referred to the lands his father Louis XI had granted his own mother Marie. In 1425, Charles VII had assigned his young wife Marie for her dower 20,000 livres of rent from Villeneuve-d'Avignon, Saint André, Pezenas, the little seal of Montpellier, and the granaries of Monpellier, Nîmes, Frontignan, Marseillan, Capestang, and Narbonne. However, according to Charles VIII, when his grandmother Marie actually became a widow in 1461, her widely scattered dower, granted by her son Louis XI, included the cities, chatellenies, and salt granaries of Chinon, Moret in the Gâtinais, the city of La Rochelle with its county which included St. Jean d'Angely and Rochefort, Ste. Menehould with its cities, chatellenies, and granaries, and in the Languedoc: the county of Pezenas, the seigneuries of Montagnac, the little seal of Montpellier, and the sénéchaussée of Beaucaire. The Languedoc salt revenues of Pezenas, Montpellier, Narbonne, and Montagnac, which totaled 10400 1.t., were, with the addition of the salt revenues of Poitou and the La Rochelle area, exactly the same 10 d.t. on each quintal of salt sold in the Languedoc that the king had granted Marie throughout her reign. The Norman territories coveted by Isabeau were completely gone as was the concept of a unified dower. The war had made the dependency on the Languedoc a necessity, and since Marie's dower so closely resembled the sources of her receipts during her husband's life, she had already managed these lands as her own. After her son Louis XI
returned from exile, Marie retired to Poitou and collected her dower with the help of her treasurer Jean Bochetel. Marie died less than two years after her husband, and her dower was free to be reassigned by the king.

Charlotte of Savoy's dower was set up on September 18, 1483, by her son Charles VIII. From Marie of Anjou's dower, Charlotte received the same rights in Chinon, La Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angely, Rochefort, Pezenas, Montagnac, Montpellier, Beaucaire, Narbonne, and Poitou. However since Louis XI had disposed of Ste. Menehould elsewhere Charles compensated his mother with the city, chatellenie seigneurie, and granaries of Loudun. Charles also stated that his father had intended to grant Charlotte the cities, seigneuries, and lands of Amboise, Chatillon-sur-Indre, and the profit of the salt granary at Montrichard. Since Chatillon was already owned by another widow, and Moret, another property Charlotte would have received, had been disposed of by Louis, Charles compensated his mother with the domain of Roquemaure.

The complete financial record of Charlotte of Savoy's brief widowhood exists in two accounts both for the same term from September 1, 1483, to August 31, 1484, although Charlotte herself died in December 1483. In the account of Guillaume Boileau, who received the Languedoc revenues, the major expense was the 14978 l. 5 s.t. that Boileau
turned over to Pierre Burdelot, treasurer and receiver
general of all Charlotte's finances. From Pezenas, Boileau
had taken 4729 l. 8 s. 4 d.t., from Montpellier 1091 l. 9 s.
9 d.ob.t., from Frontignan 616 l. 4 s.p.t., and from
Narbonne he had received 3962 l. 17 s. 10 d.t., making the
perfect total of 10400 l.t., the figure even Marie of
Anjou received from the four Languedoc granaries. The
remaining sums collected by Boileau were from Villeneuve-
les-Avignon 101 l.t., from Beaucaire and Nîmes at 2327 l.
8 s. 4 d.t., from the little seal of Montpellier at 1200 l.t.,
from Montagnac 689 l. 10 s. 1 d.t., and again from Beaucaire
889 l. 19 s. 10 d.t. Besides the money given to Burdelot,
Boileau paid the salaries of the Languedoc branch, especially
his own at 300 l.t., and bought clerical needs. Boileau's
account had 15607 l. 18 s. 3 d.t. for receipts and 15510 l.
18 s. 3 d.t. for expenses which made a slight surplus of
97 l.t.

Burdelot, back at Amboise, had to deal with all of
Charlotte's final financial transactions. He collected
56688 l. 14 s. 6 d.t. in receipts, which included the
14978 l. 5 s.t. from Boileau in the Languedoc. The rest of
the revenues were consistent with Charlotte's dower.

Receipts of P. Burdelot 9-1483 to 8-1484
From Boileau (Languedoc) 14978 l. 5 s.t.
From Charlotte's hôtel 1020 l.t.
From Jean Briçonnet, guardian of her wealth
5516 l. 15 s.t.
From the receivers at Amboise 200 l.t.
From the receivers of Touraine, which included Chinon and Montrichard 404 l. 16 s. 2 d.t.
From Loudun 288 l.t.
From La Rochelle 996 l. 10 s.t.
From the salt granary at Montrichard 1087 l. 8 s. 4 d.t.
From the salt granary at Chinon 1057 l.t.
From the salt granary at Loudun 1240 l.t.
From the salt granary at Pointou 21000 l.t.
From the wine of Saintonge and La Rochelle 9000 l.t.

SUMMA 56688 l. 14 s. 6 d.t.

In the first four extant expense categories, Burdelot spent 33393 l. 14 s. 10 d.t. Since the account was made after Charlotte's death, the expenses reflected a court in mourning. The first part of the account followed the lines of an argenterie term with purchases of wool, silk, linen, furs, jewels, shoes, stable needs, gifts, and voyages, all on a modest scale of 5849 l. 7 s. 10 d.t. In the second category, special lawyer and counselor fees were paid for the establishment of the dower, and then the officers and clerks were paid their wages, all for 8364 l. 6 s. 8 d.t. The third expense total, 11901 l. 7 s. 3 d.t., paid for the funeral, and the fourth, 7278 l. 3 s. 5 d.t., carried out the clause in Charlotte's will that required all her debts be paid. Thus only a few months after Charles VIII had issued letters to grant his mother a dower were the rents returned to him.
In her first marriage contract with Charles VIII, Anne of Brittany was promised the dower of his mother Charlotte of Savoy. After her first husband died, Anne received the dower he had promised her. In addition, when she married Louis XII, he promised, also in the marriage contract, that Anne would receive her first dower throughout her life and that she would be assigned a second dower of equal value.

The first dower was assigned to Anne by Louis XII on September 20, 1498, after Charles VIII had died suddenly. Louis began his letters by stating that Charles had promised Anne the dower given to his mother Charlotte of Savoy. This dower included such places as the cities, chatellenies, and granaries of Chinon, the granaries of Poitou, the county of Saintonge with La Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angely, Rochefort, and Saintes, with the wheat and wine of that area, and in the Languedoc, the revenues of the county of Pezenas, the seigneurie of Montagnac, the little seal of Montpellier, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, the senechaussée of Beaucaire, and the four salt granaries of Pezenas, Montpellier, Frontignan, and Narbonne, the four of which valued 10400 l.t. To compensate Anne for the loss of Ste. Menehould and Moret, she would receive Loudun. Then Anne received the usual right of full sovereignty with full authority and full prerogatives. Only four months later when Louis XII married Anne, he promised in the
marriage contract that Anne would receive this "domain" from Charles VIII for the rest of her life and that Louis himself would grant a similar dower to Anne above and beyond this one in case he died before her. It is uncertain what new lands Louis had in mind, and since Anne died before Louis, the second dower was never utilized.

Inventories

An inventory of the wealth of Charlotte of Savoy was made at Tours approximately two years after her death by two lawyers specializing in royal contracts at the request of Jean Tiercelin, master of the queen's hôtel and one of the executors of her will. The goods were taken to Jean Briçonnet's home to make the evaluation. Charlotte's wealth was primarily in the form of cloths, coffers, books, jewels, bottles, pitchers, purses, and religious items such as relics, tabernacles, and saints' images. The price estimates, made in écus or livres tournois, indicate that Charlotte really had not possessed much of great value, but she was certainly not destitute. According to the inventory, Charlotte owned fifty dresses such as a dark red velvet dress furred with sable worth 80 écus, a gray satin dress also furred with sable worth 65 écus, a black wool with sable also worth 65 écus, and a black taffeta doubled with black velvet worth 4 écus. Charlotte also left about
thirty-five pieces of cloth such as one of $\frac{3}{4}$ aulnes of German red satin worth 45 écus, 7 aulnes of violet velvet worth 35 écus, and 3 aulnes of red taffeta valued at 3 l.t. In Charlotte's coffers were even more pieces and types of cloths too numerous to be evaluated separately.

Charlotte's library contained an impressive total of 115 books including Christine de Pisan's *Le livre des trois vertus* and *La cité des dames*, which discussed queenship, Jean Gerson's *Le livre du sermon*, Alain Chartier's *Le débat des quatre dames*, Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, histories by Pierre Chastellain, Froissart, and the chronicler of Saint Denis, works on the Templars and the assassination of John the Fearless, and of course Bibles and saints' lives. Charlotte also left purses containing 3245 écus gold, 10891 l. 15 s.t., gold items, and small amounts of turquoise, rubies, and diamonds. Her single most expensive possession was a gold case that contained a silver chalice, platter, two large glasses, a bell, and a leather case: with all the silver weighing 11 marcs 5 onces, and the entire item valued at 127 l. 17 s. 6 d.t. Thus even a queen who was isolated from her husband and who had no political power had a respectable amount of wealth and security. Still the only real source of a queen's wealth lay in land rents, and the need to secure these revenues was the challenge that the queen and her
officers could not avoid.

Although the inventory of Charlotte's wealth at the time of her death is a document unique among fifteenth century queens, there are inventories of Anne of Brittany's possessions. These inventories, which were made at various times in Anne's reign, only recorded possessions that she had moved from one place to another. Thus she could keep track of these items as they moved. One of the inventories for example resulted when Anne sent for tapestries from Brittany and left them, along with gold cloths and bedroom materials, at Tours in the home of her argentier Jacques de Beaune. Other inventories were a long list of the queen's relics, reliquaries, crosses, chalices, and paintings, all of which were under de Beaune's guard; an inventory of silver vessels and another of gold vessels that Anne had sent to her treasurer at Nantes in January 1498; an inventory of the queen's bedroom materials left at Blois; an inventory of religious items she had collected at Lyon; a May 1494 inventory of tapestries she had left with her treasurer at Amboise; a 1501 inventory of silver vessels taken from Nantes to Blois; a 1502 inventory of possessions left under the care of her nurse at Blois; another 1502 inventory of gold vessels that the queen had received on the king's entry into Lyon; and other inventories. There was even a mention, but not a copy, of an inventory
of Anne's books in Latin, French, Italian, and Greek. Anne kept a careful record of her personal possessions which were all guaranteed to her in her marriage contracts. 71

Conclusions

The queen's finances illustrate the growth of precedents for queenship throughout the fifteenth century. Isabeau of Bavaria was the first queen to have her own argenterie, but after she had instituted the office, the three succeeding queens all had their own argenterie. Isabeau also instituted a treasurer to centralize her revenues, and all three succeeding queens eventually had treasurers. Although appointed by the king, the queen's financial officers were solely responsible for the successful management of her finances. Receipts and expenses were kept generally close, delayed taxes were sent for, and thorough accounts were kept to be presented to the king. In determining the state of the queen's finances, attention was paid to the financial states of preceding queens. In the argenterie and hôtel account books, the sources of revenues and the nature of expenses were similar for all four queens. Nowhere was the concept of precedents clearer than in the designation of the queen's dower. Marie of Anjou, Charlotte of Savoy, and Anne of Brittany were
assigned almost identical dowers, and when Charlotte and Anne received their dowers, direct references were made to the settlement given the preceding queens. With the establishment of such precedents, the queen could achieve some independence from the whims of the kings.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

1 Facinger, 35.

2 Ibid., 36.


5 KK 45, accounts from January 1398 to June 1403. KK 46, accounts from July 1403 to June 1406. BN Fr. 10370, fols. 1-20, accounts from October 1, 1420 to June 30, 1422. For totals of each account of Isabeau's hôtel, see Appendix D. The second term of 1405 has been published in Douet-D'Arcq's Comptes de l'hôtel, pp. 128-189. Marcel Rey has published many figures from Isabeau's accounts in his chapter "Les finances de la reine" in Les finances royales, pp. 173-274. Another publication is C. Gillet, "Extraits des comptes de dépenses du roi et reine, 1407-1408," Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et art du département de la Marne, v. CXCI, 1860.

6 KK 45, fol. 102.

7 Rey, p. 255.

Fournial, except for the period from 1417 to 1422, the fifteenth century was a time of currency stability. During the crisis, the sous tournois used by Charles VI, Henry V, and John the Fearless, and especially the dauphin Charles, were all in a state of steadily decreasing value. The return of good money came for Charles VI, Henry V, and Burgundy in 1421 and for the dauphin later in 1423, but even then the dauphin's (now the king's) livres tournois were worth less than the others. When Charles regained Paris in 1436, he again called for the return of good money on his own scale and was able to keep fluctuations at a low level throughout his reign. Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII all had similar monetary systems, and all kept the currencies out of serious difficulties. However, there was inflation. Fournial figures that from 1436 to 1514, the sous tournois of silver lost 38% of its value, from 1,465 to 900 grams silver, and those of gold lost 33% from .139 to .092 grams gold.

9KK 56, accounts of the hôtel of Marie of Anjou, from November 1422 to March 1426. K 530-2, fragments of hôtel accounts from 1457-1458. For totals and a sample of the sources of revenues, see Appendix D.

10K 530-2.

11KK 68, accounts of the hôtel of Charlotte of Savoy, October 1, 1469, to August 30, 1471. See Appendix D for totals and a sample of revenue sources.

12KK 68, fols. 2-4.

13KK 68, fols. 2-5, second part.

14We know that Charles VIII set up a separate account for the wages of Anne's hôtel officers, but we do not always know how the hôtel officers of the other queens were paid. The hôtel accounts of Isabeau and Marie did not pay wages to many officers. Isabeau's treasury accounts paid wages, but the treasury was instituted over ten years after Isabeau's extant hôtel accounts begin. Charlotte's lesser hôtel officers were paid in her hôtel accounts.
From lists of the queen's officers, we know who the officers were and what their wages were, but there are for the most part no corresponding accounts made by the queens to pay them.

15 KK 82, wages of officers of the hôtel of Anne of Brittany, January 1492 to September 1492. For the figures given in the text, fols. 2-14. For the sources of revenues, see Appendix D.

16 In order by year, KK 83, fols. 17-18, KK 84, fol. 14, KK 85, fols. 25-26.

17 See the note on coinage.

18 Douét-d'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel, pp. xxvii-xxviii. There is also a brief discussion of the purchases under each category. The categories varied slightly with each queen.

19 Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.

20 BN Fr. 9175, n.a., fols. 331-336.

21 Given the large amounts of money in the dépenses des journées and the low price of food, it is almost certain that all foods prepared by the queen's cooks were included.

22 From KK 45 and KK 46, for the figures of Isabeau's dépenses des journées, see Appendix E. Rey gives dépenses des journées totals on pages 223, 224, 226.

23 KK 45, fol. 74.

24 BN Fr. 10370, fols. 9-10.

25 KK 56 and K 530-2. For Marie's dépenses des journées totals and a sample of a dépenses report, see Appendix E.
26. KK 56, fol. 82.

27. KK 68, part 2, fols. 5-8. For Charlotte's other dépenses des journées totals, see Appendix E.

28. KK 68, part 2, fols. 5-8.

29. KK 45, fols. 74-86, the second term of 1400 of Isabeau's hôtel.

30. KK 45, fol. 45, for Isabeau's 6 s.p. per day payment to le Perdrier, and K 530-2, n. 3-6, for Marie's 6 s.p. per day payment to Berthelot. Berthelot was also receiving a pension of 500 l.t. a year, and le Perdrier received an annual gift from Isabeau of 224 l.p. (KK 45, fols. 86, 120, 57, etc.)

31. KK 43, fols. 182-189. See Appendix F for argenterie receipts and expenses and a sample of a report on revenues.

32. K 63, n. 35 (1434) and K 64, n. 4 (1435).

33. KK 69, fols. 10-11.

34. KK 55, fols. 4-6. For the report of the sources of Marie's revenues, see Appendix F.

35. KK 68, the second part of the first account is an argenterie account.

36. KK 68, fols. 2-4.

37. There are extant letters of King Charles VI assigning the dower to his wife Isabeau of Bavaria, and letters of Charles VII assigning his wife Marie of Anjou the salt revenues of Languedoc which became a part of her dower. However, letters of the son who became king were also issued naming the dower. Charlotte's son Charles VIII
wrote that his father had intended to assign the dower that was now being assigned. The letters of the son, whether they confirmed the husband's intentions or whether they actually named the dower, were of primary importance to the widow.

38 K 530-6. The fragments are pages cut in half that have been sewed together upside down. I have not been able to determine their proper order.

39 In order by year, KK 83, fols. 20-21, KK 84, fols. 15-16, and KK 85, fols. 24-25.


42 KK 42, fol. 61. See Appendix F for Isabeau's argenterie totals.

43 KK 55, fols. 7-145, expense totals, fol. 145.

44 KK 68, fols. 21-146.

45 K 530-6.

46 KK 42, fols. 73-74.

47 M. Rey, Les finances royales, pp. 255-256.

48 Ibid., p. 266.

49 KK 48, fols. 4-19. For a report of the sources of Isabeau's treasury revenues and totals from her treasury, see Appendix G.
KK 48, fols. 75-85, 108-115 and KK 47, fols. 4-9 (1415-1416). KK 47 is an incomplete treasury account with none of the receipt pages available. Only a partial list of expenses exists, and among them are 4700 l.t. to the hôtel and 10775 l.t. to the argentier, Jean le Blanc.

KK 55, fol. 7. Since 8400 l.t. of Marie’s expenses in this account went to other officers than the argentier, the argenterie expenses themselves were 18626 l. 9 s. 4 d.o.b.t. out of the total expenses of 27026 l. 9 s. 4 d.o.b.t.

KK 69, fol. 2.

KK 83, fols. 2-16. For the receipts and expenses of Anne’s treasury accounts from KK 83, KK 84, KK 85, and a sample of a report of revenue sources, see Appendix G.

KK 84, fols. 2-12, KK 85, fols. 15-19.

See Appendix H for amounts of deniers given to the queens in various accounts.

Rey, Les finances royales, pp. 205-206.

Ibid. In addition, Facinger reports that in 1180 Philip Augustus made a settlement with his mother Adele of Champagne in which he agreed that Adele would receive her proposed dower with the exception of military fortifications which would stay with the king. In 1223, Louis VIII confirmed Queen Ingeborg’s dower but reserved military service and liege homage for himself. Thus the control of forts and military forces within the dower was removed from the queen’s hands and belonged immediately to the king, 44-45.

Rey, Les finances royales, p. 209. The letters of Charles VI issuing the new dower are J 364, n. 3.

J 364, n. 3.
In addition, X 1A 8603, n. 372. December 5, 1424, letters of Henry VI assigning a dower to his mother Queen Catherine (daughter of Isabeau, wife of Henry V) which included the seigneuries of Gisors and Vernon with their dependencies, Les Andelys, Neaufles, Gournay, Lyons-le-Forêt, Gaillefontaine, etc., which are in Normandy and the Norman borders to the Ile de France, the old dower of Queen Blanche and Isabeau's second dower, were registered in Parliament at Paris, December 18, 1424.

This applies to both Marie of Anjou and Charlotte of Savoy. The letters for Charlotte's dower refer to Marie's settlement which was the same as Charlotte's with the named exceptions.

Letter of the widow Marie to Jean Bochetel asking him to have 60 s.t. given to a poor man from the salt revenues of Saintonge, November 4, 1462, n. 29, letter of Marie to Bochetel asking that 72 l.t. be given to Jean Bisson for services given to the queen, May 24, 1463, n. 30, letter of Marie to Bochetel asking that 30 l.t. be given to Jean Barlot from the revenues of Saintonge for services given the queen, May 30, 1463.

KK 69, fols. 10-12. BN Fr. 20418, n. 28, letter of the widow Marie to Jean Bochetel asking him to have 60 s.t. given to a poor man from the salt revenues of Saintonge.

KK 69 is the account of Burdelot, BN Fr. 11785 is the account of Boileau.

KK 69, fols. 40-48.

K 74, n. 33, fol. 3. See Appendix B for the marriage contract of Anne and Charles VIII.

K 77, n. 5, the dower granted to Anne in September 1498 by Louis XII. K 77, n. 8, the marriage contract of Anne and Louis XII, see Appendix C. K 77, n. 8, fol. 2 is the promise of a second dower "above and beyond the domain given by Charles VIII."
68. BN Fr.15538 contains the inventory, a list of officers, and Charlotte's will. AN K 73, n. 26 is a partial inventory. The BN inventory is published by A. Tuetey, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie," BEC, XXVI (1865), 338-366, 423-442.


71. K 74, n. 33, fol. 4, Anne's marriage contract to Charles VIII, and K 77, n. 8, fol. 2, Anne's marriage contract to Louis XII, see Appendices B and C.
CHAPTER III

POLITICS

Christine de Pisan described in *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* the political role a princess might play. Since the responsibilities were great, humility, patience, and charity should characterize the lady's actions. A princess would be instrumental in keeping peace between the prince and his people. The people, seeing that their lady was full of goodness and love, would ask her to intercede for them. Her wise replies would cause them to lose thoughts of rebellion, while she would speak to her lord without delay. She would show the reasons for granting the people's petition, on which she was very well informed and convince him to accept it. Then she would report back to the people who would be content now with both prince and princess. The princess would also work to keep peace between her lord and other lords and between her lord and his barons. She would do all in her power to prevent war: when a wrong had been committed against her lord, she would convince the evil men to repent.
If a lady were charged with government, Christine suggested that she go to council with such bearing and manner that she would appear the mistress of all. Under such circumstances, each councillor would revere her as a lady of great authority. She would listen diligently to what was brought forward and to the opinions of all, and she would understand the principal points and conclusions. She would note who spoke best and appeared the wisest and most profound. When it came her turn to speak, she would be so well advised beforehand that she could not be considered ignorant. For this purpose, the lady would select prudent, loyal, and unselfish men of good judgment for her own councillors, and she would take advice from these men each day at a certain hour.

In this passage, Christine was referring directly to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria who played an important political role. However, all queens enjoyed the advantages of their office. The queen would have a ceremonial function at the king's coronation, at entries, and at royal celebrations. She would have her own financial and household bureaucracies to assure her a regal standard of living. She would appeal directly to Parlement in behalf of certain interests special to her. She would grant her protection to a religious organization or a community if it came to her attention that some injustice had been
done. If someone were in special need, the queen would
intercede to help the poor victim.

The queen's personal interests began with her own
family who arranged her marriage through an alliance with
the king, and she would have to adjust to any problems
if the alliance ultimately failed. When the king parted
company with a queen's family interest, and this happened
with all four fifteenth century queens, the daughter
remained loyal to her own family to whom she owed so much.
With her high family status and connections, the queen
corresponded with other courts and sent and received gifts
from kings and diplomats. Foreigners at court usually
kept track of the queen's activities and were aware of
her desires. However, the queen's most important asset
was her intimacy with the king. She would, as Christine
described, try to influence her husband as much as
possible. The king's advisers were aware of the wife's
advantage and often tried to prevent her from altering
policy. All five fifteenth century kings were "quoted"
by chroniclers as referring to their wives as "foreign."
It might be easier for a queen to influence her son,
the future king. If the king named his wife regent,
she might be only a figurehead, but the opportunity for
real power in such a situation could not be ignored.
This would be achieved only if she kept her children close. In truth, queens were rarely close enough to influence court policy as long as the kings were healthy, capable, and informed.

Isabeau of Bavaria

The career of Isabeau of Bavaria both in influencing and in dictating French government policy is long and complex. With her father a Bavarian Wittelsbach and her mother a Visconti of Milan, her earliest interests at the French court were based on family diplomacy. Isabeau's mother Thadea Visconti was the daughter of Bernabo Visconti who had been murdered in 1378 on orders of his nephew Giangaleazzo Visconti. Naturally this produced a feud between Isabeau and her cousin Giangaleazzo, the duke of Milan. Meanwhile, it was the German side of Isabeau's family that attracted the French. Before he died in 1380, Charles V had requested that his son marry a German princess because he wanted a German ally in the fight against the English, and he saw how Richard II of England had achieved a German alliance by marrying Anne of Bohemia. At the same time, the northern branch of the Wittelsbach held Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, and Frisia, while Philip the Bold, regent for Charles VI and duke of Burgundy, held Flanders, Brabant, and Limburg. The
French hoped that the Wittelsbach alliance would help to create an anti-English alliance not only on the military but also on the religious front. The Roman pope Urban V was recognized by all Germans, especially the emperor Wenceslas of Luxemburg, and the English. Since the Wittelsbach were bitter rivals of the Luxemburg family, the French hoped that the Wittelsbach would turn their allegiance to Avignon.

After the insanity of Charles VI, Philip the Bold regained control of the French government, but he had a serious rival in the king's brother Louis of Orleans. Since Philip's foreign policy corresponded with Wittelsbach interests, Isabeau was Philip's useful and loyal ally. From 1392 to 1404, the year of Philip's death, the diametrically opposed foreign policies of Isabeau and Philip on the one hand and Louis on the other were evident on such fronts as England, Italy, the empire, and the Schism.

In 1389, Louis, the king's brother and future duke of Orleans, married Valentina Visconti, the daughter of Giangaleazzo Visconti, who had seized sole power in Milan by deposing Isabeau's grandfather Bernabo. This produced a pro-Milan faction headed by Giangaleazzo and Louis of Orleans and an anti-Milan faction with Philip, Isabeau and her Wittelsbach relatives, and such Italian cities
as Florence, Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara. Since Giangaleazzo had won the enmity of those Italian states by refusing to support the Roman pope Boniface IX, the duke aimed toward a French alliance, as the marriage with Louis indicated. Giangaleazzo hoped that Charles VI would grant him the title of hereditary prince because the duke was only an elected official in Milan and because the title would mean a rejection of the claims of Bernabo’s children. To win French support, the duke revived a plan of the Avignon pope Clement VII for a kingdom of Adria to be made up of part of the Papal States under the control of a French prince, Louis of Orleans. This would provide Milan with a friendly state in central Italy on the one hand, and on the other, would end the Schism by means of an Orleanist advance on Rome from Adria and an Angevin advance from Naples which would depose the Roman pope and bring Clement to Rome. The scheme however was too bold to succeed: Clement died, and Louis was unable to obtain French support.

In 1395, Isabeau negotiated with Buonaccorso Pitti, the ambassador from Florence, for a treaty against Milan. By April 1396, the queen had successfully driven Valentina Visconti, Louis’ wife and Giangaleazzo’s daughter, out of Paris for good. Rumors were about Paris that Valentina was a sorceress who had bewitched the king and poisoned
his children. The attacks were based on Valentina's close relationship with the king since his insanity and on the reputation of Lombardy as a center of sorcery. When Isabeau's young sons died, Louis, as the king's brother, became heir to the throne. There were fears that the people of Paris intended to kill Valentina, but Isabeau was the real inspiration behind the attacks. In May 1396, the queen and Pitti drew up a Franco-Florentine alliance and took the treaty to Charles VI for his signature in September. The five year alliance promised mutual military aid and arranged for a partition of Milanese territories. In December Pitti was authorized to recruit mercenary troops in France for the war against Milan. However, when Milan began the Mantuan War against Florence and her allies in 1397, Louis of Orleans blocked any French intervention on Florence's behalf. The war between Florence and Milan remained a purely Italian project: Isabeau and Louis had played themselves to a draw in Italy.

A minor break with Louis of Orleans in 1399 over the Lancastrian revolution in England was a hint of serious problems to come. Isabeau was concerned only that her daughter Isabelle be returned to her after Richard II, Isabelle's husband, was murdered. When the "queen of England" was returned in 1401, Isabeau's hostility to
the new English government quickly dissipated. As a good Wittelsbach and ally of Philip of Burgundy, Isabeau dreaded discord between France and England for economic reasons. In Wittelsbach Holland and Philip's Flanders, English wool was needed for the textile industry. Louis of Orleans did not share this interest, but his proposals to the queen to avenge Richard and Isabelle were frustrated by Philip.

Another area of conflict between the queen and duke of Orleans was the German empire. As early as 1395, the Wittelsbach had plotted to depose the emperor Wenceslas of the Luxemburg family and replace him with a Wittelsbach. Isabeau's father and brother wished to see the count Palatine Robert II of Wittelsbach succeed Wenceslas who had given Giangaleazzo Visconti the hereditary title of duke of Milan in 1395 and thus sanctioned Milan's departure from the empire. Wenceslas, in the tradition of the Luxemburg family, had a close relationship with the Valois and especially with Louis of Orleans. Thus the electors of the empire were concerned that Wenceslas might abandon the Roman pope in favor of Avignon. At a conference in Reims in March 1398 between Charles VI and the emperor, it was agreed that obedience should be withdrawn from both popes. At the same time, Louis of Orleans worked out agreements with Wenceslas for a marriage alliance and for the foundation of an Orleanist principality on the north-
eastern frontier of France.

In response to Wenceslas' decision at Reims, the electors, encouraged by Isabeau's father, voted on August 20, 1400, to depose Wenceslas, and on August 21, Robert II of Wittelsbach was elected emperor. Immediately afterwards, in September 1400, Robert sent Isabeau's father to Paris to gain the support of Charles VI and to prevent Louis of Orleans from taking up Wenceslas' cause. The Wittelsbach also depended on their daughter Isabeau to assure the dukes of Burgundy and Berry and to support the new emperor's plan to attack Milan. The queen herself handled the negotiations with the count of Savoy who controlled passage through the Alps, so that Robert soon descended into Italy. After the attack had failed, Isabeau had other plans for a combined Franco-imperial drive on Milan and then on Rome, but this likewise came to nothing. Then Isabeau's brother Louis of Bavaria arrived in Paris to attempt an alliance to depose Giangaleazzo and both popes, but this also failed. When Louis of Bavaria decided to stay in Paris and marry a rich widow, Anne of Bourbon, Isabeau tried to secure for him the office of constable of France, but Orleans had another candidate installed. By 1402, Giangaleazzo had died of fever, and Robert was secure enough as emperor so that the German problems cooled considerably. In sum, the foreign
policy of Isabeau's early reign was not a failure for the queen. When it counted, she helped to frustrate Louis of Orleans in his drive to control French policy. The real test however on domestic issues was soon to overshadow all other considerations.

On August 5, 1392, in the forests of Le Mans, Charles VI suffered a seizure and killed four men. During this and subsequent attacks of insanity, the king was confused, incoherent, angry, and violent. In January 1393, a regency was proposed to guard the young dauphin and the other royal children in case the king were to die soon, as everyone expected he would. The king's charter stated that it was "according to reason and nature that a mother's love for her children was more tender and sweet and that her care to guard and nourish them greater than any one else's." At the same time, the king realized that "good, honest women ought to be accompanied and advised very closely by wise, loving, and powerful male relatives." Thus the king commanded that if he should die before the dauphin were fourteen:

"our very dear and very beloved wife the queen, mother of our children, has the tutelage, guard, and government of our oldest son and all our other children, male and female, born and yet to be born. And with her, our very dear and very beloved uncles John, duke of Berry, Philip, duke of Burgundy, Louis, duke of Bourbon, and our very beloved cousin Louis of Bavaria, brother of our wife, will be the tutors and governors of our children. And we give to our wife, uncles, and cousin the authority and full power to do all that should be done by right and custom for the guard and government of our children."
After the charter spelled out exactly what would occur if one of the guardians were to die, the king indicated which lands the guardians would use to maintain the dauphin. The king also ordered that a council of twelve of the wisest, most notable men of the realm, three prelates, six nobles, and three clerics, be instituted to assist the guardians.

Finally, Isabeau, the dukes, and Louis of Bavaria were ordered by the king to swear to an oath in his presence, and if the king died before they had sworn, they would swear it to each other. The queen's oath went as follows:

"I, Isabeau of Bavaria, queen of France, promise in good faith and swear to the holy angels of God and on the sacred relics here present that if it should happen that my very dear lord the king should die before Charles, or whoever is the eldest son, is fourteen, and thus the tutelage, guard, and nourishment of my lord's children belongs to me and my very dear and beloved uncles and brother, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and Louis of Bavaria, according to the king's ordonnance, we are committed and ordered to nourish, guard, and govern the eldest son and other children, born and yet to be born, as diligently and profitably as we are able for the health, honor, and profit of our children. And I will allow nothing to harm them or their property. And the guard and tutelage is made and administered according to the king's ordonnance stated above which I have read entirely and understand well. And I will use the twelve councillors above named in the manner expressed as the king wishes. And I will keep the ordonnance without contradiction. This I swear before God and the holy angels and relics here present." 11

The dukes made similar oaths, and an oath was written for the twelve councillors to say once they had been chosen.
The January 1393 ordonnance has obvious striking features. Louis of Orleans, the king's brother, was not named a tutor or guardian, but he was, in another ordonnance, named regent. However, Philip the Bold of Burgundy and John of Berry were the real powers behind the throne. The queen was to be a figurehead in the future regency as she was a figurehead in the present. At this stage, Isabeau preferred that Philip take charge, but at the same time she was careful to develop her own power base.

To begin, in 1393, Isabeau, who had previously shared an argenterie with her husband, received her own separate organization. In 1396, she was given possession of such private domains as Montargis, Crécy-en-Brie, Courtenay, and Chantecoq, and in 1397, Charles VI gave her the residence of Saint Ouen near Paris "in consideration of the great pleasure and service that she has made and continues to make each day."^12 Besides the Hôtel Saint Ouen, Isabeau received the gardens, lands, vineyards, rents, and revenues belonging to the Saint Ouen property. In 1401, she even had the king write letters to demand that she be paid a mere 6 l.p. of rent that the gardener at Saint Ouen had continued to pay to another. ^13 In 1398, Isabeau acquired in Paris itself the Hôtel Barbette, once owned by Jean de Montaigu, a former adviser to the king and now to the queen. Isabeau also acquired Vaux-la-Reine, Saint Dizier, and
Vignory as private domain, and in 1404 when the king's brother Louis received Isabeau's properties at Montargis, Courtenay, and Crécy-en-Brie, she was compensated with Melun and Moret and allowed to continue receiving revenues from Crécy-en-Brie which was part of her dower.14

Alongside this financial base, the queen established her political status. After 1392, she traveled much less and resided almost exclusively in the king's Hotel Saint Pol until she acquired her own Hotel Barbette. Isabeau also corresponded regularly with the dukes Philip of Burgundy, Louis of Orleans, and John of Berry.15 These men held their own principalities, granted either by Charles V or Charles VI, and each worked for the aggrandizement of their own states often at the expense of France. The original rivals in the quarrel between the Burgundians and the Orleanists were Philip the Bold and Louis of Orleans. Philip, who had been the principal force behind Isabeau's marriage and her diplomatic efforts against Louis of Orleans, remained the queen's ally until his death in 1404. Philip considered his young nephew Louis politically inferior and felt that the young man needed to be governed rather than to govern.16 On his part, Louis felt that his position as sole brother of the ill king rightfully dictated great political power, and he resented Philip's moves to frustrate him. In 1398, the two men argued bitterly when they met in council, but Isabeau
entreated them to desist.\textsuperscript{17}

The queen acted as a mediator in the conflict between Burgundy and Orleans, but her impartiality was always suspect. Until Philip the Bold of Burgundy died in April 1404, Isabeau sided with him. In 1401, Louis of Orleans took advantage of Philip's absence from Paris to install himself as the possible regent and his own men in key positions. Louis also had the king renew support for the Avignon pope after the Wittelsbach and Burgundians had earlier agreed to subtract obedience at Reims. After Philip complained of Louis' misuse of royal funds, the Burgundian headed for Paris with a large army.\textsuperscript{18} Louis called his own vassals, and Paris became a city divided into two armed camps. On December 7, Isabeau, who was residing with the king in Paris, sent instructions that the Parlement was not to spread rumors or to interfere in the quarrel. Philip and Louis reacted so angrily at their meeting that the queen reminded them of their close relationship.\textsuperscript{19}

On January 14, 1402, a meeting of the council, which was attended by the queen, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Bourbon, four bishops, and other nobles, proposed a settlement. Louis and Philip agreed to keep the peace and to submit to arbitration by the queen, the three dukes, and others if the differences surfaced again. If hostilities were imminent, the two dukes would wait two months to
give the arbitrators time to make a settlement, and if the
two ever fought, it would not be in the cities or lands of
the king.\textsuperscript{20} The agreement was affirmed in the queen's
presence and imprinted with her seal and the seal of the
princes.

Only the next year, Isabeau, Berry, and Bourbon
obtained fresh powers of mediation from the king. The
mediators named both Philip and Louis as sovereign governors
of \textit{aides}, but the king conferred on Isabeau the power to
oversee the government's finances.\textsuperscript{21} The king depended on
her with the understanding that she would consult Berry,
Bourbon, and other nobles whom she had the power to convocate.
Isabeau agreed in 1403 to an \textit{ordonnance} that would eliminate
a regency by making the dauphin king regardless of age and
bring the queen, Berry, Burgundy, Orleans, and others in
a council to assist.\textsuperscript{22} Philip of Burgundy was the queen's
chief supporter in these plans. In April 1403, he had an
\textit{ordonnance} issued that during the king's "absences," the
government would be run by the queen, as president of the
king's council, and she would rule with the assistance of
the dukes and councillors. Louis tried to annul this,
but on May 11, 1403, the king reaffirmed the full powers
given to the queen.\textsuperscript{23} Isabeau then used her powers to
contract marriages for the dauphin to Philip's granddaughter
and for her daughter to Philip's grandson. Within a year
however on April 27, 1404, Philip of Burgundy died, and Isabeau found herself in need of an ally and a protector. After the death of Philip, Isabeau switched her allegiance to the side of Louis of Orleans. With Philip dead, Louis moved toward complete control of the French government and even, it was rumored, became the queen's lover. At the same time, Isabeau was not fond of Philip's son and heir, John the Fearless. On February 13, 1405, John and Isabeau had concluded a customary friendship treaty in which she promised to defend John against all his potential enemies except the king and his family. The queen soon won John's disapproval however by joining with Orleans to declare a new unpopular tax to defend against the English invasion of Guienne. The people of Paris, who were indifferent to the English advance, accused the queen and Orleans of an incestuous relationship and the theft of royal funds. The Religious of Saint Denis reported that six horses, each loaded with gold, were being sent by the queen to Bavaria when, luckily, they were stopped at Metz. On May 28, 1405, an Augustinian friar Jacques Legrand attacked the lack of morality at Isabeau's court before the queen herself, and on June 7, Legrand told the king "that the taxes had gone to no good, that Orleans was accursed, and that the kingdom would pass to a stranger." In a few days, the Religious reported that
Isabeau had gone three or four months without seeing her children, had not attended to their education, and had provided them with insufficient food and clothing. In addition, the dauphin supposedly told the king that his mother had not kissed and caressed him for three months. These rumors were enough to force the concerned and temporarily sane king to call a council of the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, Anjou, and Burgundy in 1405.

When John the Fearless headed toward Paris with his army, Orleans and Isabeau left for Melun, which was part of the queen's domain. At the same time, Isabeau secretly ordered her brother Louis of Bavaria to bring the ten-year-old dauphin Louis of Guienne to Melun, but John the Fearless pursued the boy to Corbeil and sent him back to Paris. The dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Anjou and parties from the university of Paris went to Melun to coax Isabeau and Orleans back to Paris for negotiations. After leaving Melun, Isabeau received a letter on October 5, 1405, from Christine de Pisan warning that the English would invade France again if the civil strife continued and begging the queen to mediate between the rival dukes. The princes of the blood also agreed that Isabeau was to be given nominal authority to mediate, and the queen ordered the two ducal armies to disband. Instead, John of Burgundy went to fight the English at Calais with the understanding that
Louis would also fight the invaders in Guienne. On October 23, 1405, Isabeau and Orleans made a state entry into Paris to mark the settlement.

During the 1405 crisis, John the Fearless had frightened the princes of the blood by his method of using popular support, especially with his opposition to taxation, to attack his rivals. On December 1, 1405, the queen, the duke of Orleans, and Duke John of Berry concluded a secret alliance to protect each other against all enemies except the king and his children.31

We, Isabel, by the grace of God queen of France, John, son of the king (John) duke of Berry, Auvergne, etc., and Louis, son and brother of the king (Charles V, Charles VI) duke of Orleans, etc., to all those who will see these letters, Greetings. Let it be known that we see great profit and honor will come to the king, his realm, and ourselves if we hold ourselves in good peace, love, and true union, and if we avoid all opportunities for the discord and division that have happened before. After much advice and deliberation, we make together a common accord: we swear and promise on the holy saints of God and with our hands touching the true cross, we, the queen in the word of the queen, and we, the dukes of Berry and Orleans in the word of the sons of kings, swear to hold, to keep, and to accomplish the following articles: Firstly, we commit ourselves to be good, true, and loyal friends and allies. We will seek honor and profit for each other. And if anyone tries to make trouble or dishonor for any of us, personally or materially, we shall aid, advise, guard, and defend each other against all except the king and his children.

Item. During the life of the king, we will attend together to the needs and business of the king, his kingdom, and the public welfare, and no one of us will do anything without the consent of the other two.

In testimony of this, we, the queen, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, have placed our great seals to these letters, signed by our own hands. At Paris, December 1, 1405. Isabel John Louis
Meanwhile John the Fearless pressed in vain for reform of the government of Orleans and Isabeau. In November 1405, Jean Gerson, as head of the pro-Burgundian university of Paris, spoke at the queen's court against tyranny and immorality. Isabeau called a meeting of the king's council, but nothing was accomplished. Since Louis of Orleans controlled the government financially, politically, and diplomatically, John the Fearless decided it would be necessary to murder him. On the night of November 23, 1407, Orleans was dining with Isabeau at her Hôtel Barbette in Paris and trying to console her after her last child, a son, had died within hours of his birth. There was speculation that the son was Louis', and therefore the duke had brought few attendants in order to attract little attention. Louis left the queen after a man dressed as a valet of the king entered and announced the king's desire to see his brother, but along the way the duke was attacked and killed by eight or nine armed men. When Isabeau learned what had happened, she feared for her own life and moved with the help of her brother to the king's Hôtel Saint Pol. Later John the Fearless confessed to the dukes of Anjou and Berry but was allowed to flee to Flanders without resistance.

John the Fearless returned to Paris on February 28, 1408, with an army, but he planned to defend the murder of Orleans on an intellectual level. On March 8, John had a
formal justification presented in a four hour discourse by Jean Petit of the university of Paris. Petit charged that Louis of Orleans was a horrible tyrant who should have been killed. The charges against Isabeau involved only her dealings with the tyrant. Petit declared that Orleans had tried to turn the queen against the king and that Orleans had hoped to convince her to take refuge with her children in his own Luxembourg.33 This incident, which probably occurred in 1405 after Philip the Bold's death, was the result of Louis' desire to place the royal family under his protection.34 In addition, Petit charged that the troops of Isabeau and Louis had ravaged the countryside during the crisis of 1405. The next day, John the Fearless received a royal pardon signed by the king and witnessed by the helpless dukes of Berry, Brittany, and Anjou. On March 11, 1408, Isabeau made the only protest possible when she left Paris for Melun with the dauphin, her other children, her brother, and a small armed escort and prepared for a siege. The dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Brittany followed her, but Berry returned to Paris where John ruled supreme until he left for Flanders on July 5.

Isabeau returned to Paris on August 26, 1408, with the dauphin, Louis of Bavaria, Berry, Bourbon, Brittany, and a sizable army. After the people of Paris had reacted enthusiastically, if insincerely, to the return of their
queen, the king's lawyer Jean Juvénal announced that she and the dauphin would run the government during the king's illness. Then, in support of the demands of Valentina Visconti, the widow of Louis of Orleans, for justice, Thomas du Bourg, the abbot of Cerisy, refuted Petit's charges at the Louvre in the presence of the queen, Valentina, the dauphin, Charles of Orleans, Berry, Brittany, Bourbon, and others. When the news arrived at the end of September that John the Fearless planned to arrive in Paris with his army, Isabeau had the sick king taken to Tours and appealed to the people of Paris to defend the city against John. After her pleas were ignored by the pro-Burgundian Parisians, the queen herself left for Tours in early November as did Anjou, Berry, and Brittany. John the Fearless returned November 28, 1408, but he could not control the government with the court at Tours. Accordingly John began negotiations with the queen.

John's negotiator at Tours was his brother-in-law William of Bavaria, the count of Hainaut, who was also Isabeau's great uncle and a father-in-law of one of her sons. William met in council with the queen, dauphin, and princes and asked that the king be returned to Paris. Isabeau accepted a plan under which John would kneel before the king and queen to seek forgiveness for the murder in the presence of the sons of Louis of Orleans. This
accomplished at Chartres on March 5, 1409, Burgundy returned to Paris, followed on March 17 by the king, Anjou, and Berry, and on March 18, Isabeau herself entered in an especially splendid procession. Now John ruled in Paris again, but the queen left for Melun where the older son of Louis of Orleans, Charles of Orleans, who had not returned to Paris, joined her. In October, John the Fearless had Jean de Montaigu, who had arranged the "humiliation" at Chartres, executed, and Isabeau lived in terror at Melun. On November 12, 1409, she finally submitted to John of Burgundy when she signed an alliance at Melun with him, the king of Navarre, William of Bavaria, Louis of Bavaria, and others. This treaty of friendship and assistance entrusted the queen with the guardianship of the dauphin and entrusted the new allies with the protection of the queen.

We, Isabel, by the grace of God queen of France, and we, Charles, by the grace of God king of Navarre and duke of Nemours, and we, John, duke of Burgundy, count of Flanders, Artois, etc., and William, duke of Bavaria, count Palatine of the Rhine, etc., and Louis, duke of Bavaria...

We, the king of Navarre and the dukes, see that the king has turned over to the queen the government of the officers of the kingdom and the guard of the dauphin, and we find it a great honor to serve and protect her and to defend her honor, her security, her heirs, and her prerogatives with all our power...

And we, the queen, seeing the great love and loyalty that our dear cousins and brother, the king of Navarre and the dukes, have for my lord and me, are obliged to aid them in their affairs.
And no discord should come between us... we swear and promise, we, the queen, in the word of the queen, we, the king of Navarre, in the word of the king, ... to the following articles:

Firstly, we, the king of Navarre and the dukes, will aid and defend the honor and the person of the queen, the prerogatives and the government that the king gave to her, and her guard of the dauphin.

Item. We, or any one of us, will aid and advise the queen, and any one of us will come to her aid if she asks.

Item. We, the queen, will likewise guard your honors, estates, and prerogatives with our power, and we will consult with you on all the affairs of the kingdom.

Item. We, the king of Navarre and the dukes, recognize that if anyone wishes to dishonor the queen, we will aid, defend, and guard her with all our power. And we, the queen, will aid our cousins and brother against all persons. And if any one of us should plot against another of us, we shall show him his signature ... so we can maintain the good love that we have for each other ...

That is, we, the duke of Burgundy, will swear and promise to our brother the duke of Brabant, and we, William of Bavaria, will swear and promise to John of Bavaria, the elector of Liege, to maintain all the points above, and we will turn over our sealed letters. We, the king of Navarre, and Louis, duke of Bavaria, promise and swear to our cousins the duke of Brabant and the elector of Liege to the alliance and will turn over our letters.

In testimony of this we, the queen, the king of Navarre, and the dukes, have written our names in our own hands and have placed our seals on these letters. At Melun, November 12, 1409

Isabel Charles John William

In spite of this agreement, John the Fearless himself took control of the dauphin in December 1410 and then gave the boy, and thus himself, sole power during the king's
"absences." In April 1410, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, Orleans, and Brittany allied themselves with Bernard VII, count of Armagnac, and the counts of Alençon and Clermont in a league to provide for a common army.

Isabeau of Bavaria worked for a reconciliation of the Burgundians and Armagnacs, but she did not have the freedom to act independently. When the Armagnacs prepared to attack the Burgundians at Paris and rescue the royal family, both sides doubted the queen's loyalty. In September 1410, Isabeau traveled with Burgundian troops to Marcoussis to confer with the Armagnac princes, but the duke of Berry refused to renounce his intentions to attack Paris. The queen then returned to Paris where she provided monetary support to Burgundian troops, but finally a truce delayed the war. When John the Fearless left for Flanders, Isabeau went to Melun to confer with the dukes of Berry and Brittany, and again she spoke for peace. She also wrote to both the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans and begged them not to begin hostilities before the close of her conference at Melun. John the Fearless wrote back that he remained loyal to her and asked her to keep his aid and confidence. Still it appeared that the queen had become an Armagnac at her Melun conference with the Armagnac Berry. Fearful that the war would begin and suspicious of the queen's intentions, the Burgundians asked her to return to Paris.
Almost as soon as she returned on September 11, 1411, the civil war began with the king, queen, and dauphin in the Louvre as virtual prisoners of Burgundy. Berry and Orleans sent letters to Isabeau, but she could do nothing. On November 9, 1411, John the Fearless attacked the Armagnac forces outside Paris and thoroughly defeated them.

Once in power in Paris, John the Fearless supported the demands for reform of the Paris bourgeoisie, especially the Paris butchers, who were led by Simon Caboche and called Cabochiens. The Cabochiens were protesting the sort of government that the queen and Orleans had given France since the king's insanity and the death of Philip the Bold. John called the Estates General of Languedoc on January 30, 1413, to condemn the faulty organization of the government bureaucracy, the slowness of the council, and corrupt tax officials. Soon the Cabochiens became belligerent and demanded the suspension of all financial officers. On May 22, 1413, the king, queen, dauphin, John of Burgundy, John of Berry, Louis of Bavaria, and others were listening to a long discourse in favor of reform when a mob outside became rowdy. The rioters accused the "foreign" queen of scandalous behavior and demanded that she be banished along with her brother and other Germans in her household. Then the Cabochiens took hostages from the queen's entourage including Louis of Bavaria, Isabeau's
confessor the archbishop of Bourges, several household
officers, and fifteen of her ladies. John himself spoke
in Isabeau's behalf, but even the queen's tears could not
save her brother from imprisonment.\textsuperscript{43}

The Burgundians and Parisians then drew up the 258
clause \textit{ordonnance cabochienne} which, among other items,
charged the queen's household with corruption and proposed
that her chamber of accounts be abolished and her finances
placed under the king's chamber.\textsuperscript{44} Her receivers and
treasurer would receive no pensions beyond their salary,
and certain pensions already given would be revoked.\textsuperscript{45}
An inventory would be made of all jewels, gold, money,
and gifts in her household, and no new \textit{aides} would be levied
for the royal family. The king would take back the dower
lands given to Isabeau so she could not use them until his
death.\textsuperscript{46} However, the riots and radicalism in the
Cabochien "revolution" coupled with a new Armagnac army
gathering outside Paris weakened Burgundian support in
Paris. After the duke of Berry was allowed by the dauphin
to enter Paris, John the Fearless and the Cabochiens fled,
and the Armagnacs under Berry finally took control of the
government in Paris.

Isabeau welcomed the fall of the Cabochiens and John
the Fearless. With the return of the Armagnacs, she
regained the presidency of the king's council. On January
29, 1414, she and Duke Charles of Orleans signed a treaty of alliance to protect and defend each other against all enemies. In the treaty Charles recognized the special powers given to Isabeau by the king after the death of Louis of Orleans.

We, Isabel, by the grace of God queen of France, and Charles, duke of Orleans and Valois, count of Blois, etc. We, the duke, see that we are by the grace of God closely related to the king and queen, and we have always felt great kindness toward them, and they gave us their eldest daughter, who is now deceased, for a wife. And so we are obliged to honor, serve, and protect their persons, rights, and prerogatives and to defend them with all our power. And finally we remain in true obedience in the service of the king and queen.

And we, the queen, seeing the love and loyalty and the great service that the late duke of Orleans made in his lifetime to the king and to us, and seeing that the present duke likewise does this, we remain kind to our nephew, and we are obliged to aid him in all his affairs, and there can be no discord between us.

This is what the king's letters have given us:

Charles, by the grace of God king of France, makes it known that we have full confidence in the loyalty and good sense of our wife, the queen, and the love she holds for us and our kingdom. It pleases us, and with our special grace and royal authority, we grant by these letters that she is able to make alliances with seigneurs of our realm and our blood or others which she knows will be for the honor, profit, and advantage of us, of her, of our family, and our lands. And to do this, she can give her letters or other security which seem appropriate to her. This we make by our ordonnance, will, and consent for our wife. In testimony of this we place our ordinary seal in the absence of our great seal. Tours, December 13, 1408.

Together, by a common accord and consent, with much advice and deliberation, we swear and promise, we,
the queen in the word of the queen (and we the duke) each of us by our oath on the holy angels and our hands touching the true cross, to keep the friendship, the alliance, and the articles which follow:

Firstly, we, the queen and the duke, will guard and defend the king and his children with all our power. We will defend their honor, lands, authority, rights, and prerogatives against all others, and we will make the most honor and profit that we can for the king in all his affairs and needs. That is, we, the queen as lady and queen, and we, the duke, as subject, servant, and relative. And we, the queen, will call our nephew to our council unless the matter is urgent and the duke too distant.

Item. We, the duke, will serve well and loyally the queen, and we will guard the honor, rights, and prerogatives that the king gave her with all our power. The king gave to her the government of the dauphin and their other children, and we will not allow any other government that is against the will and ordonnance of the king and queen. . .

And we, the queen, likewise will guard and defend our nephew, his honor, rights, prerogatives, and wealth with all our power and will help him stay in good grace with the king and the dauphin because a good, true, and loyal mother and lady ought to aid her good, true, and obedient son and nephew.

Item. If we, the duke, learn that anyone wishes to harm or dishonor the lady in any manner, we will aid, advise, and defend the lady with all our power against all persons . . . and we will demonstrate to anyone who wishes to dishonor the queen our displeasure . . . And likewise, we, the queen, if we learn that anyone wishes to dishonor our nephew, promise to aid him and defend him with all our power. And if anyone should plot against our nephew, we will not hear their words, and we will demonstrate our displeasure.

And we, the queen, want Master Robert Le Maçon, councillor of the king and queen, and our chancellor the seigneur of Offemont, the grand master of our hôtel, and Jean Le Picard, secretary of the king and queen, to swear and promise our nephew that these things will be kept, and we will do nothing to the contrary . . .

And we, the duke, likewise want our chamberlain and king's councillor Master Raoul, seigneur of
Gaucourt, and Master Nicolas le Dur to swear and promise the lady that the things above will be kept, and we want nothing to the contrary.

In testimony of this we, the queen and the duke, have placed our seals to these letters signed with our own hands. January 29, 1413 (1414)

Isabel Charles

In response to this, John the Fearless arrived at Saint Denis in February 1414 with a large army, and the Armagnacs, meeting in council with Isabeau and the dauphin, called royal vassals and refused to negotiate. In March the queen and dauphin presided over a council that declared war on the Burgundian. After some reverses, John the Fearless wished to come to terms, but the Armagnacs, whose desire for revenge ran against princely etiquette, refused.

In November, John used his daughter-in-law Michelle, who was also Isabeau's daughter, to obtain the support of the peace-loving queen. He suggested that Isabeau use her influence to return the dauphin to Paris and to formulate a more balanced government. At the same time, Isabeau's disaffection with the Armagnacs was not their most serious problem: on October 25, 1415, the Armagnacs lost the disastrous battle of Agincourt to the invading English army under Henry V, and both Charles of Orleans and the duke of Bourbon were taken prisoner. The weakened Armagnacs remained in Paris, but John the Fearless began to have military success outside Paris as a result of Agincourt.
In 1417, the Armagnacs began to attack Isabeau for her scandalous behavior with one of her guardians, Louis de Bosredon. On April 15, 1417, Bosredon failed to show respect for the king when he did not dismount in Charles VI's presence, and as a result the Armagnacs executed him almost immediately. In grave danger, Isabeau hoped to retire to Melun, but Bosredon's "confessions" proved the charges against her. Removed from the council and stripped of all her authority, Isabeau was exiled by order of the king to Blois and then to Tours where she was denied the company of her ladies and children. While her new guardians showed her little respect at Tours, the Armagnacs looted her treasury at Paris and Melun. In this miserable condition, Isabeau sent for help from John the Fearless who was resting after his siege of Corbeil in October 1417. After arriving at Tours on November 1, John dispatched two lieutenants and an army to rescue Isabeau. For her part, Isabeau asked to attend mass outside the city and was not frightened by warnings that a company of Burgundians were near because, after all, she knew their mission. When sixty armed men surrounded the abbey, Isabeau ordered the arrest of her Armagnac guardians, and within two hours she met with John to declare her love and loyalty.

John the Fearless and Isabeau went to Chartres and then to Troyes where the queen made an attempt to regain her
powers and rule France without the control of the dauphin or the king. On November 11, she issued papers taking the government into her own hands on the basis of the irrevocable powers given to her in 1403 as president of the council of regency and the king's council during his absences. Anticipating this, the Armagnacs had, on November 6, transferred these powers to the dauphin and annulled all ordonnances conferring them on the queen. On November 13, Isabeau appealed for popular support by abolishing the salt tax, ordered a court of justice set up at Amiens, and had a new seal made for herself with the arms of France and Bavaria. Soon she set up a shadow government complete with council, chancellor, and financial, judicial, and administrative bureaucracies. In January, Isabeau turned the governmental affairs over to John the Fearless, and later she named him governor of the realm with the right to mint money, make war or peace, and serve as president of Parliament. The queen also named commissioners for the three provinces subject to her government, Languedoc, Guienne, and Auvergne, and instituted tax reforms there. Her appeals elsewhere, such as those to Normandy, were futile attempts to expand her powers.51

Isabel, by the grace of God queen of France, who, because of the indisposition of the king, has the government and administration of the realm by irrevocable grant made to us by the king, to all those who will see these letters, Greetings. In order to end the inconveniences in this kingdom which worsen each day on account of the old enemies
of the king as well as the bad government of those who govern in the king's place, it is necessary to send to several places to know the will of the prelates, churchmen, nobles, and others, and to make to them any remonstrance of good. And we do this even in the country of Normandy which is very greatly oppressed.

Let it be known that we have confidence in the loyalty and diligence of G. Le Bouteillerie, chamberlain of the duke of Burgundy, and on the advice and deliberation of our council, we make him our ambassador and give to him special mandates and total power to travel in Normandy and to expose to the prelates, churchmen, and nobles of Normandy the problems in the realm and the good will that we and our cousin the duke of Burgundy have for them and for the realm, and to ask them to declare themselves for us and our cousin and to aid us to free the king and the kingdom, to return justice, and to make the roads safe for merchandise, and to do all that is necessary to punish the evil doers and the disturbers of the peace. And to do this, one should make an assembly of men at arms and pay them with the deniers of the king collected by the receivers of the country of Normandy...

In testimony of this we have put our seal to these letters, at Chartres, November 16, 1417. (These letters were received at Rennes on January 24, 1418).

As the military campaigns of John the Fearless went successfully, the Armagnacs sought negotiations, but John and Isabeau demanded that all their acts remain in force, that offices be filled with their advice, and that they be given free access to the king. Obviously the Armagnacs could not accept, and so on May 28, 1418, the Burgundians finally retook Paris. The fifteen-year-old dauphin Charles escaped, but the Burgundians massacred many Armagnacs who remained in the city. Isabeau made her entry into Paris with John and a sizable army on July 14, and together they
tried to reach an understanding with their rivals. On May 30, 1419, Henry V of England met at Melun with the queen and Burgundy, but when Henry demanded large areas of Normandy and the hand of Isabeau's daughter Catherine, the negotiations failed. With Henry moving toward Paris, John signed a truce with the dauphin in July. On September 10, 1419, John met with the dauphin at the bridge of Montereau, but one of the dauphin's men murdered the Burgundian duke in order to avenge, after all these years, the murder of Louis of Orleans. The murder of John the Fearless was another dramatic blow to Isabeau who was again in need of a protector.

Isabeau and the Burgundians, now led by John's son Duke Philip the Good, were shocked enough by John's murder to negotiate with the English. Henry still insisted that the crown fall to him and his heirs on the death of Charles VI, that he govern the country himself for the present, and that he marry Catherine. Philip the Good reluctantly agreed to the terms, but the queen, discouraged by the English demands, tried to contact her son. When the Burgundians promised her financial help if she would join them, Isabeau agreed to use the king's and her own name to condemn the dauphin. She received 6000 l.t., and within a few months Henry V authorized a monthly sum of 2000 l.t. for her. On May 19, 1420, full powers were given
to Philip and Isabeau in the name of the king of France to make the treaty of Troyes. In this treaty, the English demands were met, and the queen disinherited her own son, but she did not herself deliberately cast doubts on the dauphin's legitimacy. As Henry V implied in these letters, Isabeau intended only to protect herself.

By the marriage made between us and our dear wife Catherine, queen of England, we have become a son of Charles, king of France, and Isabelle of Bavaria, queen of France. Let it be known that we promise in good faith to the very excellent Isabelle to revere and honor her as queen of France, to maintain her dignities, rights, and honors, to guard her with all our power, to seek her profit, to prevent harm to her, and to notify her if she is in any danger.

With Henry V in complete control of the royal government, Isabeau and her husband Charles VI became an instrument for the English. The French royal family, Charles VI, Isabeau, and Catherine, followed Henry on his campaigns to occupy French towns, and on December 1, 1420, Henry entered Paris with Charles VI, followed the next day by the two queens, Isabeau and Catherine. Isabeau kept close ties with Catherine whose son, the future Henry VI, was born in December 1421 in London. The campaigns continued, but on August 31, 1422, Henry V died at Corbeil followed on October 22, 1422, by Charles VI, and Isabeau became a dowager queen.
Facinger's theory that the queen, like any prince of the blood, could be a threat to the king's power was demonstrated in the reign of Isabelle of Bavaria. As a regent and president of the regency council, Isabelle had the power to direct the royal government her own way. However, Isabelle did not give France responsible government. She aggravated the dissension among the princes by choosing sides, and she acted as if she needed the protection of one party against the other. Clearly in this situation, the queen was no substitute for the king. Since her marriage, Isabelle had been a partisan. She had always seen the French court as a place of intrigue, and she had always felt herself to be vulnerable. It is probable that any queen who tried to exercise the royal power would have found this true.

Marie of Anjou

According to Charles VII's biographer, Fresne de Beaucourt, Marie of Anjou's life was devoted to childbearing. Marie had fourteen children beginning in July 1423 with Louis XI and ending in December 1446 with Charles of France. She lost four children in the three years between 1436 and 1439. Habitually dressed in black, she kept her household outside politics and retreated into family and devotional life. Thus Marie played no evident
political role. Residing at Tours or Amboise, she remained a stranger to the itinerant life of the king. If Marie had little political influence, as Beaucourt maintained, it is not easily understandable. Her family, the house of Anjou, in particular her mother Yolanda of Aragon and her brothers Charles and René, had a tremendous influence on the king and were at times his principal advisers. Throughout the reign of Charles VII, who was not a strong individual leader, there was always a favorite such as La Trémoïlle, Arthur de Richemont, Yolanda of Aragon, Charles of Anjou, Jean de Bueil, Pierre de Brézé, or Agnes Sorel to hold the power behind the throne. The influence of Queen Yolanda, the powerful mistress Agnes Sorel, and Joan of Arc indicate that Charles had no aversion to taking advice from women.

However Marie was never one of the king's chief advisers. Her failure to work in a political partnership with the king was probably due to the efforts of the king's favorites to sustain their own power. During the early years of his reign, Charles was continually involved with the military campaign and thus saw little of his wife. Even the consummation of their marriage was delayed because the current favorite, Jean Louvet, who had once associated with Isabeau of Bavaria, feared that Marie's mother Yolanda would exert too much influence on the prince. Yet in those periods when the Angevins were the power behind the throne,
Marie herself exerted little influence over the king. With her family well spoken for at court and herself adequately financed, Marie had no need or desire to influence directly court policy. At the same time, she did not have the cunning to circumvent favorites or to compete with them for the king's ear. Marie's political role, small but significant, is best seen in the events surrounding Joan of Arc, Margaret of Scotland, the estrangement of the dauphin Louis, and Marie's own successful financial activities.

Joan of Arc was born in the duchy of Bar, one of the fiefs of René of Anjou, Marie's brother, the second son of Yolanda of Aragon. In 1429, Joan asked Charles of Lorraine, whose daughter was married to René, to lend her his son-in-law and some men to take her into France. Angevin policy, specifically Yolanda's, had always been to work toward a reconciliation between the dauphin and the Burgundians in order to drive out the English. As outsiders, the Angevins liked to pose as non-partisans, but the king himself and many of his advisers such as La Trémoille could not forgive the past. As hard as Yolanda worked to build bridges between the dauphinists and the Burgundians, the old factions would surface again. Marie and her mother did everything in their power to increase Joan of Arc's prestige and confirm her mission. For example, Yolanda was one of
the ladies who examined Joan for virginity. When Joan traveled toward the king, she did so under Angevin protection and even with Angevin financial support. Marie lodged herself near Joan at Chinon and utilized every opportunity to convince the king that the virgin was sent by God to save France. The prophetess herself acknowledged the queen's aid and hoped that Marie would be crowned with Charles VII at Reims. However, La Trémoïlle had the queen sent back to Bourges because he feared that popular support for the Angevin cause would be too great at Reims. A letter to Marie and Yolanda written at Reims on July 17, 1429, by servants of the house of Anjou described the coronation with a slight disappointment that the queen was not there.

During the said mystery, the maid was always close to the king, holding her standard in her hand. And it was a very fine thing to see the splendid way in which the king and the maid behaved. God knew how much you were wished for there.

Neither the arrest of Joan of Arc by the Burgundians on May 23, 1430, nor the imprisonment of René of Anjou in 1431 by Philip of Burgundy after the battle of Bulgnêville were setbacks for the Angevin faction at the French court. In June 1433, the houses of Anjou and Brittany engineered the fall of La Trémoïlle and prepared the way for Charles of Anjou, Yolanda's third son, to become the king's favorite. With the Angevin ascendancy, the treaty of Arras was signed
in 1435 to reconcile the dauphin and Philip of Burgundy. Both Charles of Anjou and Yolanda of Aragon sent their own private negotiators to Arras to speak for René, but the Burgundians refused to deal with his imprisonment. René was only released in 1437 when he agreed to pay Philip 400,000 gold crowns in ransom and to cede lands and claims to lands in Flanders.

In spite of René's problems, Charles of Anjou stayed close to the king of France, and in the 1440's the Angevins supported new plans for peace and reconciliation. The earl of Suffolk, chief minister to King Henry VI of England, came to Tours in April 1444 to seek a treaty with the French and a marriage alliance. The truce was sealed by the betrothal of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou, René's daughter. The queen of France, Marie of Anjou, René's sister, was also at Tours where she participated in the festive atmosphere of games, picnics, and dances. Since René was deeply in debt to Philip as a result of the unpaid ransom, he could not pay a respectable dowry, and so it was agreed that the English would not immediately evacuate the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. In September 1444, the negotiations and celebrations continued at Nancy, René's capital in Lorraine, where the Angevins put on a display of extravagance and splendor to impress their English guests. Marie assisted again in the celebrations along with Charles VII,
Margaret of Scotland, René's wife Isabelle of Lorraine, Margaret of Anjou, and Marie of Bourbon, the wife of John of Calabria, René's son.64

In the spring of 1445, Marie of Anjou attended the peace conference at Chalons where the French and the Burgundians tried to settle their disputes. France was on the brink of war with Burgundy again as a result of French encroachment into lands claimed by Burgundy such as Bar and Lorraine. In this case, the French had actually been advancing Angevin claims as a consequence of the favored position of the house of Anjou at the French court. For example, the sight of Charles VII at Nancy and his campaign to assert Angevin control of Metz angered the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, considerably.65 At Chalons, Philip's wife Isabelle, who negotiated for him, received the queen of France warmly.66

My lady the duchess of Burgundy . . . came with all her company on horseback and in carriages into the courtyard of the mansion where the king and queen were staying . . . When she arrived at the room where the queen was, the duchess stopped and sent her knight of honor to ask the queen if it was her pleasure that the duchess should enter to do her reverence . . . As the duchess entered the room, she let her train fall behind her and curtsied almost to the ground. Then, walking as far as the center of the room, she curtsied again before approaching the queen, who was standing at the head of her bed. As the duchess knelt for the third time, the queen moved forward two or three paces and, placing her hand on the duchess's shoulder, embraced her and made her get up . . .
Isabelle was forced to make concessions at the conference, the principal one being to release René of Anjou from all his ransom obligations to her husband. Marie herself was instrumental in convincing her brother René, who deeply hated the Burgundian, to renounce his desire to make war on Philip.67

In 1444, Charles VII met Agnes Sorel, a lady in the service of Isabelle of Lorraine, the queen of Sicily, René's wife. Agnes had a good friend, Pierre de Brézé, who, with his Angevin connections, advanced into the king's favor along with her. The rise of Pierre and Agnes was accompanied by a fall from favor of the two brothers from the house of Anjou, René and Charles. Charges that Charles had ordered a reduction in the number of the king's men-at-arms and that René was responsible for the tensions with the dauphin Louis forced the king to inform Marie's two brothers "by word of mouth, that they should not return to court until they were sent for."68 Marie suffered far more personally when Agnes Sorel was made, in the summer of 1444, a lady of the queen's household. The unusual openness of the king's extramarital affair, the obvious power Agnes possessed, and the insensitivity of the king were difficult burdens for Marie. Fortunately the queen was not totally rejected before she was able, in December 1446, to give birth to her last child, a healthy son named Charles. This allowed Marie
not only a sense of pride and importance but also good financial and personal care from her husband.

The fall of the Angevins did not in any way reconcile the dauphin with his father. The personality differences aside, Louis simply could not take his long, boring, and demeaning term as dauphin gracefully. When the dauphine Margaret of Scotland died on August 16, 1445, at Chalons, the king and queen were saddened not only by her death but also by the dauphin's indifference. The marriage of the dauphin and Margaret had been childless and unhappy, and there were rumors that he had plotted her death. Margaret had been chosen the dauphin's wife by the king and queen. When Margaret first arrived at Poitiers in May 1436, Marie greeted her warmly. 69 From then on, Margaret, who loved poetry and court life, often traveled and attended royal functions with the queen and shared her household. Margaret's death was only one in a series of events that forced Louis into exile in Burgundy: the dauphin had always resented the Angevin influence at court, and he particularly disliked Pierre de Brézé, Agnes Sorel, and his father. During the long exile from 1456 to 1461, Louis consummated the second marriage he had arranged for himself without his father's consent and prayed regularly for his father's death. Under such circumstances, a rapprochement between the dauphin and his mother was impossible.
Nevertheless, Marie maintained cordial relations with her son once he became King Louis XI. While Louis was still in exile, she wrote to him with the news he had waited so long to hear.70

My son, you ought to know that at this hour the king is sick and feeble. My brother and others with the king are sending the great seneschal to you to inform you of the state of my lord the king . . . I ask you to have high regard for my brother . . .

However, Marie's brother Charles and the grand seneschal Brézé were not to assume the same position at Louis' court as they had at the court of Charles VII. The Milanese ambassador at Louis' court, Prospero da Camogli, was certainly exaggerating when he wrote that "the influence of the duke of Burgundy was counterbalanced by that of the queen mother Marie of Anjou."71 In fact, Marie had only one cool meeting with Louis XI, at Amboise, before she left for Poitou where she lived until her death. She could not forgive Louis for the suffering he had caused her husband, perhaps she even believed that Louis had plotted his death, and she was insulted to see old enemies like Philip the Good of Burgundy back in Paris. The queen's letters to her son give proof to this distance.72

My very formidable lord, I recommend myself to you as humbly as I can. May it please you to know that I have a great desire to know of your state and health and your news, . . . and it seems to me that it has been a long time since I heard news. I write to you by my
messengers and ask, if it pleases you, that you also write to me by him for my great joy and consolation. Because the greatest joy I can have in this world is to have news of you often. And it pleases me to let you know that as I write this, I write in very good health and prosperity thanks to Our Lord . . .

Your very humble and very obedient, Marie

The continued estrangement from her son was proof that Marie had been loyal to her husband and his policies throughout her life. Since the house of Anjou was well represented at Charles VII's court, this was not especially difficult. Marie's mother and two brothers were very close to the king during his reign: at times the Angevins were his chief advisers, and even when they fell out of favor, the exile was not total. The king, who never followed a specifically anti-Angevin policy, even supported militarily Angevin claims against the Burgundians. Marie of Anjou herself had little to do with this policy, which was dictated by political circumstance. Even when Agnes Sorel and the rebellious dauphin brought grief to the queen, she did not assert herself nor did she forego her efforts to be a modest, meek, and loyal consort.

Charlotte of Savoy

Charlotte of Savoy lived in the shadow of her strong, capable husband King Louis XI. Unfortunately Charlotte's father had not guaranteed her future when he failed to pay the originally proposed huge dowry and when he betrayed
the dauphin in favor of Charles VII. When Louis went into exile, he left his wife in the Dauphiné but sent for her later to consummate the marriage. Louis received her grandly, and together they awaited the death of the king. From exile in Genappe, Charlotte wrote a letter, identical in content to one her husband wrote, to Charles VII in the dauphin's behalf.

My very formidable lord, I recommend myself to your good grace as humbly as I can. May it please you to know, my very formidable lord, that my husband is sending Houaste, his first valet de chambre, to you, and I have asked him to tell you anything you want to know. And I ask you, my lord, to believe what he tells you, and then to ask of me anything that you wish, and I will do it if I am able. My very formidable lord, may God give you a very good and long life. At Genappe, December 13, 1460

Your very humble and very obedient daughter, Charlotte

Once she became queen, Charlotte's public role was largely ceremonial. When she and Louis entered Amiens in 1462, they were greeted by an actor playing the part of Jonah who stepped out of the jaws of a huge effigy of a whale, as though to suggest a resurrection of the city through their visit. Later, in 1464, the pregnant queen entered Amiens alone to cries of "Noel" and was presented with a cross to kiss and taken to the cathedral to say her devotions. Charlotte received a most magnificent reception at her entry into Paris in 1467.

And the first of September, the queen also arrived outside Paris by boat on the river Seine . . . And there were all the presidents and counselors of the
court of Parlement, the bishop of Paris, and other men of means, all properly dressed. And further on, there were many other persons of the city of Paris. And so even before the queen came to Paris, the counselors and bourgeois of the city had all come to receive her in boats which were richly covered with beautiful tapestries and silk cloths, and there was the child's choir of the Sainte Chapelle which recited beautiful poems and sang songs. And there were a great number of trumpets and diverse instruments which played all together as the queen and ladies entered into their boats, and the bourgeois of the city presented the queen with a deer made of candy which had the arms of the queen hanging from its neck, and there were beautiful jars filled with spices and candies and great quantities of fruits, flowers, and wine . . . And after the queen had made her prayers at Notre Dame, she returned to the boat and went to the church of the Celestins . . . and from there she and her ladies mounted horses and went to the Hotel of the king where there were many other fine persons. And Thursday the queen, along with the lady of Bourbon and Bonne of Savoy, the queen's sister, and other ladies dined at the Hotel of Master Jean Dauvet, first president in Parlement . . . And there were four richly adorned baths there in which the queen could have bathed, but she did not because she said she did not feel well, and so she felt it was dangerous. But the lady of Bourbon and Bonne of Savoy bathed.

In 1461, at his ascension, Louis XI's relations with the house of Savoy were so poor that the king threatened to dismiss Charlotte's father as a native councillor. However, as a dauphin, Louis had always been involved in Italian politics, and he did not abandon the intrigue when he became king. In 1447, Anne of Savoy, Charlotte's mother, had plotted with the dauphin to partition the new republic of Milan, which had been proclaimed on the death of Duke Flippo Maria Visconti. One of the pretenders to Milan, a certain condottiere named Francesco Sforza, soon earned
the respect and permanent support of Louis XI. In 1464, Louis arranged the marriage of the queen's sister Bonne of Savoy, who was living at the French court, to Gian Maria Galeazzo, Francesco's son. The alliance between France, Milan, and Florence, which was led by another Italian Louis admired, Lorenzo de Medici, held firm. In 1478, Bonne, as regent for her own son Giangaleazzo Sforza, joined Lorenzo in a plea for Louis' help against Pope Sixtus, the Pazzi faction, and their allies, Naples and Venice. Predictably, Louis promised Lorenzo military assistance and asserted Gallicanism in response to the pope's temporal dealings.

The king made good use of Charlotte's two other sisters closer to home. In 1465, the duke of Berry, who was the king's brother Charles, along with the dukes of Anjou, Bourbon, and Brittany, and the counts of Saint Pol, Nemours, Calabria, Charolais, Armagnac, and Dunois all revolted against the king in the war of the league of the Public Weal. After their defeat in 1465, the king did all he could to win back the loyalty of certain of the rebels. One of Charlotte's sisters, Agnes of Savoy, was married to the count of Longueville, the son of the aged count of Dunois. In 1465, after he took an oath of allegiance to the throne, Louis of Luxembourg, the count of Saint Pol, was appointed constable of France. The king further
flattered Saint Pol with marriage to another of Charlotte's sisters, Marie of Savoy, a dowry of 40,000 gold crowns, the county of Eu, and the government of Normandy. Queen Charlotte favored Marie and tried to protect her, but Marie's husband could not be trusted. Saint Pol, a good friend of the English and the Bretons, was a man with extremely divided loyalties. From 1466 on, the count fought with the king against Burgundy, but in fact Saint Pol alternately betrayed both France and Burgundy. Finally, while on a campaign for the king in 1475, Saint Pol sent emissaries to Burgundy. In that year, Queen Charlotte herself warned her brother-in-law that he was going to be arrested. After Burgundy and France had signed a truce, the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, himself turned the count over to Louis XI. Shortly after his arrest, Saint Pol's wife, Marie of Savoy, died so that the count wore black in mourning for her on the day of his execution on December 19, 1475, for high treason.

Louis XI also had trouble keeping the loyalty of his own second sister Yolanda, the duchess of Savoy. Yolanda had been married in 1452 to Charlotte's brother Amadeus IX, who succeeded his father as duke of Savoy in 1465. Widowed since 1472, Yolanda ran Savoy in behalf of her son, Philibert, and she became alarmed by the growing power of France and the rumors that her brother planned to take Savoy for himself.
In response, Yolanda tried to develop an alliance with Louis' enemy the Burgundian Charles the Bold whom she met at Lausanne in March 1476, at Gex in June, and then at Geneva. When Yolanda refused to defy her brother openly, Charles had his comrade Olivier de la Marche imprison her, but the boy Philibert and his brother Charles managed to escape into Louis' care. Yolanda was held at Rouvre Castle near Dijon, but she managed to contact her brother who secured her release. In spite of Yolanda's previous Burgundian stance, she and Louis reconciled permanently at Tours. Within a week she was on her way back to Savoy with a French escort. The king's connections with Savoy through Yolanda and his connections with Milan through Bonne of Savoy enabled him to keep the road open to his loyal ally Florence.

Charlotte of Savoy's isolation was her chief political liability. She stayed almost exclusively at the fine chateau of Amboise where the king visited her in hopes of getting a son. The Milanese ambassador Alberico Maletta reported that the queen and her sisters were "scarcely seen even by the birds." Apparently she spent her days sewing, and playing cards and other games. However, Charlotte was an exceptionally charitable queen: her financial accounts show her generosity to servants, two boys she raised "for the love of God," and the poor. In
these two letters, Charlotte attempted to retrieve a painter in trouble and to find security for a family.82

Monsieur du Bouchage. I have a poor painter at Bourges, Jean Coulombe, and several times I have written and asked those of the city to hold him exempt from the city's charges as a favor to me. And yet they detain him, and he is not able to leave and do work for me. I ask you, would you write to them for me? And it will give me great pleasure if you can release him from the charges, because he does a lot of work for me.
Amboise, June 12, Charlotte

Monsieur du Bouchage. My son's guard, who was a captain near Grenoble, just died. The poor man left a lot of children, and his wife is about to have another one. I ask you that my son give the office of captain to the oldest of (the dead man's sons), and this will be a great charity.
Amboise, August 7. And let me know news of my son. Charlotte

Ironically, for all her isolation and political weakness, Charlotte's husband was remarkably faithful to her. After too many dead infant sons and one frail survivor Charles, Louis kept the vow he had made in 1473 never to have relations with any woman except his wife.83 Under Louis, the royal children were well cared for. They all spent time with their mother at Amboise, but as with all royal families, the daughters, Anne and Jeanne, and the son Charles were not always available to their mother.
In the previous letter, Charlotte asked for news of her son, and in this letter, her concern was for her daughter.84

Monsieur du Bouchage. Madame de Linières wrote to me that my daughter Jeanne was sick with smallpox and that she is better now. And she also told me
that M. de Linières is very sick with fever, and she wants me to send for my daughter so that nothing more will happen to her. And you can see by these letters that I am writing to the king about this, because the king will not send for my daughter unless he hears about it. And so I ask you to give the letters to the king and show him the letters of Madame de Linières and dispatch the carrier as soon as possible. July 17, Charlotte

In another matter concerning the royal children, Louis and Charlotte both hoped that an English marriage, especially to Edward IV's daughter Elisabeth, would be arranged for their son Charles. When events in England made this impossible, the queen accepted the dauphin's marriage to Margaret of Austria that Louis XI arranged.

Louis began to distrust his wife toward the end of his reign, when in fact he trusted few people. As regent for his son, Louis chose his daughter Anne of Beaujeu who, with her husband Pierre, was the only high noble to see Louis after 1482. Typically, Anne was instructed to keep her mother away from the prince. According to one source, Louis himself warned his son "not to believe your mother because she is from Savoy, and she has always seemed to favor the Burgundians. Still I have always felt that her other qualities were good and modest." Thomas Basin heard that Louis, as he lay on his deathbed, refused to receive his wife and instead ordered her to retire to the frontiers of the kingdom. Since she dared not disobey, Basin continued, she took to the road immediately with a servant
and looked for a place where she could hide. Louis' behavior, explained perhaps by his fear of death, was unfair to the woman who had successfully given him a son and who was, in fact, the perfect queen for him.

**Anne of Brittany**

Before she became queen of France, Anne of Brittany was the sovereign duchess of Brittany, the heiress to her father's title. As duchess, her policy was to prevent French domination of Brittany. Unfortunately, Breton independence was in peril precisely because Duke Francis II had had no son, and his daughter Anne planned to marry the Austrian emperor Maximilian who was unacceptable to the French. With the duchy devastated by war with France and French troops surrounding Rennes, Anne agreed to marry Charles VIII and, in effect, to accept the final defeat of her policies for independence. After the death of Charles VIII, Anne regained control of Brittany as a condition of her marriage to Louis XII, but Brittany's loss of independence was permanent. In the end, Anne was forced to accept the marriage of her daughter Claude to a prince of the blood Francis of Angoulême, instead of her choice, the emperor Charles V.

Anne was only eleven in September 1488 when her father died, and her immediate problem was to find a husband. Two
possibilities were Sire Alain d'Albret, already fifty and
the father of many children, and Jean de Rohan, thirteen,
whose father was an ally of France. Anne decided instead
on Maximilian, the widower of Mary of Burgundy, whose
daughter Margaret was affianced to Charles VIII. However,
by a treaty made between France and Anne's father, the
French king had the right to approve Anne's choice, and
Charles VIII would not approve this expansion of imperial
power on the east. When Anne protested Charles VIII's
claims to be her guardian, French troops invaded Brittany
with the help of Breton rebels. In response Anne called
upon her allies, England, Castile, and the empire, and
Charles made peace in 1489. When Anne moved again toward
marriage to Maximilian, French troops again invaded.
Desperate, Anne wrote to her allies for help in a series
of letters. 88

Anne, by the grace of God duchess of Brittany,
countess of Richemont, Etampes, and Vertus, to
all those who will see these letters, Greetings.
Considering the great and perfect love that our
very powerful, excellent, and honored uncle and aunt
the king and queen of Castile, Leon, and Aragon have
shown us, and as they have taken our problems to
heart as they would for their own natural daughter,
and especially the great army that they sent to us
by sea at our request to aid us against the king
of France who makes war on us and tries to put
us in his hands and to conquer our duchy, and
considering the help they have given us and the
declaration they have made in our favor, we have
preserved and defended our country. And so we
recognize that our country is deeply in debt to
our uncle and aunt for they have helped us
entirely at their own expense, and we assure them that we will pay them. And we promise, we and our heirs, in the word of a princess, to pay entirely to our uncle and aunt and their heirs all the sums that they spent, for wages, and for the voyage by sea, and the passage in Spain. And we promise to make the payment in a Spanish city.

At Rennes, September 7, 1490, Anne

Anne, by the grace of God duchess of Brittany, countess of Montfort, Richemont, etc. Just as before when our father was living, our very beloved cousin Alain, sire of Albret, came to our country with a great army and defended my father and our country at his own expense, and to do that, he has shown us that he sold several of his lands; and also for his coming now to our country... he has suffered great losses. We agree to pay our cousin 100,000 écus or 125,000 l.t. in compensation, that is each year 20,000 écus beginning with the date of these letters... At Rennes, December 14, 1490, Anne, by the duchess at her command and in her great council

As before during the time of the duke Francis, the French, our enemies, have against right and reason made a cruel and inhuman war against us in order to make us subjects and to subjugate us to their obedience, and this continues during the time of his daughter and heir the duchess, and she, in order to save our country and preserve it from perpetual danger, ruin, and destruction, has asked for the help of the kings of our allies, and among them the very excellent king of England, who recognized the inhumanity of the French... And he sent freely and voluntarily to the lady a great and powerful army... because of this our lady is obliged to reimburse the king of England for all the costs that he encountered in sending the army to Brittany, that is the passage of soldiers, their expenses, and all other costs... And our lady recognizes that for the security of our country she will need aid and assistance from the king of England in the future... Each year at the day of Saint Michael 50,000 écus of gold will be paid until the entire sum has been reimbursed, and it will be delivered in a city in England beginning in 1492... April 23, 1491, (signed by Anne's councillors).
In spite of the promises of payment and good will, Anne did not get the help she needed. English and Spanish aid was not sufficient, Albret betrayed her, and Maximilian did not answer her pleas. Thus in December 1491, Anne agreed to marry her great enemy Charles VIII of France. Brittany was the dowry Anne reluctantly gave to her husband: if she died childless before the king, the duchy would still belong to France.

Queen Anne was a remarkable woman who used her office to the limits of its conventional powers as outlined by Christine de Pisan. Unlike the three other fifteenth century queens, Anne expressed genuine love and affection for both her husbands, Charles VIII and Louis XII. She was deeply concerned for their welfare and the welfare of her children by them. Always well informed of the king's campaigns and political needs, she offered her advice and her service. She was a great patron of arts, letters, and charities, and in this she was well financed by the kingdom of France. Still, Anne's efforts to produce a surviving son were futile as were her efforts to influence basic French policy.

By necessity, Anne became a French ally very quickly after her marriage. When Maximilian, who with his daughter was jilted by the union, united with England and Spain against this extension of French power, there were naturally
Breton rebels to join them. No matter what had happened, Anne could not allow another family to claim the title of duke of Brittany: after all, by the terms of the marriage contract, she could hope that after her first son had become king of France, her second son or daughter would inherit the duchy of Brittany. Thus Anne had to keep Brittany in line behind the agreement. Although she had been queen less than seven months, she joined in writing these letters to emphasize the new alignment and to discourage her enemies.

We, Anne by the grace of God queen of France, Louis, duke of Orleans, and Pierre and Anne, duke and duchess of Bourbon, seeing and considering the damnable undertakings that the enemies of the king make against him and his kingdom and the great disorder that is in the king's house in such a way that the king and his subjects could be in great danger . . . we, with all our heart, desire the security and prosperity of his kingdom . . . and we will resist those who wish to harm the king. And we make oaths and promises of our intentions, and the friendship between us is very firm and secure. Today, July 5, in the presence and between the hands of the archbishop of Narbonne, we, holding the cross and other holy and precious relics, promise and swear in the words of princes by our faith, and on the damnation of our souls from paradise, and by the holy sacrament of Baptism that we have agreed loyally to support the king and also to support each other . . . for the honor and profit of the king. And if anyone tells us anything against each other, we will renew our friendship . . . At Paris, under our signatures and our seals, 1492, Louis, Pierre, Anne of France (Beaujeu).

Perhaps the French doubted Anne's loyalty, but the
solidarity between the queen and her in-laws remained intact. Meanwhile, the rebellious Breton barons were negotiating with Henry VII of England who sent a fleet to Barfleur where it was repulsed by French ships. Seeing that there would be no real aid, the viscount of Rohan pretended to know nothing of the plot, Pierre Le Pennac fled, the captain of Brest, Guillaume Carrel, confessed, and others were arrested. 92

In 1494, Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany entered Grenoble where the king had assembled a large army to undertake the conquest of Milan, Rome, and Naples. The king, leaving his wife and son behind, moved across the Alps where he stayed fourteen months. After the successful conquest of Naples, the French met with strong opposition from a tightening alliance of Venice, Milan, the pope, England, Spain, and the empire. With France herself threatened, Charles began a retreat from Italy. The queen kept informed of the events in Italy, and in this letter she passed the overly optimistic news on to the guardians of her son, Charles-Orland. 93

By the queen.
To the beloved and faithful chamberlains of our son. We received news of the king from letters of the cardinal of Saint Malo, and the king wishes you to have a copy so that you can see that the affairs of the king are going very well, and I hope the way to a good peace will come soon. We see by the letters you wrote to us that our son is well, and this makes us very happy, and continue to inform us . . . At Moulins, September 21, 1495, Anne
Charles returned to Grenoble in October 1495 and rejoined the queen on November 7 at Lyons, but the homecoming was not as joyful as it might have been. The dauphin Charles-Orland, for whom Anne had expressed concern in her letter, was ill with smallpox at Amboise; he died on December 6, 1495. Although all four fifteenth century queens lost sons, Anne's losses seem, with hindsight, more severe because one knows she would have no survivors. In any event, Anne's mourning was far from over. King Charles VIII himself, who had not been well since the Italian campaigns, died suddenly in April 1498, leaving Anne, at twenty-one, a childless dowager queen. The people of Brittany hoped for the return of their duchess and her sovereignty, but Anne had signed a contract with France to prevent that, and she would honor it.

The successor to Charles VIII was Louis, duke of Orleans, son of Charles of Orleans and great-grandson of King Charles V. Louis XII, who was married to Louis XI's daughter Jeanne, awarded Anne her dower in March 1498, but the situation, as described here by Anne, was changing.94

Anne, by the grace of God queen of France, duchess of Brittany, countess of Montfort, Richemont, Etampes, Vertus, to all those who will see these letters, Greetings. By the treaty of marriage made between us and our beloved the late Charles, it was decided that if it should happen that the king should die without heirs, in order to avoid wars and troubles which would ensue, we would marry with the king who succeeded to the crown if he wishes it and if it is legal... And
since the death of our husband, the king has rendered into our hands the cities of Saint Malo, Brest, and Conches, and he holds the places of Nantes and Fougeres as security for the marriage between us and him which he says he wants to make. And he will render these places to us also if in one year he has not married us legally, in good conscience according to the laws of God and the church. And if it happens that he is not legally able to marry us or if he dies before he can marry us, he will render to us in our hands the places of Nantes and Fougeres. And for the security of these things he has sworn and promised on the holy angels and the Bible, and we have given our letters signed with our own hand. And the king has taken an oath to the sire of La Tremoille, captain of the places, and has given to us his seal. We promise and declare by these letters to do this when it is legal, when the king has made his divorce from Jeanne of France within one year, and this divorce process has already begun before apostolic judges, and we are content to wait one year so that there are no legal or religious impediments. Promising in good faith and in the word of a queen, to accomplish all according to these letters, we have signed these letters with our hand and placed our seal. At Étampes, August 19, 1498, Anne, by the queen and duchess at her command.

The marriage to Louis, which was accomplished on January 8, 1499, was hasty for Anne's taste, but on the whole, she was pleased to marry this man whom she had known and liked since childhood. For his part, Louis was as generous as French interests would allow. Even after their marriage contract gave Anne control of Breton affairs, Louis wrote further letters which confirmed and guaranteed the ancient rights of the duchy. Financially, Louis allowed Anne her dower from her first marriage and pro-
mised her an equal second one; he also confirmed gifts made to Anne by Charles VIII such as the gift of the revenues of salt in the county of Montfort. Like Charles, Louis XII left as soon as possible for Italy to help his allies, Savoy and Venice, against their enemy, the Sforza family. After he had made a triumphant entry into Milan in October 1499, Louis learned that his wife had given birth to a daughter, Claude of France.

Whenever the king was absent in Italy or whenever he was ill, there emerged several hostile factions in France. One party, led by the queen and the Bretons, opposed the Italian wars and the marriage of Claude to Francis, the count of Angoulême. Another party, represented by Pierre of Rohan, the marshal of Gié, the guardian of Francis of Angoulême, felt that the marriage of Francis and Claude was vital to French interests. A third party was Louise of Savoy, Francis' mother, who disliked both the Bretons and Gié and hoped to control her son for herself. As Anne saw it, both Louise and Gié hoped that she would have no son so that Francis, another great-grandson of Charles V from the Orleanist line, would be heir to the throne.

Queen Anne, whose feud with Louise of Savoy and Gié was constant, was angered when the king himself, on his return from Italy, expressed his support for Claude's marriage to Francis.
In spite of the king's preference for the Angoulême marriage, Anne held negotiations with ambassadors from Philip of Austria, the son of Maximilian, to marry Claude to Philip's son Charles of Luxembourg, the future Charles V. Anne even accepted Austria's demand for a 300,000 écu dowry, but the Estates of Brittany would not back the project. In 1501, the archduke Philip and his wife Joanna of Castile visited Louis and Anne at Blois where the queen introduced her three-year-old daughter. Then after Louis had returned again from the wars in Italy, he, Anne, and Philip met again at Lyon where they made an oath to maintain international peace. In 1504, Louis, Maximilian, and Philip made treaties aimed against Venice that agreed to the marriage of Claude with Charles of Luxembourg, but the dowry of 200,000 francs was a second choice for the imperial family which really wanted Louis to cede the French claim to Naples as Claude's dowry. When the queen was authorized by Louis XII to sign another treaty with Philip, the result was a reflection of Anne's personal motives and not the interests of France. According to the secret agreement, if Louis XII died without heirs, and Francis of Angoulême became king, Charles and Claude would claim the duchies of Burgundy and Brittany and the cities of Milan, Genoa, and Blois. To promote this impossible agreement, Anne made a triumphant entry into Paris, her
first since her marriage to Louis XII, and had herself
crowned again at Saint Denis with much pomp and
splendor.99

Meanwhile the feud between the queen and her rivals
Pierre of Rohan, the marshal of Gié, and Louise of Savoy
had taken new turns. Prior to Anne's entry into Paris,
the king had gone through a serious illness which
aggravated the factions. In 1504, when the king had
recovered, Anne and her ally, the cardinal Georges of
Amboise, convinced Louis XII to bring charges of treason
against Gié. The indictment claimed that Gié, expecting
the king to die, had planned to take control of Francis
of Angoulême and to prevent Anne from taking Claude
to Brittany.100 Gié denied the charges, and after his
first trial before the Grand Council virtually acquitted
him, Anne helped to have the case transferred to the
Parlement of Toulouse for a second trial. Louis XII
was not anxious to act on this, but he allowed the
Parlement of Toulouse to rule that Gié be deprived of his
military command and be exiled to his lands for five
years. As a civil party to the proceedings, Anne paid
the costs of the prosecution which amounted to a huge
31450 l.t. Unfortunately for the Bretons, Louise of
Savoy, who disliked Gié as much as the queen, was not
tainted by the scandal and remained in the king's good
graces.

After the king had fallen ill again in February 1505, he decided, on his recovery, to provide for the succession if he should die. Anne remained close to the king, but she could not reverse the old decisions. Louis confirmed Francis of Angoulême as his heir, provided for his marriage to Claude, and made Anne and Louise both regents.  

We, Louis, by the grace of God king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem, duke of Milan, seigneur of Genoa, being in our castle at Blois. Today we order that if we die without legitimate male heirs, our very beloved daughter Claude of France is by right the heiress of our duchy of Milan, of Genoa, the counties of Asti and other lands that we have in Lombardy, and the county of Blois, the seigneuries of Pierrefonds, etc., the viscounty of Soissons, and other lands in France, and other wealth that we can dispose of which do not come from the appanage of France. And in all these lands named above we have made our daughter our sole heir.

Item. We wish that our very dear wife, the queen, has the tutelage, government, and administration of our daughter and her wealth until she is of age . . .

Item. We wish that all the affairs of the kingdom be conducted by our wife, the queen, together with our very beloved sister, the countess of Angoulême, and with them, our beloved cousin the cardinal of Amboise, the count of Nevers, the sire la Tremoille (chancellor and first chamberlain respectively), and F. Robertet, our notary, secretary and treasurer of France.

Item. We wish that all our debts be paid . . .

Item. We wish that our daughter remain in our kingdom without leaving until her marriage with our beloved nephew, the count of Angoulême, is consummated.

At Blois, May 31, 1505, Louis
We, Louis . . . order that for the security and public good of our kingdom, the marriage will be made between our daughter Claude and Francis of Angoulême. And this would be done when our daughter is of age regardless of the treaty of marriage that was made between us and our daughter with the duke of Luxembourg, son of the king of Castile, which we recognize to be against the public good and against the oaths we made at our coronation that we would let nothing come into effect unless it had been approved by the cardinal of Amboise. We sign these letters with our hand. At Blois, May 31, 1505, Louis

We, Anne, by the grace of God queen of France, duchess of Brittany, and we Louise, countess of Angoulême, in the presence of the king and the cardinal of Amboise, promise and swear by our faith on the angels, Bible, and the cross that when Claude comes of age, we will make the marriage with the count of Angoulême regardless of the treaty with the king of the Romans and Castile that our daughter would marry the duke of Luxembourg which is contrary to the public good and to the promises that the king made at his coronation. Likewise we promise and swear that we will stay in true and loyal friendship with each other, and we will keep all that is ordered by the king . . .

In testimony of this we have signed our signatures
At Blois, May 31, 1505, Louis, Anne, Louise

Louis XII had ordered protection so that Claude would not be taken out of France because he knew that Queen Anne detested Louise and Francis and that the queen protested privately that Claude could not inherit the throne as Anne herself had succeeded to the duchy of Brittany when her father had no male heirs. 102

To comfort herself after this disaster, Anne went on a long voyage to Brittany where she was warmly received as a duchess. After five months absence, a
worried Louis XII asked her to return, but Anne delayed her return with the excuse that she had not yet visited a particular pilgrimage site. After she received word that "the king had never been seen so angry," she returned to find him ill again. Once back, Anne began to press again for the Austrian marriage, and in response, on May 14, 1506, at Tours, Louis had the six-year-old Claude formally affianced to twelve-year-old Francis before a papal legate in the presence of the queen and Louise.

In 1507, when Louis was again in Italy, Anne complained publicly about the Italian wars. As her husband quarreled bitterly with Pope Julius II, Anne, who was pregnant again, became alarmed when the pope let it be known that Louis would have no sons as long as he remained disobedient. After the quarrel spread into church policy, Anne approved the clergy of Brittany's decision in 1510 to separate itself from the French church and to obey only the duchess and not the king. Before long, Louis had arrested a papal legate, and in return Julius excommunicated the king. In 1513, Julius' ally, King Henry VIII of England, attacked Brittany but was driven back from Brest. With her duchy in peril, Anne wrote to Margaret of Austria and Margaret's nephew Charles of Luxembourg in hopes of establishing the peace,
but Henry VIII attacked Brittany by sea again while imperial forces moved into Burgundy. Luckily Pope Julius died in 1513, and the new pope Leo X withdrew the excommunication. Then in the same year, Anne got an unenthusiastic approval from the besieged Louis XII to wed her second daughter, three-year-old Renée, to Ferdinand, the archduke of Austria, Maximilian's grandson and Charles' brother.

Yet Anne was gravely ill: she had had frequent pregnancies, none of which had resulted in a healthy son. On her deathbed, Anne forgave Louise of Savoy and asked her, as Claude's mother-in-law, to help oversee her will. Anne died on January 2, 1514, and within a few months, the marriage of Claude and Francis was consummated. After Anne's death, Louis XII made a great show to reconcile himself with his enemies. He agreed that Renée would marry Ferdinand and that Milan would be her dowry; he ceded Tournai to Henry VIII and agreed to pay him 600,000 écus; and finally Louis himself married Henry VIII's sister Mary in October 1514. Louis XII died however one year after Anne of Brittany, on January 1, 1515.

Anne of Brittany was forced against her desire to become the queen of France, and in a way, she responded in kind. She never renounced the best interests of her
duchy of Brittany even when French interests were not at all served. In spite of her efforts to be a loyal French queen, her policies were often more helpful to the enemies of France. Her greatest frustration was that she had no son to inherit the kingdom of France and the duchy of Brittany. The French might have thought that the absorption of Brittany was well worth the trouble, but for Anne and her duchy, the loss of independence was a difficult price to pay.

The four fifteenth century queens of France had differing degrees of political power, but none of the queens possessed great authority. The queen's office was not conducive to independent political action. At best she could head a court faction that would try to influence the king, but in this capacity the queen acted as any other prince of the blood, and she always had competition. Isabeau of Bavaria and Anne of Brittany were named regents, but in both cases the honor was shared. Beyond the need for allies at court, Isabeau and Anne also shared a taste for intrigue. In the end, perhaps because the two foreign queens did not really have the best interests of France in mind, they failed to dictate government policy. For the most part, Marie of Anjou and Charlotte of Savoy were able to stay
outside politics, because both had healthy husbands and healthy sons. The queens could not control the factors that determined what political role they might play. As a result, they could not act from a position of independence or strength.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

1 Kelso, p. 236.

2 Ibid., p. 241.

3 The queen's letters to Parliament in behalf of others, AN X series and publications, see Bibliography.

4 Froissart, v. IX, 93.


That Isabeau corresponded frequently with the dukes is seen in the "messages" sections of her hôtel accounts, especially for those years of the KK 45 accounts. The account for the term of St. John in 1401 published by Douët-D'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel, pp. 143-148, shows the queen sending letters to Valentina Visconti, Louis of Orleans, and others.

From the Burgundian viewpoint, Vaughan writes, "France was saved from the horrors of civil war by the
successful mediation of the dukes of Berry and Bourbon and the queen . . . Louis' attempts, after 1400, to shoulder his way into the government of France and, if possible, to gain control of it, were thus thwarted successfully by Philip . . ."

21 Thibault, p. 309.

22 Nordberg, p. 70. This was exactly what had happened when Charles V died and left his young son Charles VI under the regency of Anjou. The dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Burgundy crowned the king, ended the regency as such, and ran the government together.

23 Thibault, p. 382. Nordberg, from the Orleanist viewpoint, states that King Charles was insane at this time and could not have knowingly denied his brother, Nordberg, p. 71. The usual story is that Charles' periods of sanity brought opportunities to his brother Orleans, and when the king was insane, Burgundy and the queen had a freer hand.

24 d'Avout, p. 75. R. Vaughan, John the Fearless (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), p. 32. Vaughan implies that the early alliance with Isabeau was a factor of John's popularity in Paris, his kinship with the queen, and diplomatic alignments outside France.


26 Ibid., 233.


30 Nordberg, p. 203. According to Vaughan, the agreement was not clarified until January 1406 when John was substituted for his father on the council of regency. Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 37.


32 Michelet, 44. The idea that Orleans had few attendants in order to draw little attention is only dramatic speculation. It is probable that Orleans visited Isabeau's hôtel Barbette often, and so there was no reason why his guard should not be down. L. Douët-d'Arcq, "Document inédit sur l'assassinat de Louis, duc d'Orléans," Annuaire bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France (1862), 6-25. P. Raymond, "Enquête du prêtre de Paris sur l'assassinat de Louis, duc d'Orléans 1407," BEC XXVI (1865), 215-249.

33 Monstrelet, v. I, 317-318. Monstrelet was a Burgundian and so he copied the whole speech, which took Petit four hours to give, complete with references. Petit did not attack genuine abuses of Orleans because he had to make Orleans a "tyrant" not simply corrupt. Vaughan writes that Petit's justification "stands out as one of the most insolent pieces of political chicanery and theological casuistry in all history," Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 70.


36 Parisian Journal, trans. from Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, by Shirley, p. 50. Isabeau must have understood that the Parisians received her well because she had come to terms with the popular duke of Burgundy.

37 Lehoux, v. III, 159.

38 BN Fr. 4628, fols. 449-450. Document is in U. Plancher, Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, 4 vols. (Dijon, 1739-1781), v. III, p. 264, n. 263. John the Fearless had, with the treaty of Melun "won control and personal ascendancy over the queen, titular ruler of France, she, too, now became an instrument of Burgundian power, as a result, if we are to believe Monstrelet, of the mediation or persuasion of William of Bavaria," Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 81.


40 Ibid., 231. Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 89, and d'Avout, p. 137.

41 Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 99. The high motives of the Burgundians were not enough to restrain the anger of the Parisians who wanted to see the death of certain officials. The intensity of the anger is obvious in the pro-revolutionary writing of the anonymous Bourgeois of Paris who was delighted to see the executions of Pierre des Essarts, Jacques de la Rivière, and Simon du Mesnil, Journal, ed. Shirley, pp. 70-79. P. Champion, "Document inédit sur l'insurrection parisienne de 1413," Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris, XXXVII (1910), 36-39.

42 D'Avout, p. 185.

43 Religieux, v. V, 47. Shirley, ed. Journal, pp. 70-71. The Bourgeois of Paris wrote: "In the week before Ascension Day the whole town again rose up in arms and went to the Hôtel St. Pol where the Queen's brother was. They took
him prisoner, breaking down the door of the room he was in, and arrested too some thirteen or fourteen noble ladies, young and old, who were well aware of all his wickedness, and bundled all the lot of them into the Louvre. This man, the queen's brother, had intended to be married the next day, but his luck was out." Shirley, ed., pp. 71-72.


46Ibid., p. 75.

47K 57 B, n. 34.

48D'Avout, p. 215, and Lehoux, v. III, 374. The queen's switch in alliances to the Burgundian side is difficult to explain. The refusal of the Armagnacs to make peace and to keep the queen in the manner she was accustomed are possible explanations. Lehoux writes that "il est difficile de savoir où allaient les sympathies d'Isabeau de Bavière. Notons, néanmoins, qu'en décembre 1414-janvier 1415 le duc de Bourgogne avait correspondu 'pour affaires secretales' avec la reine et avec la duchesse de Guyenne. Son messager fut obligé de 'passer et repasser, en habits déguisés, au milieu de ses ennemis, en grand peril de sa personne et de sa chevance.'" 374, ft. 8.


50Religieux, v. VI, 73-74.

51BN Fr. 20615, fol. 23. In BN Fr. 22452, fol. 4, Isabeau tried to collect taxes from Normandy.


53For the Burgundian attack on Paris, J. Garnier, "Documents relatifs à la surprise de Paris par les


P. Bonenfant, Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes (Brussels: Palais des Academies, 1958), p. 181. Bonenfant is sympathetic to Isabeau and takes exception to those such as Michelet who wrote that Isabeau was an evil woman who deliberately wronged her son, Michelet, 104.

Bonenfant, pp. 133-136. According to the author, the idea that the dauphin was illegitimate was a later invention created for English propaganda purposes. The queen did not cast doubts on the legitimacy of her son.


Facinger, 39-40.


Frager, p. 186.

Vale, p. 51. Printed in J. Quicherat, Procès de condamnation et de rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc (Paris: SHF, 1841-1849), v. V, 129. The names of the three Angevins who wrote the accounts were Beauveau, Moreal, and Lusse.


65R. Vaughan, Philip the Good (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970), pp. 115-116. According to Vaughan, "The whole course of French foreign policy in 1444 seemed to threaten Burgundy, for, while Charles VII himself held court at Nancy in Lorraine and unsuccessfully besieged Metz, the dauphin Louis campaigned against the Swiss. Charles was supposedly acting on René of Anjou's behalf, and Louis had gone to the rescue of Frederick III of Habsburg, but the real aim of their expeditions seems to have been to extend French influence over Metz, Toul, Verdun and Basel."


68Ibid., 68.


70BN Fr. 20429, fol. 61, letter quoted in Vale, p. 190.


72BN Fr. 5727, fol. 10.


Yolanda's marriage to a son of the duke of Savoy had been one of Charles VII's reasons for not wanting his son Louis to marry Charlotte of Savoy. Charles felt one Savoyard marriage in the royal family was sufficient, Champion, v. I, 203.

Louis was rumored to be about to claim Savoy because Yolanda's healthiest son had died, and her other sons were in poor health. The boys had spent much time in France. Kendall, pp. 243-244.

Cleugh, p. 228.

Kendall, p. 123.

BN Fr. 2916, fol. 3 and BN Fr. 2907, fol 4, respectively. The lord du Bouchage, Imbert de Batarney, was one of Louis XI's most trusted friends and the only one who went back with him to the times he was a prince in the Dauphine. It is doubtful that Charlotte's writing
to him instead of the king is very significant.

Commynes, v. II, 424. Louis had at least two mistresses and several illegitimate children while he was a dauphin, but he was not known to have had any mistresses during his reign. Cleugh, pp. 105-106.


J 605, n. 82 with Castile, J 893, n. 9 with Albret, and J 648, n. 15 with England.


Ibid.

Fr. 15523, fol. 25. The great disorder in the king's house refers to Brittany. Anne did not sign the charter.


Fr. 2922, fol. 27. Published by Le Roux de Lincy, Vie de la reine Anne, v. III, 17-18.
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94) 246, n. 120. Published by H. Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne, 3 vols.


97) Toudouze, p. 177.


100) J. S. C. Bridge, A History of France from the Death of Louis XI, v. III, Reign of Louis XII 1498-1507. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 229-241, for the entire Gié affair. Brantôme (P. de Bourdeille) Œuvres complètes, ed. L. Lalanne, 12 vols. (Paris: SHF, Renouard, 1864-1896), v. VII, 310-311. According to Bridge: "Brantôme asserts that during the king's illness Anne of Brittany got together several boatloads of valuables for transport to Brittany, and that Gié stopped the vessels in the king's name. The story is not confirmed by the record of the trial, in which, had it been true, it must have figured conspicuously. Nor does that record support the queen's allegation that she and her daughter were in danger of arrest at Gié's hands." Bridge, v. III, 231.
101 J 951, n. 7. First part published in Isambert, etc., v. XI, 443-444. This is also Louis XII's will.

102 Toudouze, p. 187.
Christine de Pisan once wrote that "the servant gives what his master wants, and the good lady will have servants like herself." Since the company a queen kept was a reflection on her, Christine suggested that discipline and order were the most important characteristics of the queen's household. With Isabeau of Bavaria on the throne, there was no living example for Christine's reader, but Jeanne of Bourbon, the wife of Charles V, was the perfection Christine sought. In *Le livre des faïs du sage roi Charles V*, Christine spoke of "the order and perfect unity" which governed the court of Queen Jeanne. This "marvelous order" was apparent when the queen's mother, the duchesses, countesses, and ladies, all decent women of quality who conducted themselves honorably, dressed in the proper garments, each according to her rank. According to Christine, Jeanne's court was under the king's direction, and nothing new could be introduced without his approval. Still, in *Le livre des Trois Vertus*, Christine recognized that the queen herself had a great personal responsibility to select
good, loyal, unselfish men of good judgment for her councillors. To do this, a good princess would inquire carefully whether the men she chose for councillors were such good men, because good men would not give bad counsel. 3

The personnel of a queen's court can be divided into categories according to their function. 4 First, there were well paid religious men such as the queen's personal confessor, her almsgivers who dispensed charity, and chaplains who said mass. Secondly, there were the attendants who received generous pensions but had no assigned function except to accompany and attend the queen and to add prestige to her court. These chevaliers, dames, damoiselles, and children were of noble or rich bourgeois families. A third type of personnel of the queen's household included the men and women who worked within the hôtel and argenterie bureaucracies. These began with the grand master of the hôtel and other masters of the hôtel who made major purchases for the queens and oversaw the monthly accounts. Marcel Rey found that during Isabeau of Bavaria's reign these men were mostly undistinguished chevaliers of the king whose chief qualification was their personal wealth. 5 The other officers from the hôtel organization were the staff members of the six household departments: the paneterie,
échansonnerie, écurie, fruiterie, fourrière, and cuisine. These included the panetiers, échansons, écuyers, fourriers, cooks, clerks, secretaries, valets, huissiers, sommeliers, laundresses, and maids. The queen also employed doctors, druggists, astrologers, tailors, embroiderers, and jewelers, as well as dwarfs and musicians. Fourthly, there were the queen's financial officers who were most closely supervised by the king and in some cases directly appointed by him. The queen's treasurer, who received all the monies owed her, was always an experienced bureaucrat, named by both the king and his councillors and approved by the queen. The master of the chamber of deniers, likewise appointed by the king, made out the queen's hôtel accounts and presented them to the king. The master was assisted by the controller of the chamber of deniers who might receive the master's office at its vacancy. The argentier also presented his accounts to the king who appointed him and also had a controller to assist him. The fifth category of personnel at the queen's court was the queen's political advisers such as her chancellor, councillors, lawyers, and notaries.

Isabeau of Bavaria

The reign of Isabeau of Bavaria, 1385-1422, was peaceful during the early years when her court was first
set up, but the stability did not last. With the insanity of the king in 1392, the queen's role as president of the regency council made her the titular ruler of France. In the subsequent conflict between the Armagnacs and Burgundians to determine who would have the real power, Isabeau made alliances with one party and then another. Her chief political officers could not survive changes in the royal government and the shifts in the queen's personal alliances. Still, there was continuity in Isabeau's household throughout her reign, especially among the less political personnel.8

In the first weeks after her marriage in July 1385, Isabeau was assigned a hôtel, or household, with the usual staff of a grand master, five masters, ladies, horsemen, and priests, and a master and controller of the chamber of deniers. Philippe de Savoisy, himself a chevalier from a minor noble family, who had been chamberlain and councillor to the late king Charles V, was named grand master of the queen's new household.9 At the same time, Jean le Perdrier, a clerk in the king's chamber of accounts, was put in charge of the queen's chamber of deniers where he stayed until his death in early 1403. At the first of each month, the master of the chamber of deniers made an account of the hôtel's expenses for
the preceding month which was witnessed by at least two
masters of the hôtel who had made the major purchases.
Hôtel purchases, which included foodstuffs, horses,
cookware, utensils, wax, wood, and such items to maintain
the household, were not personal possessions of the
queen. As long as she shared her husband's argenterie,
Isabeau's personal expenses were controlled by the king.
Thus, until Charles VI's insanity, Isabeau's financial
affairs were not particularly notable.

In January 1393 after the regency that gave Isabeau
guard of the dauphin was set up, the queen and her
children received their own argenterie to assure a
smoother transition of power. On May 25, 1393, the king's
letters named Hemon Raguier, who was then master of the
dauphin's chamber of deniers, argentier of the queen,
dauphin, and the other royal children with 10,000 l.p.
for the office and a 100 l.p. a year salary for the
officer.10 The mad king also issued letters that all
the cloths, gold, and furs bought by Raguier would be
delivered to the queen for her use "without asking any
other information."11 As Isabeau's expenditures increased,
charges of corruption began to follow her officers.
Evidence of mismanagement within Isabeau's offices began
with the accounts of Jean le Blanc, Isabeau's second
argentier. After Hemon Raguier had left this post to
become royal treasurer for the wars in April 1400, Jean le Blanc, a clerk in the offices of the queen, was named argentier at 100 l.p. wages annually. Although he was not himself corrupt, Jean had a great deal of trouble collecting the argenterie's assigned revenues which, if nothing else, pointed to bad will among the collectors. In the 1402-1403 term, which was Le Blanc's second account, the chapter entitled "deniers rendus et non reçus" entered the argenterie books. Within the three years from October 1403 to September 1406 the sum of deniers put in receipt but not actually received totaled 32901 l.p. Rey has calculated that during the term of 1406-1407 instead of the 32172 l.p. of receipts and 45117 l.p. in expenses, the actual receipts were 17621 l.p. and the expenses 30566 l.p. of which 7127 l.p. were debts. Rey also found that during this period the king's chamber of accounts lost much of its regulatory functions over the queen's argenterie.

In response to these problems, an attempt was made to improve the management of the queen's finances. In November 1405, Adam de Bragelongne, a bourgeois who was receiver of aides at Sens, came to Paris to become "receiver general of finances" for the queen. The new officer was to centralize all the queen's receipts, to distribute them among the proper offices, and to pay
directly certain pensions. The establishment of Bragelone as receiver general was also designed to facilitate the replacement of tax collectors who did not pay. This experiment with a treasurer was abandoned after only two years, but the need to improve the queen's financial management remained.

The extravagant demands placed on the realm by Isabeau's finances angered the Parisians and their Burgundian allies. In October 1409, when the Burgundians ruled in Paris, Jean de Montaigu, grand master of the king's hôtel and once a master of the queen's hôtel, was hanged; Pierre de l'Esclat, one of the queen's councillors, was threatened with arrest; and Hemon Raguier, formerly Isabeau's argentier and now one of the king's treasurers for the war, was relieved of his position. In November 1409, Isabeau made peace with John of Burgundy, and the duke's anger against her officers subsided. In December, with Burgundy still in power, the king gave to Hemon Raguier the office of treasurer and receiver general of the queen's finances.

Charles, by the grace of God king of France . . . Let it be known that we have full confidence in the loyalty and diligence of Hemon Raguier, and considering the great services that he has done for us and for our very dear and beloved consort the queen . . . at the request of our consort we have retained Hemon as councillor and treasurer general of our consort with wages of 500 l.t. to
take on the queen's finances and with all the rights, profits, and rewards that ought to accompany the office . . . And we give to him power and authority to ask and to receive all the deniers that belong to our wife because of the lands she holds or the gifts we have made and the monies assigned to her . . . and to distribute and spend the deniers as it pleases our consort . . . and generally to do all the things that the office of treasurer general ought to do. And our treasurers, our councillors, . . . our men of accounts at Paris will allow this without any contradiction . . . We place our seal.

Paris, December 30, 1409. Signed by the king in his council, the kings of Sicily and of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bavaria, and others.

Isabel, by the grace of God queen of France . . . Let it be known that at our request and in consideration of the services that Hemon has made to the king and to us, it has pleased the king to retain him as our councillor and treasurer general. We want in this as in all other things to follow the will and order of the king. We have full confidence in the loyalty, prudence, and diligence of Hemon . . . We retain him as our councillor, treasurer and receiver general of all our finances with wages of 500 l.t. annually from our finances with the rights, profits, and rewards which ought to belong to him. And he is given full power and authority to ask for us and in our name all the deniers which belong to us because of our revenues and lands, the aides, and gifts made to us by the king . . . And he will receive, distribute, and spend them as we will order him, and he will see, visit, and know the status of the receivers and grenetiers both of the aides and in the domain, and the receivers will show him their true status and will give to him all the deniers that they owe to us. And generally he will do all the things that the office of treasurer and receiver general ought to do. Thus we give these letters to our chancellor, the sire of Olhain, who gives Hemon the oath . . . We order this to our receivers and grenetiers and other officers to obey and listen to Hemon and to advise him. We place our seal.

April 8, 1410, Signed by the queen, and with the seal of the prévôté of Paris. (Jean Salaut)
According to Rey, Isabeau's attempt to have a treasury entirely at her discretion was a failure. Reguier had no controller, but he remained nominally under the control of the king's chamber of accounts before which he would be called as in 1417. The real reason for the failure though was the ascent of the popular reformer John the Fearless of Burgundy.

Among the most serious charges brought against the queen's court by the Parisians and Burgundians were the steadily increasing revenues paid as pensions to the queen's ladies, damoiselles, and officers. Only a few of the queen's personnel, those who performed services, were paid wages: the financial officers, physicians, horsemen of the écurie, the tailors, and artisans. The ladies, councillors, masters of the hôtel, and religious of high rank were all on pensions. In 1411, there were thirty-six women, from ladies of honor to laundresses, in the queen's service. Approximately six women served as dames, four or five were damoiselles, five were servants, and the rest were nurses and servants of the royal children. The ladies and servants often spent many years with the queen, but the damoiselles were at court usually for only two years. Such noble dames as Jeanne of Luxembourg and Bonne Visconti received pensions of 600 l.t. in 1411, although Isabelle of Melun, the
countess of Eu, and her daughter Jeanne of Artois, who were among Isabeau's earliest companions, had received as much as 1000 l.t. and 1500 l.t. respectively in 1398. In general, the other ladies in 1411 received 200 l.t. while damoiselles received 140 l.t. and servants from 40 l.t. to 20 l.t. Rey's calculation that the women cost 4000 l.t. annually is not especially high. 19

The grand masters of the queen's hôtel, who were important noblemen, received high pensions. Yon de Garencièrès, a military captain from Normandy and king's chamberlain, Isabeau's grand master from 1398 to 1409, received 1500 l.t. in pension annually. His successor Jean de Roussay, who likewise received 1500 l.t. in pension, was a chevalier, a former chamberlain to Louis of Orleans, and an Armagnac partisan. In November 1411, he was replaced by Guy de Nielle, seigneur of Offémont, who, as a former servant of the dauphin, was capable of dealing with the Burgundians and Armagnacs alike. Under the grand master were five or six masters of the hôtel whose function it was to make purchases for the queen, to advise her on political and financial matters, and to attend the monthly accounts. Among them were such men on the rise as Jean de Montaigu, who later served as grand master of the king's hôtel, Guillaume Cassinel, whose father had been a sergeant of arms for Charles V,
and the brothers Louis and Charles de Villiers. The masters of the hôtel received pensions of 200 l.t. annually.

Religious personnel and financial officers were also pensioners of the queen. Among the religious, Friar Michel le Doyen, the queen's confessor, received 200 l.t. of pension annually, while her chaplains, almsgiver, sommelier of the chapel, and the chapel clerk each received 76 l. 13 s. 4 d.t. in 1410. In the same year, the queen's financial officers also received pensions, but in their case the pension was in addition to their wages. Hemon Raguier, the treasurer general, received 1000 l.t. in addition to his 500 l.t. of wages; Jean le Blanc, the argentier, received a 100 l.t. pension in 1410 as did Jean d'Essoyes, controller of the chamber of deniers, and Guillaume du Palais, controller of the argenterie. Thus these men appeared on the lists of pensioners in the treasury accounts while their wages were recorded in either the hôtel or argenterie accounts.

The highest pensions were paid to the queen's political servants. Louis of Bavaria received huge amounts of money from his sister, as for example, 9000 l.t., "to help pay the debts of his late wife" which he received in three installments from April 1410 to August 1412. Beginning in November 1409, Isabeau had a chancellor
who received 1000 l.t. annually to guard her seal and
the seal of the dauphin, to take charge of administrative
services, and to administer the oath of office to new
servants. The first chancellor Jean de Nielles, the
sire of Olhain, a notary and member of the Burgundian
party, lost his office in March 1413 to a man more to
the queen's liking. However, as with Nielles, the
second chancellor, Jean de Vailly, was shared by the
queen and the dauphin Louis of Guienne. Finally, in
October 1414, Isabeau obtained her own chancellor,
Robert le Maçon, a master of requêtes in the king's hôtel,
ennobled in 1401 and an Angevin who would leave Paris
in 1418 with the arrival of the Burgundians to become
the chancellor for the dauphin Charles. Working in the
chancery office was Jean Salaut, Isabeau's first
secretary, who received 100 l.t. in pension as did Jean
le Picard, her second secretary.

Finally, there were those who advised the queen,
her councillors. In 1393, Isabeau had been named chief
guardian of the dauphin in the regency council, and
later she served as nominal president of the king's
council, but these councils were made up of the princes
of the blood. On the other hand, the queen's councillors
were lawyers, chevaliers, and religious who helped the
queen with her own political problems. In 1403, the
king designated Pierre de l'Esclat, a procureur, master of requêtes in the king's hôtel and former vice president of the chamber of aides, to oversee the affairs of the queen.22 As the political crisis deepened, the queen's internal affairs had implications for the entire realm. Accordingly, John the Fearless of Burgundy attempted to name Isabeau's advisers, but the queen herself preferred old councillors who were faithful only to her. In 1409, Pierre de l'Esclat received 500 l.t. for his service as queen's councillor as did the late bishop of Senlis, Jean Dodieu.23 In 1410, men referred to as the queen's councillors included her "Burgundian" chancellor Jean de Nielles at 1000 l.t. and her grand master Roussay at 1500 l.t., and in 1411, Hemon Raguier, her new treasurer, was added with his 1000 l.t. pension. Roussay and Nielles, both casualties of the civil conflict, left the queen's court within two years.

During the Cabochien days in Paris, Isabeau of Bavaria's court was singled out as a chief source of corruption. In February 1413, the butchers and their allies at the university of Paris spoke angrily of the foreigners at the queen's court, the dishonesty of her favorites, and the huge sums demanded by the queen's offices. On the one hand, the charge that the queen's hôtel now cost 154000 l.t., while in the past 36000 l.t.
had sufficed, seems unfair since the 154000 l.t. figure was from the queen's treasury accounts which centralized monies destined for the hôtel, the argenterie, and pensions. On the other hand, the people of Paris did not concede to Isabeau the right to have her own argenterie in the first place. There were also complaints from local merchants that in spite of the wealth, the royal household did not pay its bills, and there were complaints from lower ranked servants that they did not receive their wages while such superior officers as Hemon Raguier diverted funds to themselves. On April 23, the Paris rebels invaded the Hotel Saint Pol and arrested Louis, duke of Bavaria, Guillaume de Boisratiérs, the archbishop of Bourges, Isabeau's confessor, and about ten of her ladies and damoiselles. Ultimately, the ordonnance cabochienne, issued on May 25, sought to reform the royal bureaucracies: in the future all purchases would have to be accounted for, gifts given by the royal family would have to be approved, expenses would have to be reduced in line with receipts, certain unnecessary servants would have to be released, and finally the responsible officers would have to appear before and answer to the king's chamber of accounts.

Although the ordonnance cabochienne never went into effect, Isabeau's household never resumed its opulence,
not so much as a result of the discredit to her but more as a result of the general state of war and anarchy that characterized the rest of her reign. From 1413 on, the parties, whether Armagnac, Burgundian, or English, tried to win the queen over with promises of funds that would keep her in the state to which she had been accustomed, but no one trusted her enough, and in fact no one could afford to do it.

Marie of Anjou

Françoise Barry has pointed out that Marie of Anjou experienced a reign exactly opposite to that of Isabeau of Bavaria's: while Isabeau fell from luxury into ruin, Marie began with poverty and ended up wealthy. Although she had little personal political power, Marie's impressive court was the result of the careful attention she gave to her two most vital assets, her finances and her children. During the forty years of her reign, Marie's court became a highly organized and sophisticated bureaucracy. The Angevins were noted for impressive courts, and to this Marie added an interest in finances, especially those of her salt granaries in Languedoc and Saintonge. In the absence of comparable accounts, it is difficult to say if Marie's court was
larger than Isabeau's, but it is obvious that the types of personnel were the same. Marie's reign shows that political power was not a prerequisite for a large, active queen's court. 27

In November 1422, Guillaume le Baudreyer, one of the king's secretary-clerks and master of the chamber of deniers for the queen, was already making his tenth account of the expenses of Marie of Anjou, who had been queen only a few months. His first account was apparently made in 1418 after the dauphin Charles and his wife had fled the conquest of Paris by Duke John of Burgundy and Queen Isabeau of Bavaria. The tenth account was made at Bourges, and the succeeding ones, whether at Bourges, Poitiers, Loches, Tours, Chinon, or elsewhere were characterized by the queen's frugality and her long list of debts. Several of Marie's early officers were Armagnacs who had also fled Paris in 1418. Philippe Berthier, Marie's controller of the chamber of deniers, had been, in 1415, a secretary in the household of the dauphin Louis of Guienne in Armagnac-occupied Paris. Another member of the household of Louis of Guienne was Henri de Lisac, one of Marie's early masters of the hôtel. Lisac, who had been an écuyer d'écurie under Louis of Guienne, was "the sort of ambitious petty noble always in quest everywhere for lucrative
positions."\textsuperscript{28} In 1394, he had been keeper of the seal of the viscounty of Falaise where he had earned a reputation for not being able to read and write.\textsuperscript{29} In spite of this, Lisac was a popular enough figure to hold the post of keeper of the king's épargne from 1398 to 1400, and soon he won the confidence of Queen Isabeau of Bavaria and even held one of her sons at his baptism. Although he was not politically active, Lisac chose to continue in the service of the dauphin of France and joined Marie of Anjou's staff, where he attended the monthly accounting frequently.

A third connection between the household of Marie of Anjou and the Armagnac party came with the presence of the widow of one of the late dauphin Louis of Guienne's chamberlains, Guy VI, sire of La Roche-Guyon. Guy, a chevalier, councillor, and chamberlain to King Charles VI in addition to his position with Louis of Guienne, was killed at Agincourt leaving his wife Perrette de la Rivière. Perrette was the daughter of Jean Bureau, seigneur de la Rivière, who, as one of the "Marmousets," had served as first chamberlain for both Charles V and Charles VI. Perrette's brother Charles de la Rivière, the count Dammartin, was also the first chamberlain of the dauphin Louis of
Guienne and a loyal Armagnac. 30 Perrette became one of Marie of Anjou's ladies of honor at the beginning of the queen's reign and eventually became the first lady of honor at Marie's court. Perrette was also the mother of Guy VI's two sons, Guy VII and Charles de la Roche-Guyon, who were probably the two écuyers of honor at Queen Marie's court during the early years of her reign.

There were also at Marie of Anjou's court the old ties from the queen's family, the Angevins. Jeanne de Montberon, the lady of Cursay, a lady of honor in Marie's household in 1448, was the daughter of François, sire of Montberon, who had done homage to the duke of Anjou in 1417. François himself was the son of Jacques of Montberon, the first chamberlain to Duke John of Berry, and François had married the heiress of Jean de Clermont, viscount of Aunoy. After Jeanne's first husband Louis Girard died, she married François de Clermont, seigneur of Surgeres and Dampierre who became the queen's master of the hôtel and chevalier of honor. Jeanne's sister, Catherine de Montberon, married Joachim Girard, seigneur of Basoches, écuyer d'écurie of the queen, who gave him 200 l.t. of land rent from La Houssaye. 31
Another Angevin vassal in the queen's household was
Hardouin VIII, baron of Maillé, the seigneur de la
Clarté. Hardouin, who served as grand master of
the king's hôtel and also of the queen's hôtel,
received a 500 l.t. pension in 1433 and a 1200 l.t.
pension in 1447. He had married Perrenelle of
Amboise in 1412 in the presence of Marie of Anjou's
parents, the king and queen of Sicily, at their court
at Angers.32

The close relationship between Marie of Anjou and
her brother René, duke of Anjou and king of Sicily,
also benefitted lesser members of both households.
One of the queen's squires received four écus for
helping outfit the drivers who took Jeanne of Laval
from Angers to Chinon after her marriage to René
in 1453. Queen Marie also gifted officers from the
households of René and Jeanne on occasion: when René
sent a wild pig to Marie, she gave an écu to the man
who brought it; when Jeanne sent letters to Marie,
the messengers were rewarded two écus; and when
Marie took ill, she sent to Angers for her brother's
doctor, Jacques de Blandrate, to whom she paid 165 l.t.,
and for her brother's apothecary, who received
96 l. 5 s.t. Marie's jeweler, Gilbert Jean, made
gold and enamel designs in the colors of Anjou for
the queen to give to her brother René on New Year's
Day, and she gave his squires New Year's gifts, called
estrennes, when they brought his present to her. 33

The primary influence at Marie of Anjou's court
however was that of her husband, King Charles VII.
A good example of officers who served both the king
and queen of France was the Gamaches family.
Guillaume II of Gamaches, a councillor and chamberlain
to Charles VI and the late dauphin Louis of Guienne,
had been captured at Agincourt and was rewarded for
his service by an appointment as captain of Compiegne
in 1422 and governor of the hunt. Since Guillaume
de Gamaches was a loyal Dauphinst, he was unemployed
and imprisoned in 1423 when the English were occupying
Paris. Charles VII rewarded him in 1424 by naming
him master of the waters and forests. Guillaume's
daughter Blanche, whose first marriage was to Jean,
seigneur of Chatillon, and second marriage was to
Louis of Chalons, the prince of Orange, was a lady
at Marie's court from 1447 to 1461. In addition,
Guillaume's brother, Jean de Gamaches, was a master of
the hôtel for Charles VII, Marie of Anjou, and their son, the dauphin Louis, during the difficult 1420's. In the 1430's, Jean continued to serve the queen while he was also a powerful man at Charles VII's court, serving there as chevalier, councillor, and chamberlain. Another man who served both the king and queen was Jacques Odart, the sire of Cursay, the grand panetier of France, who was also a panetier to Marie as well as one of her écuyers d'écurie.

Another indication of the close relationship of the king and queen's households was the tendency for the king's men to marry into the queen's household and to install their daughters or sisters there. It has already been mentioned that Marie's damoiselle Blanche de Gamaches was the sister of Jean de Gamaches, one of the king's masters of the hôtel, and that Jeanne de Montberon, another of Marie's damoiselles, married François de Clermont, lord of Dampierre, one of Charles VII's chevaliers and grand panetiers. In addition, Colette de Vaux, one of Marie's ladies, was married to Charles, seigneur de Gaucourt, the governor and lieutenant general of Paris and the Île de France, councillor and chamberlain, who served both Charles VII and Louis XI. Another of Marie's ladies, Charlotte de Prie, married Geoffroy de Chabannes, the son of
Charles VII's grand master, Jacques de Chabannes.

With such interplay between the two royal courts, it was natural that the queen's ladies would be involved in political scandal. One of Marie's ladies, Jeanne of Vendôme, the lady of Mortange, falsely accused Jacques Coeur, Charles VII's argentier, of poisoning Agnes Sorel, the king's mistress. Coeur was a good friend of the dauphin Louis, who was known to dislike Agnes. Jeanne's accusation, made during the financier's downfall in 1451, which was eighteen months after Sorel's death, was probably the result of Jeanne's debt to Coeur of 200 écus. Since the charge was obviously false, Jeanne was fined and banished from court. Another of Marie's ladies, Pregente de Melun, was especially detested by the dauphin Louis, because he felt Pregente had led his wife, Margaret of Scotland, astray. Margaret liked Pregente so much that the dauphine herself had convinced Marie to make Pregente a demoiselle of honor after the disgrace of Marguerite de Villequier had left a vacancy at the queen's court. Pregente supposedly owned books on the subject of love and encouraged Margaret to stay up all night writing poetry. Margaret's close friendship with the queen also angered the dauphin. On her deathbed, Margaret recited a poem for the queen and her ladies.
After the dauphin went into exile, Marie concentrated her maternal efforts on her second son, Charles. At least one of Marie's servants, François du Plessis, a valet *tranchant*, sided with Prince Charles against Louis XI in the League of the Public Weal.

The close connection between the court of Charles VII and Marie of Anjou was also reflected in the financial offices. Marie received a portion of the revenues of the salt granaries of Languedoc as a gift from the king, and later the salt revenues were part of her dower. The men who collected these revenues were the queen's own men. Marie asked the king to name her *argentier*, Etienne le Vernois, *grenetier* of salt at Montpellier, and she regularly authorized Vernois to spend the monies for a certain purpose. The revenues had to be audited by the king's chamber of accounts at Paris, but in this letter Marie asked the king's accountants to make an exception in her case.

Marie, by the grace of God queen of France, to our very beloved and dear auditors of accounts ordered by the king in the Languedoc, Greetings. Our dear and faithful *argentier* Etienne le Vernois, has been committed by us to receive 10 d.t. on each quintal of salt
sold in all the granaries in Languedoc, which we take each year by grant of the king, and which Vernois has received for us for about four years, and for which he must render account which is right. And for this, his records are in Languedoc, and it would be more convenient, more secure, and less costly for us to give the account before you in Languedoc and not carry or send it to the chamber of accounts at Paris. And the fact is that this tax is such a small thing and of such small value that it is not necessary to make a great voyage to render the account before you as the other receivers particular of the king make their accounts in Languedoc ...

Tours. January 15, 1448
By the queen.

The unsafe roads were a factor again in 1452 when the queen gave Jean Pauye, a notary and secretary of the king and grenetier at Pezenas, 50 l.t. for changing 1375 l.t. from the money of Languedoc to 1000 écus gold and bringing it from Montpellier to Tours "at his own peril" in order to pay wages to the officers and people of Marie's hôtel.45

The queen could always call on the king's officers when she needed help enforcing her own rights. In 1435, Marie wrote to the king's chamber of accounts asking that they compensate her treasurer Jean Bernard after he had received 400 marcs of gold at a price of 20 blancs the marc only to find that the local merchants would accept only eighteen blancs for the gold which meant a 30 l.t. loss.46 In another incident on March 22, 1450, Marie
sent her écuyer d'écuyer Joachim Girard and her receiver of the salt revenues in Poitou Jean Pasquier to discuss the Poitou salt revenues with the king and his council at Rouen. The three-day, six-horse journey cost 49 l. 13 s. 5 d.t., which was to come out of the Poitou salt revenues according to the queen's command to the king's chamber of accounts. Marie also asked in 1455 that Mathieu de Nanterre, the king's counselor in the court of Parlement and president of the requêtes at the royal palace in Paris, travel on her business to Aragon where she had inherited properties from her mother. On another occasion, Marie employed Jean Simon, a counselor and lawyer of the king in Parlement, to plead her land rights case at court against the count of Nevers.

The queen's chief financial officers were appointed by the king while her other financial officers were younger bureaucrats interested in serving the king himself someday. Among the former group was Jean Bonin who had been an adjoint at the court of aides during the early reign of Charles VI before he became Marie's treasurer general in the 1420's. Jean Bochetel was a notary and secretary of King Charles VII before and after his appointment to the office of "treasurer and receiver of all finances including the argenterie of the queen."

The king's letters, seconded by letters of his council,
awarded the post to Bochetel for two year periods. Jean Berthelot, master of the chamber of deniers of the queen from 1452 to 1463 was perhaps related to Pierre Burdelot, notary and secretary of the king, who was doing the king's argenterie accounts at the same time. Most of Marie's financial officers were young clerks who advanced into important posts after serving the queen. Jean de Fromentières, the clerk of the queen's chamber of deniers in the 1420's, was a clerk in the king's chamber of accounts from 1436 to 1448 and then councillor at the court of aides from 1464 to 1470. Michel Gaillard, the queen's treasurer and receiver general in 1453 and controller of her argenterie from 1453 to 1457, was receiver general of aides in Languedoil from 1474 to 1475 and ended up an extraordinary master clerk to King Louis XI from 1477 to 1482. Likewise, Jean Gaudete, the controller of Marie's chamber of deniers in 1457, rose to become a general of finances in 1472 under Louis XI even after Gaudete had served as treasurer of the wars for Marie's second son Charles, count of Maine, during the revolt against the king. Finally Jean de Brécy, Marie's financial secretary, moved into Louis XI's court as a secretary of the king, and later Brécy served Charles VIII as well. Thus, many of Marie's financial officers, as well as her hôtel officers and ladies, had connections
with the king's court at some time in their careers.

**Charlotte of Savoy**

Charlotte of Savoy was an obscure, secluded queen, but her household officers and ladies were from all parts of France. Charlotte's court had few Savoyard connections: instead, a strong relationship with the king of France, Louis XI, was essential. As with Marie of Anjou, Charlotte's household started small and grew to become a sizable bureaucracy.53

The personnel of the household of Charlotte of Savoy were often in the service of her husband, Louis XI. Charlotte's masters of the hôtel, her écuyers, and her officers often performed the identical service for the king. Meri de Couë, the seigneur of Fontenailles, Charlotte's écuyer d'écurie, had repulsed the Burgundians at Beauvais for Louis XI, and Guillaume de Brécy, another of Charlotte's écuyers and her first echanson, was also the king's écuyer and captain of the franc archers at Limousin. Philippe des Essars III, seigneur of Thieux and Liée and captain of the chateau of Montils-les-Tours, was
the king's **panetier** and also master of the **hôtel** for both the king and queen in 1463-1464. Philippe had been a servant of Francis, duke of Brittany, and had concluded a treaty between the duke and Louis XI, but the king won Philippe over to France with pensions, the post of master of the waters and forests, and the bailli of Meaux. Among the other masters of the **hôtel** who served both the king and queen were the **écuyers** Jacques Trousseau, Jean des Aubus, Georges le Prevost, Etienne Moreau, Pierre Cleret, and Olivier Guerin. Among the political officers, Jean Tiercelin, the seigneur de Brosse, was listed both as Charlotte's councillor and as a **chartier** of the king. Jacques d'Epinay, the seigneur of Segré, another master of Charlotte's **hôtel**, was a close enough companion to Louis XI to have witnessed the king's last will.

The ladies of Charlotte's court were the wives and relatives of the men who served the king. Louise des Byers was the wife of Jean de Tardes, an **écuyer tranchant** of the king, and Jeanne de Courandon, the lady of Segré, was the wife of Jacques d'Epinay. Another lady, Martine Turpin, the lady of Bueil and
countess of Sancerre, received 3000 l.t. in pension in 1475; she was the wife of Jean V, sire of Bueil, an admiral of France. The lady Françoise Pinquette was the wife of Louis Herpin, valet tranchant of the queen, and Jeanne Pasquier, was the wife of Etienne Pasquier, Charlotte's fourrier. The seigneur of La Bussières was a councillor of the king, and the lady of Bussières, Françoise de la Forest, served as a lady to Margaret of Austria as well as Charlotte of Savoy.

Margaret of Austria, who was affianced to Charlotte's son Charles VIII, had her own household at Paris from 1482 to 1491 when Charles married Anne of Brittany. Among those females in the court of Charlotte of Savoy who went into Margaret of Austria's court were the ladies of Segré and Bussières, Anne Courtois the lady of Meaux, Marguerite de Sanzay the lady of Feuillet, Françoise Pinquette, Antoinette de Bussières, Gabrielle de Bussières, Isabeau de Martenay, Charlotte du Tillay, and Jeanne de Menetou. The men of Charlotte's court who later served Margaret included Segré, Pierre le Breton, Jean des Aubus, Guillaume de Bouzanton, Etienne Moreau, Jean d'Aux,
Georges de Brillac the seigneur de Courcelles, Jean du Fau, Pierre Cleret, and Georges le Prevost, all of whom served both Charlotte and Margaret as masters of the hôtel; the panetier Antoine Guérin; the valets Herpin, Predonault, and Pinquet; the écuvers Antoine d'Ancezune, Jacob des Aubus, and Gilles du Bec; the secretary Le May; the huissiers Jamet Hubelin and Guillaume Cimier; the valets de chambre de Paris and Haquinet; and Pierre Signac, who was also Margaret's controller of the argenterie. The easy passage from Charlotte's court to Margaret's demonstrated that these people were not personally linked to Charlotte of Savoy. Their real service was to the king, and they served the king by serving the queen or the future queen whomever she might be.

A few of Charlotte's financial officers moved on to other posts after their service with the queen. Pierre Signac, who was controller of Charlotte's argenterie and served in the same capacity for Margaret of Austria, later became Anne of Brittany's controller of the écurie. Martin du Bois, Charlotte's master of the chamber of deniers and argentier, also went on to serve in Charles VIII's reign as master of the hôtel of Anne's son, the dauphin Charles-Orland. Pierre Burdelot, who was Charlotte's treasurer in 1483, began in 1441 as a controller of the aides in the Outre-Seine region and ended his career as
Jacques de Moulins, master of the chamber of deniers of Queen Charlotte from 1472-1479, began his career as a notary and secretary to Louis XI and served as a receiver of fines at the court of aides from 1467 to 1468. As late as 1499, Moulins was councillor, master of the chamber of deniers, and accountant in charge of the payment of wages of the hôtel officers of Louis XII.

There are extant two lists of Charlotte of Savoy's household which call attention to curious aspects of the queen's court. One of these lists implies that attention was paid to the native cities, villages, and provinces of the officers of the queen. After each name on the list appeared the words "native of" and then the appropriate city or province. Charlotte herself lived at Amboise in the Loire valley, but her officers came from all parts of France. Madame de Bussièrè was a native of Dauphiné, Marie de Chazeron was from Auvergne, and Marie d'Auffey and her husband Jean de Lessau were from Abbeville in Picardy. The écuyer Antoine d'Ancezune was a native of Caderousse near Avignon, Pierre Bertran, an écuyer and valet of the paneterie, was from Navarre, Jean Viau, the charretier, was a native of Saintonge, Guillon Regnault, a huissier, was from Limosin, the jeweler Lambert was from Lorraine, and Nicolas Calonnat, the écuyer, was from
Savoy. Still there was an abundance of officers whose original homes were closer to Amboise. Among the masters of the hôtel, Olivier Guerin was from Berry, Pierre Cleret was from Poitou, and Thibault de Mareuil was from Brittany. Hervé l'Escouble, a sommelier, and Michel Moynart, a potagier, were from Maine, Blaise Savary, an échanson, and Etienne Boutet were from Berry, and the apothecary Jean Gascogne and Jean Dodineau, a sommelier of the paneterie, were from Anjou. The Loire valley also provided such financial officers as Martin du Bois, the master of the chamber of deniers and argentier, who was from Tours, and Louis le Maye, the controller, who was from Loches. From Amboise itself came the sire of Bruel, an échanson, Denis Brule, a hateur, Pierre Bourreau, the clerk, Jean le Paige, a charretier, Etienne Pasquier, the fourrier, Jean Davian, a baker, Jean Regnault, an aid, Jean Veron, an aid of the fourrière, and Fouquet, the doorman of the donjon at Amboise who watched the king's birds there.

A second list of Charlotte's personnel reveals that many of them were still on pension as former officers of the queen in December 1499, almost sixteen years after Charlotte's death. The most prominent were Charlotte's secretary Jean Lessau at 75 l.t. annually and his wife Marie d'Auffey, one of Charlotte's ladies, who received
40 l.t. annually. In addition, the daughter of Jean and Marie Lessau and the daughter's husband Louis le Lievre were also receiving a pension of 40 l.t. as a special gift from Charles VIII and Louis XII. The widow of the fourrier Etienne Pasquier, Jeanne, another former lady to Charlotte, was receiving 35 l.t. in pension; Jean Gascogne, the apothecary, took 60 l.t. annually; and Jean Poirier, a former écuyer of the cuisine took 30 l.t., as did Isabeau, the laundress, Etienne Rousseau, the fruitier, and Jean Saulin, the clerk. Martin Poupillart, a former sommelier in the échansonnerie, received a 27 l.t. pension, and Hamot Mignon, a sommelier of the fruiterie, Jean de Brion, a valet of the fourrière, Jean Guignart, a guard, and Louis Dubois, a porter, still earned pensions of 25 l.t. annually. Finally Jamet Hubelin, who had been a huissier de la salle to both Charlotte and Margaret of Austria, continued to receive 50 l.t. in pension as a former officer to Charlotte. To pay for the complete total of 962 l. 10 s.t. of pensions due in December 1499 to these and other former officers of his "cousin" Charlotte, King Louis XII issued orders that 1000 l.t. be taken from the receiver general of Normandy.61

Charlotte's household was dominated by Louis XI, and her officers owed their positions to him. This can be seen in a letter Charlotte wrote to Louis' close councillor
the lord du Bouchage. 62

Mons. du Bouchage. My master of the hôtel Olivier Guerin has told me that Jean du Ranger has told him that the king does not intend that "Jehinin" of my garderobe be in my house because he is a native of Picardy. And doubting that, du Ranger went to the king so that he could find out for me and my servants if "Jehinin" should go to know the pleasure of the king. And for this, I want you to put him in place to speak to the king, and you be present and help him because you know that he has been with me for twenty-four years since the king gave him to me, and I have found no fault in him. And write to me what the response of the king will be. Amboise, February 12, Charlotte (Le Mays)

Du Ranger himself was a sommelier of the échansonnerie from Normandy, and "Jehinin", the valet of the garderobe, was from Abbeville in Picardy as was Jean de Lessay, Charlotte's secretary. Since "Jehinin" had been in the garderobe for twenty-four years, Charlotte had probably acquired him when she was in exile with the king in Flanders. In any event, "Jehinin" was not at his post in 1483 when the queen died.

The absence of people with close personal ties to Charlotte is an unusual feature of her personnel lists. One knows from the chronicles that Charlotte's sisters, whose names do not appear on pension lists, were at times her closest companions. 63 Among Charlotte's sisters, Bonne married Gian Maria Galeazzo Sforza, Agnes married the count of Longueville son of Dunois, Jeanne married the son of Ferdinand the king of Sicily, and Marie married
the count of Saint Pol. In the account books, the names of Charlotte's two daughters Anne and Jeanne are frequent reminders that the queen was accompanied by other members of the royal family. Still, Charlotte was entirely dependent on the king for her court at Amboise, and Louis XI hoped to do the same to Margaret of Austria, whom he had chosen for his son Charles VIII. Instead, Charles married the duchess Anne of Brittany, and the queen's court became more her own than ever before.

Anne of Brittany

As should be expected, Anne of Brittany's household was enormous. Anne needed a special office simply to handle the payment of wages to her hôtel officers: Charles VIII recognized that the account would have to be made separately and with separate funds in order not to bankrupt the queen's treasury. After her marriage to Louis XII, Anne's household continued to grow. Anne of Brittany's court was distinguished by the high number of Bretons in attendance, the high rank of her ladies, and the patronage of arts and letters.64
Anne of Brittany was accompanied by important noble women whose presence added new prestige to the queen's court. For the first time in the fifteenth century, the queen's court served as a training ground for young European princesses. In 1500, Ladislas II, the king of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, asked for a French bride to secure his alliance with Louis XII. The queen's damoiselle Anne of Foix, daughter of Gaston IV of Foix and Catherine of Foix, who was the daughter of Eleanor of Aragon, the queen of Navarre, was chosen. Besides Catherine, Eleanor had another daughter, Margaret of Foix, who was Anne of Brittany's mother. Thus the queen's cousin was wed to the old king Ladislas and sent to Budapest in the company of Louis Herpin, master of the queen's hôtel, and Jean de la Guerche, écuyer of the queen. Anne of Foix arrived in March 1502 at Budapest where she was crowned queen of Hungary, but she died in July 1506. Another notable princess at Anne's court was Charlotte of Aragon, the daughter of Frederick III, the deposed king of Naples and Sicily, and his wife Jeanne of Savoy, Queen Charlotte's sister. After her mother died, Charlotte of Aragon, the princess of Taranto, was brought to the French court where she had her own household
as well as a position as lady of honor to Queen Anne. Unfortunately, the infamous Cesar Borgia, duke of Valentinois and son of Pope Alexander VI, was intent on marriage to Charlotte, but her father Frederick, who also took asylum in France, would not approve. Anne of Brittany herself came to Charlotte's rescue by arranging a marriage with Guy of Laval, the seigneur of La Roche, a good and loyal baron of Brittany. Another of Anne's ladies who married well was Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII, who in 1505 married the king of Aragon Ferdinand, widower of Isabelle of Castile.

The predominant feature of Anne's court was its Breton heritage. Anne of Brittany kept her household dignified, but exceptionally clannish. This tendency was solidly reinforced by Anne's establishment of the Cordelières, a sorority along the lines of a chivalric order, and only the most favored ladies and damoiselles wore the necklace of gold and precious jewels that symbolized membership. The order La Cordelière was in fact the feminization of an original idea of Anne's father, Duke Francis II of Brittany, who was a devotee of St. Francis. Although the idea was to "live a chaste, saintly life along the lines of Jesus Christ," such a
member as Anne's lady Jeanne Chabot, the dame of Montsoreau, was most noted at the time only for her great beauty.

Since Charlotte of Aragon and Germaine and Anne de Foix had been members, Breton nationality was not necessarily a prerequisite, but it certainly helped. The ladies Jeanne de Rohan-Guéméné, Françoise de Bretagne, Mathurine du Perrier dame de la Guerche, Nicole de Tournon, Françoise du Mas, Jeanne le Voyer, Marie de Sourdeac, and others at Anne's court were all of Breton baronial families.

Service to the dukes of Brittany was even more characteristic of Anne's male personnel. Many of Anne's masters of the hôtel had actively fought to defend the duchy of Brittany against France before Anne's marriage. Guillaume Guillemet had gone to England for the duchess to seek aid, as had Jean de Plouer, an écuyer d'écurie under Anne's father, and Lopez de Dicastillo had been her ambassador to Spain. Lopez was as adaptable as his mistress: Anne sent him to Italy to fight with Charles VIII after the marriage. Many other members of Anne's household, who were now on the French royal payroll, were also Breton military men. The écuyer Alain de Coetgouredon had gone on missions to England in 1489 and to Spain in 1490 to find support for the duchess against the French, the écuyer tranchant Odet de Loyon was captain of Vannes,
and Louis de Lornay, grand écuyer d'écuyrie of the queen, was a Breton who had commanded Germans and Picards for the duchess and now commanded a Swiss regiment in Italy for Charles VIII. In addition, Robert Juston, a Scotsman, had served the duchess as an interpreter during the talks with England and was now an écuyer of the queen's cuisine. Anne's councillors were also her longtime servants from Brittany. Guillaume Gueguen, the abbé of Redon, was vice chancellor of Brittany; Antoine de Longueil was bishop of Leon in Brittany; and Guillaume Briçonnet had been bishop of Saint Malo. The Breton names among Anne's household members are easily seen: Georges de Quistinic, marshal des logis, Ivan Penhouet, the furrier, Pierre de Boisguesheneuc, the écuyer of the cuisine, Olivier de Lescouet of the panderie, and Orfraise de Boisguémoné, the fille d'honneur.

Almost as important as those Bretons Anne admitted to her household were those she kept out. Queen Anne had many enemies in Brittany who had betrayed her cause during the war with France and had rivaled her claims to the duchy. Such threats to Anne's rights came from the Rohan family. The former duchess of Brittany, Isabeau, wife of Duke Francis I, passed in 1494 all her rights in the duchy to her daughter Marie of Brittany and Marie's husband Jean II count of Rohan. Together Jean and Marie claimed
territories in Brittany, but Anne successfully defended herself before a special tribunal. Meanwhile, Anne of Rohan, the daughter of Jean II and Marie of Brittany, was a particularly unhappy woman. She had promised herself against her father's wishes to the bastard of Louis of Bourbon, bishop of Liege. Queen Anne demonstrated an intense hatred for Anne of Rohan who was in her service, reproached her cruelly, and refused to help her in any way. Anne's anger against the Rohans also helped to disgrace Pierre of Rohan, the marshal of Gié, who had served France against Brittany and was a guardian of Francis of Angoulême until the queen accused him of treason and had him exiled in 1505.

In another instance of Breton disloyalty and conflicting claims, the queen had her husband King Louis XII command the Breton barons Jean de Brosse, seigneur of Boussac, his son René de Brosse, the marshal of Rieux and his wife Isabeau de Brosse, the sire of Avaugour and his wife Madeleine de Brosse, and the sire of Pont l'Abbé and his wife Catherine de Brosse no longer to use the title "of Brittany" after their names or to wear the arms of Brittany. In 1480, Jean de Brosse, who was married to Nicole of Brittany, had sold to the French king Louis XI their claims to the duchy for 50,000 francs, and the French had used this against the duchess Anne during the war.
Nicole's claim was from her father Charles, seigneur of Avaugour, heir to the Penthievre patrimony whose claims in the duchy went back one hundred and fifty years.71

Even with the Breton predominance at Anne's court, there was the usual interplay between the courts of the king and queen. Anne's chevalier of honor Jacques de Tournon was a councillor and chamberlain to Charles VIII, and her grand master of the hôtel Jacques d'Epinay, seigneur of Segré, had served Charlotte of Savoy and her son Charles VIII. Jean de Talleyrand, seigneur of Grignault, Anne's master of the hôtel, was the captain of Bordeaux, and Louis de Menton, seigneur of Lornay, was grand écuyer of the queen and captain of the king's Swiss troops in Italy. Louis Malet, the sire of Graville, was an admiral of France, but his family was allied to Brittany as well. Graville's mother was Marie de Montauban, daughter of Guillaume de Rohan, and his uncle Jean de Montauban had been grand admiral of France. Graville had supported Anne of Beaujeu, the regent, and her young brother Charles VIII against Brittany, but in 1504 when Anne of Brittany ousted Pierre of Rohan, marshal of Gié, from power, Graville replaced him without difficulty as the most favored at Louis XII's court. Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo and later Lodève, was a chief financial officer and councillor to Charles VIII as well as Anne's
councillor. Finally, Anne de la Grange, one of Anne of Brittany’s damoiselles, married Charles de Beaujeu, panetier of Charles VIII.

The most powerful men in service to Anne of Brittany were not members of her household as queen of France but the officers who ran Brittany for the sovereign duchess. Anne had the power to appoint these men who served as her representatives at Rennes, the seat of the duchy's government. At her marriage to Charles VIII, the contract was witnessed for the duchess by Jean de Chalons, the prince of Orange, Anne's "closest male relative," who was the governor and lieutenant general of Brittany; Philippe de Montauban, the chancellor of Brittany; the grand master of the hôtel Olivier de Coetquen; and the sire of Guéméné. At the same time, Guillaume Gueguen, the abbé of Redon, was vice chancellor and first president of the chamber of accounts of Brittany, Jean François was general of finances, Thomas Bohier treasurer general, and Jean de la Primaudaie controller general of Brittany. Again when Anne married Louis XII the witnesses included Orange, Montauban, Redon, and Jacques de Tournon. Louis XII agreed that he would make no changes in the offices or officers, that when the offices were empty, the queen would appoint new officers, that the letters would be issued through the chancellery of Brittany, and that benefices were given only by the
The appointment of church offices, which had long been claimed by the dukes of Brittany, had previously caused Anne trouble. In 1490, during all Brittany's difficulties, Pope Innocent VIII ignored the "Pragmatic" of Brittany at the urging of the French king. Innocent appointed, without consulting the duchess, two of his nephews, both foreigners to Brittany, to the bishopric of Vannes and the abbey of St. Melaine. Anne forbade these men to take possession of the posts and forbade her subjects to receive them or any papal bulls except those which had been presented to the council and chancellery of Brittany. Once she became queen of France, Anne used her new position to exercise her old right to name church offices in Brittany.

To our dear and beloved canons of the chapter of Treguier. Our beloved and dear almsgiver of the archdiocese of Dinan tells us that he has not yet been invested with the prebend of your church, and we desire that he be treated well in recognition of the good service he has made for us and the king. We ask you for the love of us that you invest him with the first prebend that will be vacated in your church and prefer him to all the others. You will make us a very great service, and we will hold you in good grace.

Blois. October 13, 1495, Anne.

To our very dear and beloved lay clerks and canons of the chapter of the church of Treguier. I have asked at the request of the king and me that the cardinal of Saint George invest our dear and beloved Pregent de Jagu, valet of
the king, with the prebend of Treguier and the curé of Pedernec. And I have sent him letters of nomination which you are keeping from him. The king and I are writing to the cardinal so that he can obtain the necessary letters so that Pregent will be the possessor. So we ask you, for the love of us, that you let Pregent be in possession of the benefices and not oppose this, because we hope that soon there will be the necessary bulls and provisions from the court of Rome. You will do us good service, and we will hold you in good grace.

Lyon. November 30, 1493, Anne.

Later, in 1499, Louis XII himself wrote to Alexander VI asking him to withdraw the nomination by Innocent VIII of Jean d'Epinay to the bishopric of Nantes, which had been made against the wishes of Anne who had herself named Guillaume Gueguen to the post.

Anne of Brittany's financial officers in France were the same sort of bureaucrats who had served the other queens of the fifteenth century. Pierre Signac, controller of Anne's écurie, had been Charlotte of Savoy's argentier and master of the chamber of deniers and Margaret of Austria's controller of the argenterie before he moved on to become King Louis XII's controller of the argenterie. Victor Gaudin, the queen's argentier from 1492 to at least 1498, was also argentier for Louis XII. The most prominent man to work with Anne's finances was Jean de Beaune, her treasurer and receiver general until his resignation in 1496. Jean de Beaune went on to serve at such high posts as receiver general of finances in the Languedoc from 1495
to 1510 under both Charles VIII and Louis XII and receiver general of finances in the Languedoc from 1510 to 1516. In January 1518, de Beaune, chevalier, seigneur of Saint Blançay, councillor and chamberlain of Francis I, was appointed to "powers similar to those of the treasurers and generals of finances" in France in recognition of his ability and experience. When de Beaune resigned his position with the queen in 1496, Anne appointed his son, Jean de Beaune le jeune, to replace him. Unfortunately Jean de Beaune the younger was too young to exercise his new office, and so when Charles VIII issued letters for the office, he stated that "in waiting for Beaune the younger to be of age, the office will be held by Pierre Morin, his uncle, or another whom Jacques de Beaune the elder advises." At the same time, Charles VIII issued letters that gave Pierre Morin the office of master of the chamber of deniers of the queen which had also been held by the elder Jacques de Beaune. Morin, who had previously served as treasurer for Charles of Berry and Maine, the ill-fated brother of Louis XI, was to serve also as treasurer of the king's domain in the Languedoc from 1499 to 1504.

Anne of Brittany, queen of France and sovereign in her duchy, had both substantial spirit and revenues that made her household exceptional in many ways. For example,
she was attended continuously by a company of one hundred Breton gentlemen guards. Luxurious but dignified, Anne's court was supposedly the first in France whose queen received foreign ambassadors in her own right. With the kings frequently absent in Italy, Anne herself provided the intelligence and patronage of arts that one might associate with a new age in Europe. Jean Marot, her valet de chambre, was "the poet of Anne of Brittany," Jean Meschinot, born in Brittany, was another of her poets, Jean le Maire took the title "historiographer of the princess Anne," her secretary André de Lavigne wrote on the expedition in Italy, and her confessor Antoine Dufour translated the Bible. Michel Colomb, a Breton, was a sculptor under Anne's protection, while she also employed the painters Jean Bourdichon, who was a valet de chambre to Charles VIII, Jean Perreal, who went with Louis XII to Venice, and Jean Poyet, the principal painter of the Hours of Anne of Brittany.

Conclusions

The ordonnance of the hôtel of Queen Jeanne of Burgundy in 1316 stated the exact number of attendants the queen would have: one lady, five damoiselles, one femme de chambre, one laundress, one tailor, one physician, one apothecary, one notary, one confessor, two chaplains,
two masters of the hôtel, two panetiers, two échansons, two cooks, one fruitier, one écuyer, one fourrier, and several horsemen, charretiers, valets, sommeliers, clerks, and aids. By the fifteenth century, the queen's hôtel had grown substantially, and it would continue to grow. Isabeau of Bavaria laid the foundation for this growth of the queen's bureaucracy by the establishment of two independent financial offices, the treasury and the argenterie, which became vital institutions for the succeeding queens.

Isabeau, Marie of Anjou, and Charlotte of Savoy all began their reigns with modest courts that their husbands designed for them. With the king incapacitated, Isabeau expanded her court primarily in the area of political officers, such as a chancellor, councillors, and messengers to speed her letters to the rival dukes. On the other hand, Isabeau's total of six ladies and five damoiselles was more than doubled at Marie of Anjou's court, where the female attendants were most significant. Marie employed, after forty years in office, as many as seventeen religious, twenty ladies and damoiselles, eight masters of the hôtel, seven panetiers, and twelve échansons at a time, but she had only one écuyer at a time and almost no political advisers. At best, Charlotte of Savoy managed to have at one time only four religious, five
masters of the hôtel, two panetiers, two échansons, three écuvers, and two fourriers. Charlotte's court broke out from under the king's constraints only after his death in 1483 when she finally received her own treasury. In addition, it appeared that Louis XI intended to control not only his wife's personnel but also the personnel of his son's wife. The lists of Margaret of Austria's ladies and officers show a high degree of continuity with the ladies and officers of the late Charlotte of Savoy. Had Margaret become queen, this continuity in the courts of succeeding queens would have been unprecedented. Instead, the next queen was unprecedented only in her extraordinary wealth and independence. In effect, Anne of Brittany brought the court of a sovereign Breton duchess to France. In the early years of her reign, Anne paid wages to twelve masters of the hôtel, nine panetiers, eight échansons, eleven écuvers, and forty ladies. Still, the basic structure of the queen's court remained the same, and Anne definitely took advantage of the financial bureaucracy that Isabeau of Bavaria bequeathed to her successors. If the king was not careful to prevent the growth of a queen's court, it would expand naturally along with her financial empire.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

1 Kelso, p. 238.

2 Barry, pp. 208-209.

3 Kelso, pp. 238, 241.

4 These five categories are my own. For his discussion, Rey divided the court of Isabeau of Bavaria into ladies, masters of the hôtel, administrators, accountants, and councillors, Rey, pp. 188-205.

5 Rey, p. 196.

6 The best explanation for the work done in the hôtel departments is in L. Douet-d'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel, pp. xviii-xxv. The paneterie purchases napkins and sacks to carry bread and wheat, also pots. The échansonnerie, the department of cupbearers, obtained barrels and cups. The cuisine dealt with sacks, coffers, food storage, and tableware. (Purchases of food were covered by the dépenses des journées.) The fruiterie bought and maintained knives, dishes, and coffers for fruit. The écurie, or stables, kept the queen's horses and carriages. The fourrière worked to hang tapestries.

7 The queen might request the nomination of a certain man, as Isabeau of Bavaria requested that Hemon Raguier be named her treasurer. KK 48, fols. 1-3. (1410)

8 See Appendix I for a list of the ladies and officers.
of Isabeau of Bavaria. The names of Isabeau's personnel on the list of Appendix I are taken from the pension lists in KK 48, the queen's treasury account, 1408-1413, KK 49, the treasury 1416-1417, and the hôtel accounts AN KK 45 (1398-1403) and AN KK 46 (1403-1406). These are supplemented by Rey's discussion of Isabeau's personnel, Rey, pp. 188-205, and Thibault's discussion, Thibault, Isabeau, pp. 109-117, which is only for the early years of Isabeau's reign.

9Rey, p. 173.

10KK 41, fols. 1-5.

11Ibid., fol. 5. "Without asking any other information" or "with no questions asked" were common expressions in the accounts, especially when the queen received a direct cash payment, or when she bought drugs from the apothecary.

12Rey, p. 253.

13Ibid.

14Ibid., p. 254.

15Ibid., p. 255.

16Ibid., p. 185. For Montaigu, L. Merlet, "Biographie de Jean de Montagu 1350-1409," Bre XIII (1852), 248-284. According to Vaughan, Montaigu was "the mainstay of the opposition to John (the Fearless) in France," Vaughan, John the Fearless, p. 79. Isabeau was not the only royal personage indebted to Montaigu: according to the chronicler Nicolas de Baye, Montaigu had been permitted to govern the households of the king, queen, and dauphin. "He had enjoyed considerable power not only in the household of the king and queen, but with the uncles and cousins of the king," Baye quoted in Vaughan, John the Fearless, pp. 79-80. Isabeau intervened in behalf of Montaigu, but his death was especially brutal and humiliating. According to the Bourgeois of Paris, "On Thursday 17th October this Grand Master of the Household was put into a cart . . .
His hands were tied in front of him holding a wooden cross. He was perched up in the cart like this and taken with two trumpeters before him to the Halles. There they cut his head off and afterwards his body was taken to the Paris gallows and hung up as high as it would go in its shirt and hose and gilt spurs." Journal, ed. Shirley, p. 51.

17 KK 48, fols. 1-3.

18 I have not included the personnel for the queen's children in any of the lists for the four fifteenth century queens. The people attached to the queen's children often lived in the queen's household, and the addition of these people would inflate the lists slightly. The children had nurses, valets, laundresses, and other domestics. The dauphin might have his own financial officers and masters of the hôtel even as he continued to live with the queen.

19 Rey, p. 192.

20 KK 48, fols. 36-37.

21 Ibid., fols. 24 (3000 l.t. to Louis of Bavaria on September 24, 1409), 27 (3000 l.t. to Louis on September 18, 1410), 33-34 (3000 l.t. dates from September 1411 to August 31, 1412). Louis of Bavaria died in 1436, one year after his sister.

22 Rey, pp. 204, 182.

23 KK 48, fols. 22-23. Dodieu was paid less in this term (300 l.t.) because his death prevented him from completing the term. The wages of dead people were paid to their spouses or closest relatives.

24 J. Calmette, The Golden Age of Burgundy (New York: Norton, 1963), pp. 102-103. Calmette uses these figures unfairly. Relevant paragraphs from the ordonnance cabochienne include: n. 119 "Comment le Roy ordonne que invente soi t fait de tous les joyaux et vaisselle d'or et d'argent et pierreries des hostels de lui, de la Royne et du Daulphin." n. 121 "Comment le Roy ordonne que tous les officiers de lui, de la Royne et du Daulphin et autres ausquels dont on est faiz ou Daulphine et ailleurs, feront preiz de la moiztie de la valeur de leurs dons." n. 135 "Comment le Roy veult que les gens des comptes, le grant maistre d'ostel et autres chiefes d'offices des hostelz du Roy, de la Royne et du Daulphin, diminuent, et moderent
le gouvernement des diz hostelz en serviteurs et despence, etc." n. 136 "Comment le Roy remect en sa main les terres et seigneuries qui baillées avoient este en assiete de douaire a la Royne sa femme, et def fend que elle n'en jouysse plus durant le mariaige," n. 137 "Comment le Roy def fend que aucun ne face payer et ne prengne aucunes assignacions, pencions ou charges extraordinaires sur les deniers ordonnez pour la despence des hostelz du Roy, la Royne, et le Dauphlin." n. 139 "Comment le Roy ordonne que les deniers ordonnez pour les dispenses des hostelz de lui, de la Royne et le Dauphlin, soient faiz venir ens pars les chiefz d'offices et non aultres."
A. Coville, ed. L'ordonnance cabochienne.


26Ibid., p. 215.

27See Appendix J for a list of the officers and ladies of Marie of Anjou. The names of Marie's personnel are taken primarily from BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 347-349, dates of Marie's hôtel officers and ladies from 1452-1463. For the years from 1422-1427, KK 56 Hôtel accounts of Marie were used. For the 1440's, which are essentially blank, the letters in BN Fr. 20418 were used for very spotty references to officers of Marie. For 1454-1455, the argenterie accounts of Marie in KK 55 are helpful. K 530-2 contains fragments of Marie's hôtel accounts, 1455-1460. In secondary sources, G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, 6 vols. (Paris, 1881-1891) is the best source of information on Marie of Anjou. For the early years, M. Thibault, La jeunesse de Louis XI 1423-1445 (Paris: Perrin, 1907) provides the names of Marie's people throughout the text.

28Rey, p. 483.

29Ibid.


31Ibid., v. VII, 18.

Lecoq de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes et mémoriaux du roi René* (Paris: Picard, 1873), 210-211. New Year's Day gifts, or estrennes, were commonly given at Charles VII's court and Louis XI's court also. Marie of Anjou's estrennes for January 1, 1455 are in KK 55, fols. 141-145.

34 Anselme, v. VIII, 690.

35 Vale, p. 90. Vale writes that subtle changes were taking place at the king's court in the 1440's. "First, a group of courtiers marked off by their comparative youth had formed around the king. But there were other common factors which bound them together. They tended to marry into the household of the queen, Marie of Anjou. They might have female relatives among the queen's demoiselles. As chamberlains of the king, they might have access to the king's ear. It was through them that influence might be exerted and favours obtained."

36 Anselme, v. VIII, 372.

37 Vale, p. 133.


40 P. Champion, *Louis XI*, v. I, 179. Champion recalls Christine de Pisan's description of a princess as a modest, quiet, submissive wife, and states that Margaret was not that. Margaret was active, gay, excessive, and full of fantasy. She ate green apples and drank vinegar to stay thin or avoid pregnancy, etc. Champion, v. I, 176.

41 Thibault, *La jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 549. Margaret died of a fever, coughing, and inflammation of the lungs.
Kendall, p. 60. For the accusations against Louis as a conspirator in the death of Margaret, Champion, v. I, 179-182, Thibault, La jeunesse, pp. 511-549. The scandal can be described briefly: Louis, unhappy with Margaret, began to spy on her private life. His chamberlain, the Breton Jamet de Tillay, told Louis that she had been sitting one night with the poet Blainville and another. The room was dark, and Blainville had his elbow on the couch occupied by Margaret. Jamet continued to spy on Margaret for Louis, and connected her with other men. Cleugh, pp. 79-89.

Any queen referred to the receivers as her own even though they were appointed by the king. However, a few of Marie's receivers, especially the collectors of her future dower lands, were named by her. In KK 55, the receipts of the Languedoc were collected by Etienne Petit, treasurer general of Languedoc, who was "committed by the queen to the general receipt of her finances that she takes in the Languedoc." fol. 5. Petit was also receiver for the king however. On the other hand, Etienne le Vernois, Marie's argentier, was named by her to be grenetier of Montpellier. BN Fr. 20418, fol. 2.

BN Fr. 20418, letters to Vernois, nos. 17, 13, 21, 20, 23, 24, 31, 34, 35, 48. In these letters, Marie instructed le Vernois to pay people to whom she owed money.

Ibid., n. 44, fol. 20.

KK 55, fol. 130.

BN Fr. 20418, n. 8, fol. 5.

Ibid., n. 48, fol. 21.

KK 55, fol. 132.

Ibid., fol. 126.

Ibid., fols. 1-4.


53. See Appendix K for a list of Charlotte of Savoy's ladies and officers. The source for the early and middle years from 1462 to 1479 is BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 351-352 from which I have not included the personnel for the dauphin Charles and Charlotte's two daughters Anne and Jeanne. Other lists of Charlotte's personnel are BN Fr. 21451, fols. 322-328 with dates in the 1480's and fols. 325-328. also in the 1480's, which includes the native city or region of the named officer. BN Fr. 21451, fol. 320 is the list of personnel still on pension in 1499. Finally, a list of ladies and officers at the time of Charlotte's death in 1483 is in Tuetey, ed., "Inventaire," *BEC* XXVI, 339-344.

54. KK 63, accounts of Louis XI's hôtel, 1471-1483.

55. KK 80 and KK 81, accounts of the treasury of Margaret of Austria, October 1484 to September 1485, and October 1488 to September 30, 1489. Also, BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 353-356, ladies and officers of Margaret 1484-1492.


57. Dupont-Ferrier, *Nouvelles études*, p. 247. And, KK 87, accounts of the wages of the hôtel of the king (Louis XII), September 1498-October 1499.
lists the native cities or provinces of each officer named.

Ibid.

Ibid., fol. 320.

Ibid., fols. 320-321.

BN Fr. 2902, fol. 9.

Journal de Jean de Roye v. I, 177-180. Kendall quotes the Milanese ambassador Alberico Maletta, "Maletta reported that Bona of Savoy and the Queen's other sisters were 'scarcely seen even by the birds.'", Kendall, p. 123.

Primary reference for Anne's list is BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 357-360, list for three years 1496, 1497, 1498. Also BN Fr. 8269, fols. 403-407, officers and ladies of Anne for 1496, 1497, 1498, but not identical to BN Fr. 9175 n.a. Publication by Lobineau, "Estat de la maison de la Reine Anne pour l'année commencée le premier d'octobre 1498," in Histoire de Bretagne, v. II, 1587-1590. For other years, KK 82, wages of officers and ladies of the queen's hôtel, January to September 1492, and Lobineau, "Autre estat de la maison de la Reine Anne, tire d'un premier compte de Maistre Rene Hurault notaire et secretaire du Roy, tresorier et receveur general des finances de ladite Reine, pour un an commence au premier octobre 1505," in Histoire de Bretagne, v. II, 1593-1595. See Appendix L for Anne's list, 1496-1498.

Toudouze, Anne de Bretagne, p. 158. The reputation of the Cordelières became such that foreign kings asked the queen to choose a wife for them from her entourage, Toudouze, pp. 158-159. According to Brantôme, Anne's court was a good school for ladies because Anne directed her court wisely. She examined the dresses, hair styles, gloves, and jewels of her ladies to make sure they were appropriate. Brantôme, v. VII, 314-315. Le Roux de Lincy on the Cordelières, Le Roux de Lincy, Vie, v. II, 90-91.

BN Fr. 8269, fol. 403, for Lornay's work for the king, and Lobineau, v. I, 796, for his work with the duchess.

BN Fr. 2933, fols. 283-284. The special council included the cardinal of Amboise, Guy de Rochefort, Louis of Amboise bishop of Albi, a president of the court of Parlement in Paris, a king's councillor and a few Bretons. The king and queen of France were on one side and Jean of Rohan and Marie of Brittany on the other. The special council was set up on February 20, 1500 and was still working in 1501. BN Fr. 8269, fols. 440-447.


Ibid., v. I, 116-117. Arthur III duke of Brittany who died in 1312 was the father of three sons John III, Guy of Penthievre, and John of Montfort. John III died after Guy was already dead so that Montfort succeeded. But Brittany recognized the right of representation that meant that Guy's daughter Jeanne's husband Charles of Blois could succeed as Jeanne could claim to represent her father. The right of representation was admitted by custom in Brittany in Breton fiefs, but not in France.

Lobineau, v. I, 118.

Ibid., v. II, 1561-1565, is BN Fr. 2832, fols. 1-3.


Brantôme spoke of Anne's receiving foreign ambassadors, Brantôme, v. VII, 316-317. It is doubtful that Anne was the first queen to receive foreign ambassadors at her court, although this may be literally true. Blanche of Castile dealt with the English, and Isabeau of Bavaria received Italian and imperial ambassadors.


Ibid., v. II, 5-86, for patronage and the arts at Anne of Brittany's court.

EN Fr. 9175, n.a., fols. 331-335.
CHAPTER V

WIDOWHOOD AND DEATH

The four fifteenth century queens of France experienced
widowhood and death under different circumstances. Isabeau
of Bavaria lived with poverty and unpopularity for thirteen
years as a reclusive, immobile widow. Marie of Anjou
became a pilgrim whose exhausting voyage hastened her
death during the second year of her widowhood. Charlotte
of Savoy died within months of Louis XI's death and before
she had collected any revenues from her dower. Finally,
Anne of Brittany was, for a short time, the widow of
Charles VIII, but she died before her second husband
Louis XII. When the queens made out their wills, they
recognized, according to the formula, that "in life there
is nothing more certain and nothing more uncertain than
death." The queen's will itself was primarily a religious
document, the secular elements of which appeared
insignificant. The dower settlement accorded to the
queen by the king so that she might maintain herself
during widowhood was hers to use but not hers to transfer
to others. However, the relationship of the kings to
Marie of Anjou and Anne of Brittany would later be used
by France to advance claims to territories that belonged to the original families of these queens. The funerals of queens were elaborate, costly rituals which took weeks to complete. As a result of the wars, Isabeau did not have a grand funeral, but the other three queens were properly buried by their husbands or sons, the kings, and their household staffs, all of whom went into mourning.

Isabeau of Bavaria

After the assassination of Louis of Orleans and the triumphant return of John the Fearless of Burgundy to Paris in early 1408, Isabeau of Bavaria retired to Melun. With this uncertainty, Isabeau made a lengthy will composed primarily of grants of perpetual foundations on land rents. The will was accompanied by letters of the king that recognized "the great riches that the queen has in this world" and the "great desire she has to distribute these goods to the honor of our Lord." The king also noted that his wife had 100,000 francs to distribute above and beyond the payment of her debts. In this April 1408 will, Isabeau ordered that her body be taken to Notre Dame of Paris where a solemn service would be held "in the manner accustomed to past queens," or if she died near Saint Denis, "it would not be necessary to go to Paris, but
the body should be carried into the church of Saint Denis "where it would be draped and dressed also in the custom of former queens." Afterwards, the torchbearers would do as they customarily did for the burials of the queens of France; but if the king were already dead, the torchbearers would take the body to the place where the king was buried, and there the service would be performed "in the manner accustomed to the queens of France."

The will stated further that everyone who came to the funeral at Saint Denis would receive 8 d.p., all clerks who said psalms would receive 2 s. 8 d.p., all priests who said masses would receive 3 s.p., and the convent of Saint Denis itself would receive 50 francs. Similar arrangements were made in case the body might be taken to Notre Dame of Paris where a brief service would be held before the trip to Saint Denis. The four mendicant orders of Paris, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, would also receive money to attend the services, pray for the queen, and carry candles.

After this, Isabeau's will began to list one by one the religious institutions that would receive perpetual grants from the queen for perpetual services. First, a perpetual chapel was to be founded at the place where her body was buried. Then the church of Notre Dame of Paris would receive 10 l.p. of rent or 200 francs to
purchase the rent in order to keep perpetually the anniversary of the queen's death. The Sainte Chapelle of the Royal Palace, the church of Saint Denis in France, the dean of the church of Laon, and the church of St. Louis of Poissy also received 200 francs or 10 l.p. of rent to establish perpetual foundations. The church of Notre Dame of Chartres, the church of Senlis, the church of St. Florentin in Vermandois, the monks of the church of Vincennes, the Franciscans of Saint Marcel of Paris, the Celestins of Paris, the Chartreux of Paris, and the Dominicans of Montargis would all receive 100 s.p. of rent or 100 francs to purchase the rent in order to celebrate perpetually the death's anniversary. Other institutions such as the church of St. Germain des Prés of Paris, the convent of St. Martin des Champs, the friars and convent of Saint Antoine, and the convent of Saint Catherine du Val, all in Paris, received 20 francs for one solemn service in their churches and one mass said by each priest after the queen's death.

The list continued to include religious institutions in many parts of France and even in Bavaria. The foundations of 20 francs each for Notre Dame of Munich and the Friars Minor of Munich indicates that the list was of personal significance to Isabeau. Perpetual foundations for the anniversary of a death were common in the fifteenth
century, and Isabeau herself celebrated such anniversaries. In her hôtel accounts, under the category harnois, she bought candles to celebrate the anniversaries of such persons as her mother, King Charles V, Jeanne of Burgundy and King Philip and Queen Blanche. Since all these people had died within recent memory, the "perpetual" aspect of the foundation was symbolic.

All her jewels in gold and silver settings with and without pearls and precious stones were willed generally to the Church: all her gold and silver plate with and without precious stones were to be sold to pay for the execution of the will; all her religious objects and jeweled dresses would go to churches such as the Sainte Chapelle, the church of Saint Denis in France, and the church of St. Pol at Paris; her furs and wool dresses would go to poor, pregnant women and poor women about to marry, her linens would be given to poor churches; and her furniture and tapestries were to go to poor churches, poor engaged girls, and poor orphans. The general nature of these parts of the will left a great deal to the discretion of the executors. In addition, the queen set aside 10,000 francs to distribute to all her hôtel officers male and female to each according to rank and tenure on the advice of the executors and masters of the hôtel. The queen ordered that her hôtel officers would continue
at their posts until the queen was buried and that her people would be paid from the will's funds.

Each of the executors of the queen's will were to receive 100 francs on the queen's properties for their work. The will described in great detail how these executors would assemble and carry out their tasks after the queen's death. The queen transferred all her rights of possession on goods, jewels, and debts to her executors so that they might make a good inventory and then evaluate the goods to the best of their abilities. At the same time, the queen asked that "none of our lineage, our heirs, or successors will take possession of our goods except in certain cases that the queen herself will want." The 100,000 francs had to stay in the hands of the queen's executors who would "distribute it to make alms, to say masses, to give deniers to the poor, the sick, the engaged girls ... for the delivery of the queen's soul." The executors were also to make certain that Isabeau's receivers finished their accounts by paying off all her debts. In addition, Isabeau asked that her will be put in the hands of Parliament after her death and that the king and the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bavaria safeguard and protect it and give her executors no trouble.

At this point, the executors of Isabeau's will were named: Arnault de Corbie, chancellor of France; Jean de
Montaigu, archbishop of Sens, councillor of the king and president of the chamber of accounts; Jean Dieudonne, bishop of Senlis and councillor of the queen; Michel de Creve, bishop of Auxerre, councillor and confessor of the king; Jean, sire of Montaigu, councillor and grand master of the hôtel of the king; Yon de Garencières, chamberlain of the king and grand master of both hôtels; Guillaume Martel, sire of Vacqueville, king's chamberlain; Jean de Roussay, chamberlain of the king and queen's councillor; Jean de la Haye, king's councillor; Pierre de l'Esclat, master of the requêtes of the king's hôtel and queen's councillor; Étienne de Bray, councillor and master of the accounts of the king; Hemon Raguier, treasurer of the wars of the king and queen's councillor; and Jean Salaut, king's secretary and the queen's councillor and first secretary. With such eminent executors, the queen realized that at best she could hope for only three or four of these men to be able to perform the functions, but she asked that Jean, sire of Montaigu, Vacqueville, or Roussay be present. This will, made at Melun the fifth of April 1408, was never executed: when Isabeau died twenty-seven years later the situation had changed, and the executors had all passed from her service.

Isabeau of Bavaria made another will on April 15, 1411, a time when the queen and royal family were under the
control of John the Fearless of Burgundy. The body of 
the will remained religious and charity centered, and 
the 100,000 franc total did not change. What had changed 
were the names of the will's executors: for example, Jean 
de Montaigu had already been hanged for corruption by 
John the Fearless. Arnault de Corbie, still chancellor 
of France, remained an executor as did Etienne de Bray, 
master of the king's accounts, Hemon Raguier, queen's 
councillor and treasurer general, and Jean Salaut, queen's 
first secretary. The new faces were Jean de Nielle, sire 
of Olhain, a Burgundian who served both the queen and 
dauphin Louis of Guienne as chancellor, and Guy de Nielle, 
seigneur of Offémont, an Orleanist chamberlain of the king 
and dauphin. Other executors such as Eustache de Laïstre, 
president of the chamber of accounts, Philippe du Boisgillon 
and Mathieu de Lignières, both masters of the king's 
accounts, Jean Menchon, king's councillor, and Pierre, the 
confessor of the dauphine, who was the duchess of Guienne 
and John of Burgundy's daughter, were probably all 
sympathetic to the Burgundian cause. Completing the list 
of executors were Henri de Marle, first president of 
Parlement, and Jean de Bailly, queen's councillor, In this 
1411 will the queen asked again that all her goods be put 
in the hands of her executors to make a good and loyal 
inventory for the completion of the will. However, it
did not contain the gift of 10,000 francs to household officers nor were any masters of the hôtel listed as executors. Obviously, due to the influence of John the Fearless, the queen did not have as free a hand in writing the 1411 will as she had had in 1408.

The final will of Isabeau of Bavaria was made in September 1431, almost four years before her death. The queen asked that her body be buried as near as possible to the place where her dead husband was buried, which was the church of Saint Denis in France. With some attention to her unpopularity and the French advance on English-occupied Paris, she asked specifically that her tomb not be disturbed afterwards. To each person who attended the funeral 8 d.p. would be given, and 100 francs would pay priests to say masses and read prayers. The queen ordered that her hôtel personnel be paid as usual until her body was buried and that all of them would be dressed in black wool each according to rank at the expense of the testament's execution. The four mendicant orders would each receive 25 francs to accompany the body to Saint Denis and another 25 francs to say one hundred prayers. Other religious institutions to receive gifts were the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris, 50 francs; the hospital of St. Catherine on the rue St. Denis, 5 francs; the hospital of the Filles Dieu, 5 francs; the hospital of St. Julien le Pauvre on the rue
St. Martin, 2 francs; the hospital of St. Mathurin on
the rue St. Jacques, 41 s. 4 d.p.; and the hospital of
Crécy-en-Brie, 5 francs. To repair the hospital of St.
Germain in Paris which was "in great ruin" the queen left
40 francs, and to poor workers, poor prisoners, poor priests,
poor good women, and poor widows, she left 260 francs for
alms. In the 1408 will, Isabeau had made general donations
to the poor hospitals of Paris, but in 1431, due to the
war and her confinement to the occupied city, the donations
had to be made over a more narrow area.

The real heirs of Isabeau's last will were her
daughter Marie, a nun in the convent of Saint Louis of
Poissy, and a few religious institutions. To Marie,
who had been sent to Poissy at the age of five, were left
all Isabeau's debts, religious objects, tapestries, dresses,
and generally all her goods. In the case that Isabeau
survived Marie, these goods would be left to the church
of Poissy itself which would be obliged to say a solemn
mass each month for the souls of the queen, her husband,
and their daughter Marie. In addition, Isabeau willed
"all the lands, seigneuries, cens, rents, and possessions
that the king gave to us and that we have acquired
to the churches and places here named."6 To Notre
Dame of Paris went all the queen's hôtels, cens, rents,
revenues, and possessions outside the walls of Paris
from the Seine to La Beauce, which were once held by Hemon Raguer and Jean le Blanc, Isabeau's officers, and the Hôtel Val la Reine. In return, Notre Dame of Paris would pay 20 l.p. annually to the hospital and Hôtel Dieu of St. Gervais for which the hospital would say a mass and prayers each month while Notre Dame would say annually and forever a solemn funeral service for the queen. Saint Denis in France would receive the Hôtel Saint Ouen with all its possessions; for this St. Denis would give Isabeau's confessor Friar Anceau Happart and Catherine le Fouquet, the daughter of the écuyer Guillaume le Fouquet, each 50 l.p. annually, and Saint Denis would say a solemn funeral service each year for the queen. To the Hôtel Dieu of Paris, Isabeau willed all her rents, houses, and revenues which were once held by Raguer and le Blanc inside the walls of Paris, and to the Hôtel Dieu of Provins all the lands, cens, rents, and revenues once held by Raguer in Champagne were willed: in return the Hôtels of Paris and Provins would pray for the queen's soul. Finally, Isabeau asked that "the said houses, cens, rents, possessions, and revenues would be delivered to the churches and hospitals in the said manner with such security that this can never be revoked." The executors of Isabeau's 1431 will were her daughter Marie; Louis of Luxembourg, bishop of Therouane and
chancellor of France; the bishops of Noyon, Paris, and Meaux who were Jean Chaussart, queen's chancellor, Anceau Happart, queen's confessor, and Hector de Laon, master of the queen's hôtel; Étienne Bruneau, queen's secretary; Jean l'Huillier, lawyer in Parlement; and Denisot de Gastinet, queen's controller. The executors were, as usual, asked to pay the debts, to assume the rights of possession on Isabeau's goods, to make an inventory, and to use the goods for the will's execution. Isabeau recognized that the court of Parlement had the sole right to accept or reject the testament, to debate the clauses, to see that the will met the requirements of her son the king, and to safeguard and protect the settlement that the executors would make. In addition, Isabeau specifically asked her "very dear son John duke of Bedford and Philip duke of Burgundy" that they would defend the will and aid the executors. Isabeau asked that of the four or five executors who would come together after her death, Chaussart, Happart, Bruneau, and Gastinet would be among those who executed the will "on the aid and counsel of our daughter Marie."
Finally the queen sealed the will with her own seal and signed it "Isabeth" at Paris in her Hôtel Saint Pol on September 2, 1431.9

The will stated that the property transfers would take place immediately although the queen would continue to
enjoy the revenues from her properties until her death.

Thus Isabeau issued letters simultaneously with the will to accomplish this.\(^\text{10}\)

Isabeau, by the grace of God queen of France, to all those who will see these letters, Greetings. In accordance with a clause in our last will and testament signed September 2, 1431, by our own hand and sealed with our great seal in green wax, we have for the good of our soul and the soul of our late husband ordered to be given as soon as possible to the church and abbey of St. Denis in France our Hôtel St. Ouen, called the Hôtel des Bergeries, with all its possessions. And they will say in their church a solemn obituary for the soul of our husband and us. Friar Anceau Happart, our confessor, will receive from the abbey 50 l.p. throughout his life, and Catherine la Fouquet, daughter of Guillaume Fouquet, écuyer, will also receive 50 l.p. on the abbey throughout her life as is said in our testament. We wish that this would be done while we retain for ourself the usufruit of the Hôtel which we will enjoy throughout our life. . . So we require this of our people in Parliament, in the accounts, the treasurer, and other justices and officers of this realm . . . and our executors that the church and abbey will enjoy this gift perpetually. . . In testimony of this we have placed our seal. September 15, 1431, at Paris, Isabel

Isabeau's widowhood was not a pleasant one. Fifty-one at the time of her husband's death in 1422, she remained in Paris at the Hôtel Saint Pol for the remaining thirteen years of her life. In October 1424, the dowager queen attended a fête with Bedford and Philip of Burgundy, and in December 1431, she greeted her nine-year-old grandson Henry VI when he made his state entry into Paris. As he
passed the Hôtel Saint Pol, Isabeau watched from a window with her ladies and bowed to him with tears in her eyes. The procession stopped to allow the boy, who was the son of Isabeau's daughter Catherine and the late Henry V of England, to enter the Hôtel and give his respects. On December 16, Henry VI, king of England, was crowned king of France.

Life under the English was hard for most Parisians, even Isabeau, who was dependent on Bedford for money to keep up her already meager standard of living. As the will indicated, the English had confiscated the properties and wealth of Isabeau's receiver general Hemon Raguier and argentier Jean le Blanc on grounds of treason to the English cause. According to the Bourgeois of Paris, the old queen lived so poorly that she could barely provision herself and her people. No one in Paris cared about her, he continued, because most believed she was responsible for all the troubles. In September 1430, Isabeau took three merchants to the court of Parlement to force them to reduce their prices. The old queen hoped to pay old prices, but Parlement ordered her "to pay the merchants the price of the wheat and oats at the time they were delivered." Adding to her miseries, Isabeau's health was ruined by obesity, gout, and inactivity.

In August 1435, Bedford, Philip the Good, and Charles VII met at Arras where the English duke insisted
that Henry VI be recognized as king of France and that
Charles hold his lands as a vassal of the king. When
Bedford left the conference on September 1 and then died
on September 14, Philip and Charles began to negotiate
seriously on their own. The result was the September 20
treaty of Arras that finally assured Burgundian neutrality
and in effect ended the long civil war. On September 30,
1435, a Friday, Isabeau of Bavaria died at the Hôtel
Saint Pol at the age of sixty-four.

With the French advancing rapidly on English-occupied
Paris, Isabeau's funeral ceremonies were not as grand as
they should have been. Jean Chartier, the Religious of
Saint Denis at this time, described how Isabeau's body
was taken to Saint Denis by water on a little boat with
very little pomp and a small convoy. Chartier continued
that "there were only four drivers, as if this were la
plus petite bourgeoisie de Paris, which was a great shame
and dishonor to all the English."15 Subsequent historians
merely reproduced with some alterations the basic story
given by Chartier, but there is a Parlement register that
conflicts to some extent with him.16 According to the
register, Isabeau died Friday September 30, 1435, and on
October 13 the presidents and councillors of Parlement
discussed in the chamber of Parlement the proper procedure
for the queen's funeral and burial. The presidents and councillors then assembled at Saint Pol, each wearing a furred hood, and took the body to the church of Notre Dame in a queen's litter which was accompanied by the associates and servants of the dead queen. Inside the church, vigils were said, and the next day, the service was held. The Bourgeois of Paris added that fourteen bellmen and a hundred torches accompanied Isabeau's body to Notre Dame, but no women of rank except Catherine of Fastavarin and a few gentlewomen were present. The Parlement register stated that on October 14, after the service at Notre Dame, the presidents of Parlement carried the litter with the queen's body to a boat on the Seine for the trip to Saint Denis "because the land route was perilous by the enemy which took prisoners each day between Paris and Saint Denis."  

Chartier described the funeral at Saint Denis which he witnessed. The monks, richly dressed in fleurs de lis, went in procession to bring the body to the abbey. The chapel under which the body was placed was lit with many candles and torches "but not in such great a quantity that she deserved." On October 15, the burial service consisted of a high mass sung by the grand prior of the abbey of Saint Denis "because there were no prelates present." To mourn the queen there were only the executors Chaussart
and Happart "which was a great shame to all the seigneuries of England." Finally, she was put in the ground with "a great assembly of people present." Chartier used the lack of grandeur at Isabeau's funeral to insult the English invaders and thereby implied that the queen ought to have had a funeral that befitted one of the highest rank. It would appear from the Parlement register that the English in Paris tried to give the old queen the best funeral possible under difficult circumstances. Even with the dangerous route, the queen's body was taken to Saint Denis where it would rest, in accordance with her wishes, beside the body of her husband. However, Isabeau's funeral services were obviously less grand than the services given to the other fifteenth century queens. Meanwhile, at the congress of Arras, Philip the Good of Burgundy learned of Isabeau's death and carefully arranged services for her there. Burgundy, Bourbon, and the counts of Vendôme and Étampes all dressed in black and went to mass at the abbey of Saint Vaast where forty poor men held torches, and many candles shone around the catafalque, a practice usually seen only at the funerals of abbots. There could not have been much mourning in the camp of Isabeau's disinherited son, King Charles VII, whose armies were successfully turning back the English and preparing for the liberation of Paris which took place within a year.
When Charles VII died at Meun-sur-Yevre on July 22, 1461, his wife Marie of Anjou was at Chinon. The widow had cause to worry about her future under her son King Louis XI who had been in exile for many years. She wrote to Louis advising him that her husband's servants, and especially her brother Charles of Anjou, the count of Maine, and the grand seneschal Pierre de Brézé were ready to serve him. Louis accorded Maine customary respect, but Brézé was removed from the council and imprisoned temporarily. At his coronation at Reims and later at his entry into Paris, the new king was accompanied by such men as Philip the Good of Burgundy, the dukes of Bourbon and Cleves, the counts of Charolais, Nevers, Etampes, and St. Pol, and numerous seigneurs from Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Burgundy. Since many of these men were enemies of Charles VII and the Angevin family, the dowager queen was not present or even welcome at the festivities. Instead she went to Amboise where her son visited her in September 1461. Louis commended his mother's virtue and wisdom and politely offered her a seat on the council, but both remained bitter about the years in exile, the rumors that Louis had poisoned his father, Louis' friendship with Burgundy, and the arrest of Brézé. After she declined
the king's nominal offer to assist in government, Marie's dower was assigned. The queen mother was not allowed to reside at the comfortable chateau of Amboise, which the king's own family would use, and so she left for Poitou to the monastery of Chasteliers.

The widow Marie of Anjou traveled extensively for a woman in her late fifties. From Poitou, she went to Saint Denis where her husband Charles VII was buried to pray for his soul which she felt was in peril. According to Marie's biographer, the queen worried that Charles had failed to continue the Crusade which had regained its momentum in Spain and its urgency after the Turks had taken Constantinople in 1453. She resolved to make a pilgrimage across the Alps to the Spanish province of Galicia and its holy shrine of Saint James of Compostella. The apostle James, brother of Saint John, had supposedly made a missionary visit to Spain before his martyrdom in Jerusalem, and according to Spanish tradition dating from 830, his body was taken to Compostella in Galicia where the shrine of Santiago became a Christian holy place in the Middle Ages. The queen mother took the habit of a pilgrim at Tours and prepared her party of two women, a squire, page, and three or four valets for the arduous journey. Banding with other pilgrims, the queen's party traveled
to the fortress-like monastery at Roncevaux, passed through
the kingdom of Leon to Santiago, and arrived at Compostella
to pray like ordinary pilgrims. Returning to France by
Bordeaux, Marie arrived at the convent of the Chasteliers
in very bad health. She died at Chasteliers on November 15,
1463, and was taken for burial at Saint Denis.

In November and December of 1463 Louis XI was in the
north of France at Dieppe and Abbeville, an area that had
recently been the site of the war with England. The king
did not attend his mother's funeral at Saint Denis, but he
ordered services to be held for her soul at the church of
Notre Dame and St. James in Dieppe on December 9 and 10.
Louis ordered a valet de chambre to make an account of the
expenses of these services and had Étienne de Bonney, a
clerk and procureur of the receiver of ordinary receipts
at Poitou, present the account at court. The total
expenses came to 1335 l. 8 s. 9 d.t., and the receipts,
all from Guillaume de Varye, councillor of the king and
accountant of the king's écurie, were 1333 l. 8 s. 7 d.ob.t.,
leaving a slight deficit of 40 s. 1 d.ob.t. The brief
account was divided into five short chapters: 1) deniers
for mourning clothes for the king and the three chamberlains
who accompanied him, 152 l. 3 s. 9 d.t., 2) deniers for
cloths of silk, bougras, and wool, candles, ribbon, and
designs of the arms of the late queen, 884 l. 9 s. 1 d.t.,
3) deniers paid to the curé to say masses and deniers for alms, 293 l. 7 s. 2 d.t., and 4) voyages to find the necessary cloths, 68 s. 9 d.t., and 5) expenses for the parchment of the account book, 40 s.t. 26

The king himself wore garments whose cloths and fur cost about 83 l.t., while the garments for the three chamberlains together totaled only about 68 l.t. The chapel that was built inside the church of Dieppe for the service was by far the most expensive item. The king's carpenters made the wooden chapel for 20 l.t., and the black taffeta for the king's oratory cost 78 l. 7 s. 6 d.t., while the black velvet to line the seat and table for the king and his brother Charles of Berry and to line the altar totaled 145 l. 15 s.t. Seven hundred and twenty little candles, each weighing a half livre, covered the chapel, four large candles, each of ten livres, were placed in the chapel's four corners, four candles of four livres each were put before the oratory of the king and the oratory of Berry, and 435 candles, each one livre, were placed around the church and around "the representation of the sepulcher," all for a total cost in candles of 312 l. 7 s. 6 d.ob.t. The king also employed Jean de Saumur, a tailor, to make from 273 aulnes of black fabric one hundred robes and hoods of mourning for those who would carry torches at the service: the fabric was worth 187 l. 13 s. 9 d.t., and
the tailor costs were 31 l. 5 s.t. The grieving son also set aside 150 écus gold to be distributed to the poor people who prayed for the soul of the late queen. Thus, although he did not attend the actual funeral, Louis felt obligated to participate in elaborate, costly services for his mother.

Even before Marie of Anjou died, Louis XI was making claims to certain territories through her inheritance as an Angevin and Aragonese princess. Louis felt he had a claim to the throne of Aragon through Marie, whose mother Yolanda of Aragon was the daughter of Juan I, king of Aragon. When Juan II went to war against Henry IV, king of Castile, Louis forced the Aragonese king to pay for French help and for the abdication of French claims to Aragon by yielding Roussillon, a province north of the Pyrenees, to France. In addition to the alliance against Castile, Juan and Louis worked together to put down rebels in Catalonia who hoped to achieve Catalan independence from Aragon. The French king however kept his lines of communication open to all three Spanish parties, Castilians, Aragonese, and Catalans. When Louis met a delegation of independence-minded Catalans in August 1463, he told them that his grandmother Yolanda had been half Catalan, though she was really Aragonese. Louis had hopes of securing Catalonia for himself, especially after the province
elected Dom Pedro, constable of Portugal, its king. But Juan II of Aragon fought off French commanders, such as René of Anjou's son Duke John of Calabria, who was Marie's nephew, and the new Catalan king with equal success. In 1469, Juan II married his son Ferdinand to Isabella of Castile, and in 1472, Juan entered Barcelona, the Catalan capital. Thus Louis' attempt to capture Catalonia and to secure a foothold in Spain was a failure.

Louis' luck with the Angevin part of the inheritance was much better. John of Calabria, king René's only son, died in 1470 at Barcelona where he had defended his family's rights in Catalonia against the Aragonese king Juan II. With René approaching a very old age, Louis had designs to incorporate the domains of Anjou and Provence into France. Another Angevin heir, Nicolas of Anjou, René's grandson, had sided with Louis' enemy Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy when Nicolas agreed to marry Charles' daughter Marie of Burgundy. This threat ended in 1473 when Nicolas died suddenly. In 1474, René planned to designate another of his grandsons, René, duke of Bar, heir to Bar and his nephew Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, heir to Provence and Anjou. This Louis XI would not accept. Before publication of René's will, Louis sent his secretary Guillaume de Cerisay and three chamberlains to Angers, the Angevin capital, to declare that René had no right to
grant Charles of Anjou the duchy of Anjou since the duchy was an appanage of France. It was stressed that Louis preferred to save the duchy for France by use of law rather than arms. Later, when René was in Provence, Louis himself visited Angers where the locals hoped to achieve lower taxes and more bourgeois control under the king.

Louis XI used his mother's inheritance only to claim his share of the Angevin lands that were not part of the appanage of France. There was no reason to claim the appanages of Anjou and Maine because René held them "at the tolerance of the king" and could not dispose of them against the king's will. On the other hand, Louis claimed that he was the sole heir of his mother's claims to the lands that Yolanda of Aragon and Louis of Sicily, Marie's parents, held outside France. Louis claimed that Marie's share was half of the county of Provence, half of the duchy of Bar, and half of all the other Angevin lands outside the French appanages: the other halves belonged to Marie's brother René. However, René owed Louis a great deal of money as a result of revenues on Marie's share that René had kept and the dowry that Louis paid René for the unaccomplished marriage of Louis' daughter Anne to René's grandson Nicolas. Thus Louis asserted that even René's half was subject to France for the payment and restitution of these debts.
Soon Louis began to name Angevin officials, but René continued to resist. When René's will was issued in defiance of French claims that he had no right to transfer his lands, Louis XI took possession of Bar and Anjou and sent a governor, Guillaume de Cerisay, to Angers. In April 1476, Louis accused René of treason for trying to will his estate to the duke of Burgundy. To free himself, René swore not to ally himself with the enemies of the crown, renounced the duchies of Bar and Anjou, and accepted a 60,000 franc pension from the king. After the reconciliation, Louis XI paid the ransom for Margaret of Anjou, René's daughter, the unfortunate queen of England, on the condition that she cede her rights to the Angevin inheritance. Although he had never designated Louis XI as his heir, when René of Anjou finally died on July 10, 1480, at the age of seventy-one, the French king was in fact his sole heir. Charles of Anjou, the count of Maine, René's nephew, died December 11, 1481: his will granted all his properties, which included Maine and Provence, to the French crown.

**Charlotte of Savoy**

Charlotte of Savoy died on December 1, 1483, only three months after the death of her husband Louis XI.
Charlotte's daughter, Anne of Beaujeu, was regent for Charles VIII, Charlotte's only son, but the queen herself had no power in the regency. Charles VIII issued letters for the queen's dower on September 18, 1483, and Charlotte accepted the settlement on September 22. She was only thirty-three years old, and the fatal illness was a sudden surprise. Pierre Burdelot, notary and secretary of the king and Charlotte's treasurer and receiver general, had not yet received any money at the time of the queen's death. In spite of this lack of funds, Charlotte made her last will on her deathbed at the chateau of Amboise.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and the very glorious virgin mother of God and all the holy court in the heavenly paradise, We, Charlotte, by the grace of God queen of France, mother of the king Charles, considering our frailty and that nothing is more certain or more uncertain than death, are at present ill, but we are, by the grace of God, in good mind and memory. We want to live and die in the Catholic faith, and we want to dispose of our wealth so we will not die intestate. We make and declare in our true and certain word our last will and testament in the following manner:

In the first place, we recommend to God, our omnipotent Father, to his Son, to the Holy Ghost, and to the Virgin Mary our soul, that it may please them to put our soul between the hands of the holy archangel Saint Michael in order to present our soul before the Holy Trinity when it will leave our body.

Item. We leave our tomb to the discretion of our very beloved son, the king, and to our executors.

Item. We wish and we order that the debts that we owe to Alexandre Blandin for our argenterie, as for wages of our officers and ladies, and
money owed from the time of the late Pierre Artault, for whom Alexandre Blandin held the account, be justly paid along with all our other debts.

Item. We give to our daughter Jeanne of Orleans the sum of 200 marcs of silver from our silverware in order to aid her.

Item. We give 6000 écus gold to be distributed into the hands of our officers male and female.

Item. We give to the lady of Bussières the sum of 3000 écus gold to aid her to marry her daughters and in compensation for the services she has given us.

Item. We give to Antoine d'Ancezune, our écuyer d'écurie, the sum of 10,000 écus gold for the services that he has made for a long time and especially during our illness.

Item. We give to Marie, our femme de chambre, the sum or 2000 écus gold to aid her to marry her daughters.

Item. We give to the daughters of Jamet Hubelin, our huissier, for them to marry, the sum of 500 écus.

Item. We give to the convent of Saint Francis of Amboise to aid them so that the brothers of the convent will say prayers for the sake of our soul, 1000 écus.

Item. We give to the widow of the late Jean le Verrier because she nursed our children and made several services for us, to aid her to marry her daughters, 500 écus.

Item. We ask and require of our son the king as the king and we order him as his mother that he keep all and each of our officers in their states and offices that they are in at present which we have given to them. And that the king keep them in their liberties, privileges, and franchises that they are accustomed to enjoy as officers of the kings and queens.

Item. We ask our son the king that he protect the convents of the Friars Minor of the Daily Observance, both at Amboise and at Tours, that our late husband the king had reformed and put in observance.
Item. To do this and to accomplish these things we ask the executors of our last will and testament, the archbishop of Tours, our son Pierre of Beaujeu, our brother of Dunois, and our officer Jean Tiercelin that they will use all our goods to the payment of the execution of our testament. And if our goods are not sufficient for the accomplishment of our testament, we ask and require the king our son that he will complete it.

Item. We order our executors to notify the king of this last will and testament so he will not be ignorant of it.

This testament was made at the chateau of Amboise on December 1, 1483, in the presence of Jean Tiercelin, écuyer and seigneur of Brosse; Antoine d'Ancezune, grand écuyer d'écurie; Adam Fumée, Robert du Lyon, Bernard Chaussade, Jean Millet, doctors of medicine; Philippe Remoy, doctor of law, Pierre Burdelot, treasurer, and other councillors and officers.

After the queen's death, Charles VIII issued letters on December 20 allowing Pierre Burdelot to collect the revenues from Charlotte's dower for one year as if she were still living. This would pay for the execution of the queen's will, her last month's expenses, the wages of officers, and the funeral. Among the other letters issued by the king on this matter were two dated January 19, 1484, ordering that 9625 l.t. collected by Burdelot be used to pay wages to officers and 12008 l. 15 s. 10 d.t., also collected by Burdelot, be given to Jean Robineau to direct and finance the funeral. In addition, Charles VIII confirmed letters that Charlotte had written on September 24, 1483, giving her lady of honor Françoise Forest a 600 l.t. pension for life on the profit of the little
seal of Montpellier, revenues Charlotte had long collected.\textsuperscript{34}

Only two days after Charlotte's death, a few officers including Hardouin de Maillé, grand master of her hôtel and king's chamberlain, and Yon de Fou, chamberlain and councillor of the king and grand veneur of France, met at Amboise to write an ordonnance for the immediate needs of the funeral. The grand écuyer was ordered to purchase all the necessary cloths, and the queen's ladies were ordered dressed in mourning habits. The most expensive fabric, worth 10 l.t. per aulne, would be worn by Jeanne of Orleans, Charlotte's daughter, and Madame de Chastillon-sur-Indre, the widow of Tanneguy du Chastel, governor of Roussillon, would dress in fabric worth 6 l.t. the aulne. The principal officers and ladies would wear fabric worth 5 l.t. the aulne, the middle officers and ladies, 3 l. 10 s.t. the aulne, and on down until the least wore fabric worth 1 l. 10 s.t. the aulne. A hundred poor people were also to dress in mourning and carry torches from Amboise, where the queen had died, forty-five miles to Cléry, where she would be buried beside her husband Louis XI, who had been devoted to Our Lady of Cléry since childhood. On this voyage, eastward along the Loire, the queen's body would rest at the churches of Amboise, Blois, Saint Laurent des Eaux, and finally at Cléry. Accordingly, officers were
sent ahead to prepare the local churches to receive the body, to pay for masses at each stop, and to give alms totaling 500 l.t. along the way. The poor people carrying torches were to receive 6 s. 3 d.t. for their services, while the rest of those making the voyage who were not Charlotte's officers would receive 40 s.t. each day of the journey.\textsuperscript{35}

The account of Charlotte's funeral expenses continued with the payment of 10 l.t. to two men named Lancement and Robin, both barbers at Amboise, "for having opened the body of the lady after her death in order to embalm her," and Jean Gascogne, the apothecary, was paid 100 l.t. for "drugs and good odors used in the embalmment of the body according to medical ordonnance.\textsuperscript{36}" In addition, small sums were paid to several persons for their assistance in supplying material and labor for the coffin. As usual in fifteenth century accounts, the major expenses came with purchases of fabric. Pierre Morin of Amboise was the merchant who supplied most of these cloths: the single most expensive piece was the 12 aulnes of gold cramoisy worth 23 écus the aulne, which totaled 442 l. 15 s.t., to make the pall which covered the coffin. Among other large purchases were 35 aulnes of doubled black velvet at 7 l. 10 s.t. the aulne for a total of 262 l. 10 s.t. and 12 aulnes of gold cramoisy for 320 l. 16 s. 8 d.t.; both
pieces were used inside the coffin to cover the body of the queen. The queen's coat of arms was painted on certain cloths and altars by Jean Poyer, a painter at Tours. Work was also done on the wagon that would carry the body to Cléry, but again these costs were minimal compared to the 296 l. 5 s.t. spent for 30½ aulnes of black velvet to drape the horses, and other materials to cover the wagon, to decorate the harnesses, and to cover the saddles.

Masses were said for the queen at each church where her body rested. Hervé Blanchet, who made the entire journey from Amboise to Cléry, was paid for 403 low masses said during the nine days at Amboise, 44 low masses said on December 11 at Blois, and 49 low masses said at Saint Laurent des Eaux on December 12 and 13. All these were said for 2 s. 9 d.t. per mass. At Notre Dame of Cléry, Blanchet said 161 low masses for 3 s. 4 d.t. per mass. Among the others who performed religious services at Amboise were Pierre Forget, vicar of the church of Saint Denis des Faubourgs, who said three high masses, and Jean de Nosse, curé of the parish of Notre Dame of Saint Florentin, who administered the sacraments to the dying queen and afterwards sent eight chaplains to watch her body and to say prayers. At Blois, the vicar of the church of St. Saturnin de Vienne said masses and sent eight
chaplains to watch the body while Jean de Houlles, procureur of the same church, sang for the lady. In addition, eight Cordeliers from Blois joined the procession to go on to Cléry. Ecclesiastics at Saint Laurent des Eaux performed the same tasks with the addition of fifty poor people who held torches in the church for 22 d.t. apiece and subsequent almsgiving of 101 l.t. to the poor of the city.

At Cléry, ten monks of Notre Dame of Cléry were paid to put the body into the tomb, masons were hired to prepare the tomb, and carpenters worked on the church and the chapel where the body would rest. The hundred poor people who had come with the cortege from Amboise were paid their promised 6 s. 3 d.t. and then given a bonus to assure their return to Amboise. In addition, the promised 500 l.t. of alms was distributed to all the poor people of Cléry. Pierre Morin was paid for the hundreds of candles and torches he had supplied along the way, and he made another large fabric sale of 91 3/4 aulnes of velvet at 7 l. 10 s.t. the aulne for a total of 685 l. 6 s. 3 d.t. to be put around the choir and the chapel of the church of Notre Dame of Cléry. Finally, the funeral account detailed the amount of fabric and the cost needed to dress each of Charlotte's officers: all this business went to Morin, and, along with the tailor's fees, the total came to
4589 l. 16 s. 8 d.t. The complete funeral expenses were 11901 l. 7 s. 3 d.t., which was probably not coincidental to the 12008 l. 15 s. 10 d.t. that the king had allotted.

The queen's debts were paid as part of the execution of her will. Two of the executors, the counts of Clermont and Dunois, made the account of the liquidation of Charlotte's debts on May 11, 1484, and presented it to the king at Vincennes on June 15. In total, the queen's debts were 7278 l. 3 s. 5 d.t. This sum was turned over to Alexandre Blandin, formerly Charlotte's argentier, for distribution to the creditors. The major part, 4560 l.t., went to Blandin for the vague purpose of paying argenterie debts and wages to unnamed persons. Approximately 2000 l.t. of the debt was for black fabric supplied by the merchant Michel le Fuzelier who apparently provided the officers and ladies with a second mourning outfit. To Martin Darcy, furrier at Amboise, was owed about 600 l.t. for furs that lined the mourning clothes. Finally Louis Girault, sommelier of the queen's chapel, claimed his wages of 54 l. 15 s. 4 d.t. due from 1470, and Jacques de Moulins, queen's master of the chamber of deniers, received 120 l.t. of wages for the year 1479-1480. The completion of Charlotte's will continued with the next chapter entitled "gifts made by the late lady to persons named." Only the first item is extant: the gift of 200 marcs of
silverware to Jeanne of Orleans, Charlotte's daughter, had not yet been made because Jean Briconnet, who was in charge of the distribution of the late queen's goods, had not yet completed the task.

Anne of Brittany

Although Anne of Brittany was only thirty-eight in 1514, she had been in precarious health for many years. She had had frequent pregnancies, many of which had produced weak children who soon died, and often Anne had been ill after childbirth. Like her husband Louis XII, Anne had experienced long illnesses of frightening severity. Anne's letters show that she was constantly worried about the health of her family and distrusted nearly everyone, especially nurses and doctors, who came in contact with her children. According to Le Roux de Lincy, Anne's health steadily weakened as a result of difficult pregnancies and subsequent kidney and bladder stones. On January 2, 1514, at the chateau of Blois, Anne took violently ill, and seven days later she was dead. There were the expected reports that the doctors, who had been unable to help the queen, actually did the damage that killed her. Unlike the three previous queens, Anne was not a dowager at the time of her death. With peace at home, the royal treasury rich, and the delight in luxury
current, Anne's husband Louis XII ordered that her funeral be especially magnificent.

Pierre Choque, called "Brittany," the queen's herald of arms, was asked by Louis XII to prepare the ceremony under the direction of the officers of the crown. Afterwards, Choque wrote a five part book about Anne of Brittany's death, family, and funeral. The first part, in verse, was a "complaint" of Anne's death.42

Elle nous a prins celle royne et duchesse  
Que l'on tenoit sous vertus singulière  
Au monde entier des dames la première  
Seulle sans per et sans comparaison  
Qu'on doibt pleurer et plaindre par raison . . .

The second part, also in verse, was a long genealogy of Anne of Brittany and the house of the dukes of Brittany. This began with the destruction of the ancient city of Troy, because, according to legend, the great grandson of one of that city's princes conquered England and founded a line there that lasted for eighty-three kings and 1500 years.43 Another of the descendants, in the same tradition, Conan Meriadec, prince of "Albania in Scotland" was proclaimed king of Brittany in 409. Choque's history then advanced to the thirteenth century where the genealogy was no longer legendary. The Breton dukes and their families were traced with the detail becoming much greater as Anne and her father Francis approached. Anne's
marriages to Charles VIII and Louis XII, her sorrow to have had no surviving sons, and the unhappiness of her death were all discussed. Her character however was the central theme.

La congoissant de si hault renom
Tant belle, plaisante et savante
Qu'il n'y avoit en nul lieu mencion
Qu'onques dame fust plus prudente
Magnifique, vaillante, triumphante,
Excellante sur toutes les mondaines
Car de vertus, est vérité patente
Elle excède toutes les humaines . . .

Choque's description of the funeral was long and detailed. He began with Anne's death on Monday January 9 at 6 A.M. at the chateau of Blois. The body, attended by religious men, remained for six days in the queen's chamber where it was embalmed and the heart placed in a gold box to be taken, in accordance with Anne's wishes, for separate burial at Nantes. On Saturday, the body was removed from the queen's chamber and taken to the queen's salle d'honneur in the same chateau where it was sealed in the coffin on Monday. Jacqueline d'Astarac, wife of Antoine de Mailly; Antoinette de Soubize, Jeanne du Porcon, wife of Renaud de Litre; Marguerite Caillon, wife of Raoul de Tournemine, seigneur of la Guerche; and other ladies were present while the gentlemen included, among others, Philippe de Menou, king's councillor and
chamberlain and queen's councillor and master of the hôtel; Gilles d'Ogny, chamberlain of the king; Raoul de Tournemine and Pierre de Saint Gilles, écuyers; and Louis de Montauban of the Rohan family, nephew of the chancellor of Brittany. Choque reported that this noble party was greatly distressed when the queen was finally covered and that the mood changed immediately to a very deep mourning.

On Tuesday January 17, the trappings of mourning were brought out. Black velvet and taffeta draped the salle d'honneur and the coffin on which a white cross was placed, a gold cloth fringed with red silk covered the ceiling, and large white candles, the arms of the queen, and the cordelière covered in fine gold were used for decorations. Four high masses were said, the first by the Cordeliers, the second by the Jacobins, the third by the religious men of the king's chapel, and the fourth by the queen's almsgiver. The queen's officers and the local religious community were all dressed in mourning and so were the most prominent of the realm. The heir apparent, Francis of Angoulême, his brother-in-law Charles, duke of Alençon, Louis XI's daughter Anne of Beaujeu, Francis' mother Louise of Savoy, and Marguerite of Angoulême, sister of Francis and wife of Alençon, all arrived at the salle d'honneur dressed in mourning. Then the king visited the mourning room and was comforted there by the queen's
ladies. At this point, Choque included several *rondeaux* written by André de la Vigne in the queen's honor.45

Cruelle mort, dépitéuse et adverse
D'estre aux humains si très dure et perserve
Envers Jhésus foys protestacion
Que sans péché, par déstatacion
Blasmer te puis et maudire sans cesse
D'avoir meurtry la grant royne et duchesse
Qui de vertus posidoit la richesse.
Digne tu es de réprehension
Cruelle mort . . .

On Friday February 3, Anne's body finally left the chateau of Blois for the church of the Holy Savior at Blois. Here Choque began to relate the all important social ranking of the mourners whereas before at the chateau, classes had mixed informally.46 The coffin itself was carried by the gentlemen of the queen's household such as her *panetier*, François de Bron, several *échansons*, and *écuyers*. Before the coffin, sprinkling holy water, walked the cardinal of Bayeux, the bishops of Paris and Limoges, the abbé of la Roue who was the queen's confessor, and other religious men. The four corners of the mourning cloth were carried by François of Bourbon, the count of Saint Pol; Odet de Foix, count of Lautrec; the count of Laval; and Louis of Cleves, son of the duke of Nevers. The pall of black velvet with a white cross which rested above the coffin was carried by René of Brittany, son of Jean II de Brosse; Jean of Laval, governor and admiral
of Brittany; Pierre de Candalle, fourth son of Gaston III of Foix; and Pierre of Laval, grandson of Françoise de Dinan who had been the governess of the duchess Anne. On the queen's left walked Jean de Talleyrand, seigneur of Grignault, prince of Challois, and viscount of Fronsac, who was the queen's chevalier of honor and councillor; and also beside the queen were Louis de Hanges, councillor and grand écuyer of Brittany, and François of Brittany, count of Vertus, baron of Avaugour, who was a bastard of Anne's father. The masters of the queen's hôtel were also honored in the procession with a place near the coffin. Behind the coffin walked the king, Alençon, Anne of Beaujeu, the ladies of Angoulême and Alençon, and the lady of Mailly in that order. Those of the highest rank were followed by the queen's other ladies, then by John Stuart, a prince of Scotland, and other foreign ambassadors. All varieties of religious men and women, especially the Jacobins and Cordeliers, were included as were torchbearers and four hundred poor people all dressed in mourning. Gabriel de la Chatre, king's chamberlain and master of the hôtel, Jean de Saint Amadour, valet de chambre of the queen, and Jean le Roux, seigneur de la Tour, were among those assigned to keep the procession in order.

On Saturday February 4, after three more masses were said, the king's confessor, the sire of Parvy, preached a
sermon. Parvy began to trace Anne's genealogy but ran short of time and promised to continue at Saint Denis, the ultimate destination. The voyage from Blois to Saint Denis began the same day when the coffin, covered with black velvet and a white cross, was placed on a wagon driven by six horses. The accompanying party included the same procession with the inclusion of archers and a Swiss army unit. The cortège stopped each night at a church along the way: one night each at Saint Dye, Notre Dame of Cléry, Orleans, Artrenay, Janville, Angerville, Étampes, and Montlhéry, two nights, February 12 and 13, at Notre Dame des Champs, Notre Dame of Paris on the 14th, and finally Saint Denis on February 15. Choque maintained that "each held his order as they had before" and "concerning the gentlemen and ladies in mourning, each held their rank." The mourning was especially intense among the lords, ladies, and officers around the king.

The people around the king and the ladies could not stop crying and were in great desolation to think that their sovereign lady and mistress had lived so briefly and died at such a young age.... and that the doctors had made false judgments, and it was the opinion of many that the doctors ought to be pursued.

On the gates of each city along the way a verse in honor of the queen was posted, and in response, alms were distributed.
At Notre Dame des Champs outside Paris, where the cortege stopped two days, the presidents and councillors of Parliament and five hundred torchbearers greeted the queen's party. After the coffin was put in the church under velvet, the archbishops of Sens and Dol said masses and a service on February 12, and on the next day, Anne's first almsgiver, the bishop of Lodève, said the service. Then for the voyage to Notre Dame of Paris 172 Cordeliers, 120 Jacobins, 100 Augustinians, and 74 Carmelites came to accompany the cortege. Monks from the churches and convents of the Billets, Blancs Manteaux, Saint Croix, Mathurins, Saint Germain des Prés, Saint Victor, Sainte Geneviève, and the Sainte Chapelle all came in order. The lawyers, commissioners, notaries, and procureurs of the Chatellet were another party which joined the cortege to Notre Dame. The whole party from Blois, still in order, continued in the procession to Paris, and in this instance, Choque listed those present by their rank instead of by their order in the cortege. 49 At Notre Dame of Paris, Parvy continued the sermon he had begun at Blois. For this service, the choir was divided into four parts: the ecclesiastics at front, officials in the back, the university of Paris on the right, and the people of Paris on the left. 50 All were reduced to tears when Parvy said, "I swear here before all that I heard her confessions and administered communion
to her, and I know that she died without ever having committed any mortal sin."\textsuperscript{51} At the same time, it was known that there had been "signs" from heaven, seen throughout western Europe, on the day of Anne's death.

When the body finally arrived at Saint Denis, Parvy concluded the queen's genealogy, and high masses were said. Then, after the queen was lowered into her tomb, which had an empty place beside it for the king, Choque played out his own ceremonial part.\textsuperscript{52} First, one of the king's soldiers cried, "Silence" three times and then "Herald of arms of the Bretons, do your duty."\textsuperscript{53} Choque replied, "La tres crestienne royn e et duchesse, nostre souveraine dame et maistresse, est morte. La royne est morte. La royne est morte." Then the sire of Grignault brought the "hand of justice" to Choque who went down into the tomb and placed it on the coffin; secondly, the sire of Avaugour, who was crying, brought Choque the scepter which was also placed in the tomb, and finally Monmor, the grand écouyer of Brittany, gave Choque the queen's crown to be put on the coffin. After this, according to Choque, "not only the princes and princesses but people of all states knew only how to wring their hands and cry."\textsuperscript{54}

A great feast was held after the ceremonies, but Choque and probably all the other Bretons continued on to
Nantes where Anne's heart would be buried. The heart arrived on March 13 at the church of the Chartreux in Nantes, and on the 19th a mourning procession took the heart to the church of the Carmelites in Nantes which was the final destination. On one side of the case that held Anne's heart was the inscription, "In this little vessel of fine gold rests one of the greatest hearts of any woman in the world. Anne was her name, she was two times queen of France, duchess of Brittany, royal and sovereign, 1513."
On the other side was written, "This heart was as high as from the earth to the sky. It was virtuous, liberal, shining, best, but God took back the better portion and this earthly part remains to us, 9 January." According to Toudouze, there was another poem, anonymous and undated, in Brittany.

Sy giste le cœur d'Anne, haute princesse Royne de France et de Bretaigne duchesse De Haultesse et vertu ennobly Dont le corps est mys et ensevely Dedans France, pour estre leur bannières Leur enseigne, leur clarté et lumière Mais pourquoi esse que son cœur ay si muy Si non qu'elle prye aux Bretons ses amis Et subjectes, que aguissent leur couraige De batailler voyre à l'avantage Contre œulex mauvais et iniques Quy de France sont ennemys antiques.

Choque finished with the queen's epitaph that he saw written on the tomb at Saint Denis on June 1, 1515.
Choque leaves the impression that Louis XII kept a low profile at the funeral as if to allow the Bretons to bury their own dead. Within nine months Louis announced his engagement to Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII of England. When Anne of Brittany's name was mentioned without respect at the king's council one day, Guy de Laval, a Breton, responded, "I do not know why you speak thus. Do you realize that since the establishment of your realm, you have never had a queen who was so great a lady, nor one who elevated you so high? Show me a trace of your other queens! The memory of (Anne) ought to impress you above all the others. With her, you stopped the steps of your enemies who advanced into the heart of the kingdom, whenever it pleased the dukes, her predecessors, who held the keys to your doors." The tension between France and Brittany continued on the baronial level, but never were the Bretons in a worse position to defend their rights. By his marriage contract with Anne, Louis XII was the rightful sovereign and possessor of Brittany for as long as he lived: the French king appointed the major officers of Brittany from Paris, and Anne's two daughters, Claude and Renée, were
under French control. On May 18, 1514, Claude celebrated her marriage to Francis of Angoulême, and on October 25, Francis received from Louis "the administration, maintenance, and total disposition of the duchy" of Brittany and the title of duke. This was to be of some consolation to Francis whose hopes of becoming king had dimmed with Louis' marriage to Mary Tudor. At the same time however, Louis guaranteed the rights of his and Anne's second daughter, four-year-old Renée, who would have claims to the duchy. In any event, Louis XII's marriage to Mary was both childless and short: Francis of Angoulême succeeded to the throne on January 1, 1515.

The tomb of Anne of Brittany and Louis XII, built by Jean Just during the reign of Francis I was magnificent, but the Breton could hardly have been pleased. Ironically, if Louis XII had had a son by Mary, Francis would certainly have become a defender of Breton independence and the rights of his wife Claude. However, as king of France, Francis sought only to unite the duchy with the kingdom.

At fifteen, Queen Claude was completely under the influence of France and her husband. On April 22, 1515, the queen wrote these letters: "In consideration of the great love and wisdom of the king and the promise by him to have (my sister) Renée married, I cede and transmit the duchy to the king to enjoy throughout his life and to be the
true duke of Brittany." Again on June 28, 1515, Claude wrote:

The queen, considering that by the donation for life she has not satisfied the king's wishes, which are that she cede this possession to him in perpetuity . . . and because, if the duchy of Brittany fell into the hands of a foreign prince, there would be wars, the queen cedes to the king these possessions to enjoy in perpetuity if he survives the queen without children from their marriage.

In fact, Claude had four daughters and three sons, five of whom survived her, but the French turned this to their advantage. Before Claude died on July 20, 1524, Francis I had her make a will which bypassed the clause in Anne's marriage contract that might give Brittany to Claude's second son Henry, and instead the duchy was given to the dauphin Francis. Since the dauphin was a minor, Francis I remained sovereign in Brittany for the time being. Guy de Montfort-Laval, count of Laval and governor of Brittany, the vice chancellor Jean Briçonnet, the first president of the Breton Parlement, and the estates of Brittany all approved: after all, the officers served, and the estates met, at the will of the king of France. Another obstacle, Renée, Anne's second daughter and Claude's sister, was finally married in 1528 to the duke of Ferrara. Before she left for the foreign court, Renée was given 250,000 écus to renounce her rights.
In 1532, Francis I asked his council to suggest the means by which Brittany might be united permanently with France. The council recognized that the marriage contracts and acts of Anne and Claude were insufficient and that "one must make a declaration that the duchy belongs to the oldest son of the kings." Therefore the king was advised to make a voyage to Brittany to contract this. The estates of Brittany met at Vannes in August 1532 and heard the king's commissioners discuss the project of reunion. The arguments were old: the king feared Brittany would pass to a foreign prince; the Bretons feared French officials, French taxation, and involvement in French wars. However, Francis I had not really gone to Brittany to debate, and so on August 4, 1532, the estates of Brittany gave their already sovereign king what he wanted, an ordonnance of union.

Conclusions

The queen's last will and testament followed the half-religious, half-secular formula of most fifteenth century wills. After she recommended her soul to God and her body to a church to which she left a burial fee, provided for her funeral expenses, and made provision for the salvation of her soul through masses, anniversaries, and charities, the queen regulated the disposal of her
possessions. Her executors were both religious and secular councillors, but the jurisdiction of the execution belonged to the king's Parlement. The major tasks for the executors were the inventory of the wealth of the deceased, the payment of debts, and the distribution of personal property. Isabeau of Bavaria's three wills were long, well prepared, and, with their long lists of anniversaries and charities for the churches, essentially religious. In her last will, Isabeau's daughter Marie, a religieuse, was her primary executor and heir, while her most valuable property, the Hôtel Saint Ouen, was given to the Church. On the other hand, the distribution of Charlotte of Savoy's wealth in her short, deathbed will was predominately secular: for the most part, she dispensed with masses and anniversaries and merely willed money to her officers and ladies. Though both queens had sons who were king at the time of the writing of their last wills, the sons received nothing, while Isabeau's daughter Marie and Charlotte's daughter Jeanne were major recipients. Finally, the queen's will was left to her personal discretion: the will was a private act dealing with private wealth.

The queen's funeral was an entirely different matter. With the possible exception of the coronation and first entry into Paris, the funeral was the grandest ceremony held in the queen's honor. The event was long, elaborate,
costly, and deliberately public. The body might stay a week in the room where the queen died before the decisions were made concerning the coffin, burial site, arrangements for transportation, and services. However, these decisions, which were made by Parliament or the king's councillors, were always in line with established ritual. The queen would be buried beside her husband: when Louis XI made the unusual decision to be buried at Cléry instead of Saint Denis, his wife Charlotte was also bound for Cléry. At every step, the Church was needed to care for the queen's body and soul, and in return, the assisting churches earned money for receiving the body, saying prayers and masses, and performing the funeral services. The inclusion of poor torchbearers, large crowds of mourners, and alms for the poor emphasized, in the religious context, humility and the equality of all people in the eyes of God, and, in the political context, the relationship between royalty and its subjects. However, social rank was the basis of order at funeral processions, and the queen's funeral was obviously an occasion for the display of princely wealth and pomp. With such inherent religious, social, and political implications, a proper burial for the queen was an important event.

The contents of a will might be divided as such:
1) the initial protocol: a) invocation of the Trinity b) preamble on death 2) the body: a) recommendation of the soul b) choice of burial site c) pious donations d) charitable donations e) donations to family f) establishment of an heir g) substitutions h) designation of executors i) witnesses and 3) final protocol: a) validation b) date.

1 BN Fr. 6544, n. 7. This is one very large piece of parchment which contains the entire will. To my knowledge this will of Isabeau has not been published.

2 KK 45 and KK 46. For example, KK 45, fol. 15, term of Noel, 1398 under Hanois, August 22, candles for the anniversary of King Philip of Valois, 60 s.p.; September 16, for the anniversary of King Charles, 60 s.p. for candles; October 3, for the anniversary of the queen's mother Thadea Visconti, 60 s.p. for candles; October 16, for the funeral of Queen Blanche, 60 s.p. for candles; December 14, for the anniversary of Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, 60 s.p. For the other half of the year anniversaries included Jeanne of Bourbon, February 8 and King John April 19. The dates were not consistent to the day each term.
4. BN Fr. 6544, n. 7. The purpose was the exclusion of John the Fearless and his councillors as executors or heirs of the queen.

5. BN Fr. 6544, n. 1. The 1411 will is not as lengthy as the earlier will. It is also written on one side of a large piece of parchment. To my knowledge, Isabeau’s 1411 will has not been published.

6. BN Fr. 23024, fols. 111-122. This is the last will and testament of Isabeau written in 1431. The quotation is from fols. 116-118. Publication in M. Felibien and G.A. Lobineau, Histoire de la ville de Paris, v. III. (Paris: G. Despres and J. Desessartz, 1725), 553-558.

7. Felibien and Lobineau, 555-556. "Item, pareillement nous donnons à l’église & à l’abbaye de Saint Denys en France, nostre hostel de Saint Ouyyn, avec l’hostel des bourgeois, avec toutes ses appartenances; pourveu toutes fois que frere Anceau Hapart nostre confesseur, pour les agraables services qu’il nous a faicts, & esperons qu’il fasse au temps à venir, & aussi qu’il puisse après nous nonnestement vivre sans mandier, prendra sur ladic abbaye francoyment, sa vie durant, solemmelment cinquante livres parisiens par chacun an. Et semblablement Catherine le Fouquet, fille de Guillaume Fouquet ecuyer, de laquelle nous desirons son bien & advancement, & pour ce que nous avons aussi promis à sa mere de lui querrer sa vie, prendra aussi francoyment sur ladic abbaye cinquante livres parisiens, sa vie durant, seulement, comme plus à plein est contenu en nosdites lettres que leurs avons baillées. Pour ce seront toutesfois tenus ceux de ladicte église & abbaye Saint Denys de dire & celebrer par chacun an obit solemnel, & avec ce serons mis en toutes leurs prières qui se seront journallement en ladicte église."

8. Ibid., 556. "Item, voulons que nostredicte vie durant, se bonnement faire se peut, les dessusdiz maisons, cens, rentes, possessions & revenus soient delivrez aux eglises & hospitalux, & par la maniere dessusdicte, afin de plus grande seureté, & que jamais ne puissions revocquer, rappeller ne aller au contraire ce que dict est. Reserve & retenu à nous l’usufruit desdiz terres, maisons, revenus & possessions, dont nous jouirons nostre vie durant.
"Isabeth" is an Anglicized version of Isabel or Isabeau, and this reflects the English presence in Paris and the English executors of the will.

The Bourgeois of Paris writes, "When they were in front of the Hotel de St. Pol, the Queen of France, Isabelle, wife of the late King Charles VI, was at the window with her ladies. When she saw the young King Henry, her daughter's son, near her, he at once took off his hood and greeted her, and she immediately bowed very humbly towards him and then turned away in tears."

The Bourgeois of Paris writes, "Nothing was done in these days except by the English; none of the French nobility had anything to do with governing the kingdom. The Queen of France was then living in Paris, but so poorly that she had only eight sets of wine at most each day for herself and her people. Nor would most people in Paris if asked 'Where is the Queen?' have had any idea. No one gave her a thought, no one cared at all, because it was said that it was she who was responsible for all the dreadful troubles and suffering then being endured."

According to Jean Chartier: "Le corps d'Isabeau de Bavière fut amené et conduit à Saint Denis, par eau en un petit bateau, et jusques en l'isle Saint Denis, à très petit appareil et convoi, car il n'y avait pour conducteurs que quatre personnes seulement, comme si c'eust esté la plus petite bourgeoisie de Paris; qui fut une grande honte et déshonneur à tous les Anglois."

The register is dated from September 30, 1435 to October 13, 1435.
Monstrelet, v. VI, 228. Catherine of Pastavarin had come with Isabeau from Bavaria in 1385. Isabeau's brother Louis also survived her but was not present at the funeral.

18 Briquet, 52.
19 Ibid., 53.
20 Ibid.
22 Publications of this letter are Vale, Charles VII, p. 190, and Fresne de Beaucourt, Charles VII, v. VI.
23 M. Frager, Marie d'Anjou, p. 266.
24 Ibid., pp. 266-269. Frager's biography, which is the only biography of Marie of Anjou, is also the only reference for the entire voyage to Spain. Frager has no bibliography and no real footnotes, and his book is overly dramatic. Thus the voyage to Spain may be apocryphal.
25 BN Fr. 11196, fols. 3-10. Along with this short account of Louis' expenses for his service for his mother are other funeral accounts such as the account of Charlotte of Savoy's expenses for the funeral of her nephew the prince of Piedmont.
26 Ibid., fols. 4-10.
27 Ibid., fol. 9.
28 The actual funeral of course took place at Saint Denis. Marie's body would have been transported from Poitou. This would have been an interesting journey, but I know of no account of it. Marie has also left no extant will to my knowledge.
29 BN Fr. 3882, fols. 25-39 are the letters of Louis in which he advances his claims to René's lands. For a
secondary source, Champion, *Louis XI*, v. II, 325-333, which is Chapter 25, "La maison d'Anjou et l'héritage de Provence."

30 BN Fr. 3882, fols. 25-39. "Item. The king of France demands that the king of Sicily give to him the portion that by right of nature belongs to him because of the queen Marie . . . The fruits and levées of this portion mount each year to more than 60,000 or 70,000 écus for which reason the king of France can legally and justly demand the sum of 2,100,000 écus gold. . . Item. The second demand made by the king of France is that restitution be made of the dowry that the king of France gave for the marriage of his daughter Anne with the late Nicolas, duke of Calabria, which was 200,000 écus. . . Item. The king of France also demands the fruits and levées taken and levied by the seigneurs Duke Jean and Nicolas, his son, because of the marriage for seven years which mounts to 280,000 francs." These are extraordinary sums which Rene could not possibly pay.

31 Champion, v. II, 330. Commynes believed that there was a question whether René would leave his lands to the duke of Burgundy, but Champion feels it was more a pretext used by Louis when he went to Parlement to have René accused of high treason.

32 Ibid., v. II, 331.

33 AN KK 69, fols. 23-26. See Appendix M.

34 Ibid., fols. 33-34.


36 Ibid., fol. 113.

37 Ibid., fol. 183 for the expense total of 11901 l. 7 s. 3 d.t., and the letters of the king granting 12008 l. 15 s. 10 d.t., fols. 27-28.

38 Ibid., fol 216. This is where KK 69 breaks off, and the continuation of the explanation as to why the queen's goods had not yet been distributed is not available.


Ibid., v. II, 198-199.


Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Ibid., pp. 37-38.

Ibid., pp. 35, 42-49.

Ibid., pp. 55-56.

Ibid., p. 57.

Ibid., pp. 74-88.

Ibid., p. 80. The officials mentioned were the people of justice, perhaps those of the Chatellet. The important people of the cortege, such as the king, nobles, and the queen's officials, did not attend this service.

Toudouze, Anne de Bretagne, p. 208.

Choque, p. 85. There are prints of two contemporary drawings, one entitled "Inhumation du corps de la reine Anne dans l'église abbatiale de Saint Denis," and the other "Exposition du coeur de la reine Anne dans l'église des Carmes, à Nantes" which offer the best explanation of the tomb, see Toudouze, p. 208.

Toudouze, p. 213. Toudouze's biography of Anne is very strongly for Brittany and Breton independence.

Choque, pp. 113-114, the epitaph is thirty lines in all.

Le Roux de Lincy, Vie, v. II, 221-222. Guy de Laval had married the princess of Taranto, daughter of Frederick III of Aragon, the deposed king. It is difficult to see what Laval is referring to when he says Anne stopped France's enemies. It was not France but Brittany that was in danger of conquest when Anne married Charles VIII. Later, during the reign of Louis XII, King Henry VIII of England sent a fleet to attack Brittany, not France.

Drouilly, J. G. and S. Faye, Bretagne en France et l'union de 1532 (Paris: J. Tallandier, 1931), pp. 157-158. This is another pro-Breton work.

Ibid., p. 162.

Ibid., p. 163.

Ibid., p. 172.

Ibid., p. 174. It was certainly true that the marriage contracts of Anne and Claude were insufficient to unite Brittany with France. In fact Brittany was protected from union in Anne's marriage contract with Louis XII. The rights of the second son or daughter were being illegally denied.

Ibid., pp. 182-193, for the arguments for and against union. The August 4, 1532, ordonnance, which was signed at Nantes, was kept secret for a few months.
CONCLUSIONS

The study of queens contributes generally to our knowledge of many aspects of medieval life and specifically to our understanding of the royal family. We have looked at the lives and reigns of the four queens of France in the fifteenth century in order to determine the characteristics common to the queen's office as well as the individual circumstances of each queen's life. Our purpose has been to analyze queenship as an office with prerogatives, norms, and limits, and queenship as an opportunity for individual action and expression. By studying four consecutive queens over the course of a century, we have also been able to examine the nature of developments within the queen's office. These developments were significant not only for the future of French queenship but also for the monarchy itself.

The norms of a queen's life were the result of the demands and rewards of her office. The queen was chosen by the king and his councillors from among the highest nobility of Christian Europe. From the beginning, she would bring political alliance or material gain to the crown as a gift from her own family. As the king's
consort, she would bear his legitimate heirs and attend ceremonial functions of importance to her husband and the royal family. However, in the fifteenth century, the queen lived apart from the king and for the most part shared little with him. She had her own court and servants, her own financial departments, and her own political advisers. Most importantly, she was entitled to be assigned a dower which would be her private domain during widowhood. The queen claimed these prerogatives because her predecessors, the past queens of France, had also claimed them.

The queens took advantage of political crises to improve their position within the royal government. It was considered appropriate that a queen serve as regent for her son, but she might find herself a mere figurehead in such a situation. The uncles and brother of Charles VI intended that Isabeau of Bavaria be a figurehead in the king's council during her husband's illnesses, but the men quarrelled so much among themselves that the queen's arbitration became a necessity. Isabeau was selfish enough to make the improvement of her own status her first priority. She insisted that she receive the same dower as Blanche of Navarre, the wife of Philip VI, even though identical dowers were not traditional, especially when the dowager was still living. Isabeau allowed herself to be
assigned another dower, but she had her dower changed to Blanche's as soon as the old queen died. Isabeau of Bavaria also obtained her own argenterie, which past queens had shared with the king, under pretext that the succession would be smoother if she and her children had their own institutions. Isabeau augmented her hôtel, private properties, and revenues to such an extent that she needed better financial management. She obtained this with the institution of the queen's treasury, a centralizing bureaucracy that was another first for the queens of France. In the political field, Isabeau's unfortunate estrangement from her son Charles led her to set up an unsuccessful shadow government at Troyes in 1418 and eventually to disinherit him in favor of the English claimant to the throne.

In spite of the unpopularity of Isabeau of Bavaria, the succeeding queens of France benefitted from her innovations. Marie of Anjou began her reign with a modest court and hôtel, but with the aid of the salt granaries of the Languedoc, which became a part of her dower, she added to her court and acquired her own treasury and argenterie. Even with her husband's exceptional infidelity, Marie remained a political factor due to the influence of her mother Yolanda and two brothers, René and Charles of Anjou, over the weak king Charles VII. The
obscure, modest queen Charlotte of Savoy also had her own court, hôtel, argenterie, and treasury, but Charlotte's political influence was minimal due to her isolation at Amboise. Charlotte's court appeared to owe its allegiance not to her but to her strong husband Louis XI. When she died, most of her ladies and officers passed into the service of the intended queen Margaret of Austria. Had Margaret become queen, this high degree of continuity between queen's courts would have been a novelty. The continuity of dowers however had become remarkable. When her husband died, Charlotte's son assigned her a dower which was, with few exceptions, identical to the dower of Marie of Anjou. Marie was referred to in the letters of Charlotte's dower just as Charlotte would be referred to in the letters that gave Anne of Brittany this same dower.

Anne of Brittany's court, treasury, hôtel, and argenterie were wealthy enough to compare with Isabeau of Bavaria's, but the comparisons do not stop there. Like Isabeau, Anne was a political intriguer. Anne's first marriage to Charles VIII was forced on her by the French invasion of her duchy, but she was able to write her own second marriage contract, assuring Breton independence, when she married Louis XII. Since Louis was often absent in Italy and ill on his returns to France, Anne enjoyed political power in France and was even named a regent.
for her daughter Claude and future son-in-law Francis. Like Isabeau, Anne was considered a greedy foreigner who did not have the best interests of France at heart. However, Anne added to the prestige of the queens of France by her patronage of arts and letters and her attention to the etiquette of courtly life.

The role of the queens of France has been judged in terms of their relation to the kings. This is reasonable in the light of historical analysis that intends to show the growth of the king's power at the expense of feudal institutions. It was Facinger's thesis that the queen had shared the king's power during the reigns of the early Capetians but that the queen, like any other threat to the king's sole power, was forced into a ceremonial role as the king concentrated power into his own hands. The establishment of separate institutions such as the queen's hôtel and the denial of the queen's right to serve as regent for her son deprived her of the intimacy with the king that had been her chief political advantage. Historians determined to see the kings of France steadily concentrating power into their hands have perhaps been frustrated by the appanage system when a king, such as Charles V, simply handed over principalities to the government of his brothers. If the development of separate institutions for queens deprived them of
significant power, as Facinger writes, why then were the
queens so anxious to receive and nurture their own
offices? Why was her dower, the dowager's private domain,
er chief concern? Isabeau of Bavaria, Marie of Anjou,
and Charlotte of Savoy, who were all estranged from their
husbands, also had almost nothing to do with their sons.
Anne of Brittany wanted nothing more than the independence
of her duchy. In fact the fifteenth century queens of
France aspired to security, wealth, and independence.
They were not attracted to the king's court where they
might be forced to compete with many others for the
attention of the king. The queen could afford to be
aloof: she was guaranteed the rights, prerogatives, and
privileges of her predecessors, the queens of France.
If Facinger's article is the first attempt to analyze queenship, there are nevertheless many studies of queens. Francoise Barry's law school doctorate La reine de France, Les droits de la reine sous la monarchie française jusqu'en 1789 (Paris: Livoton, 1932) and her larger expanded study La reine de France (Paris: Les Editions du Scorpion, 1964) include all the queens of France from the first Merovingians to the last Bourbon. The doctorate is a legal study which discusses such honors as the coronation and funeral and such privileges and prerogatives as the seal, rights of grace, and legal, fiscal, and property rights. The queen's household and dower were also examined. Barry's conclusions are so influenced by her last queen, Marie Antoinette, that she sees queens as unhappy women who had little control over their own fates. The long 1964 study uses a great many documents, especially marriage contracts, wills, and grants of dowers and regencies, and has a good bibliography for the documents and secondary sources. This expansion into the primary sources and the inclusion of the queen's political role are the major additions to the doctorate. The large scope of the book allows Barry to ignore the queens about whom little is known and to discuss an individual queen's role only when the documents are available on that queen.

Isabeau of Bavaria is a current favorite among historians interested in revisionism. By most old accounts, she was not only the woman who ruined France but also a corrupt, debauched nymphomaniac whose biography the marquis de Sade felt compelled to write. (Marquis de Sade, Histoire secrète d'Isabelle de Bavière, reine de France. 1813-1814. Paris: Gallimard, 1953). The best new biography, written by a sympathetic Bavarian, is Herdruim Kimm's Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France (1969). A brief 1859 biography by Vallet de Virville, "Isabeau de Bavière 1370-1435," and Marcel Thibault's Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France, la jeunesse 1370-1405 were among the first professional studies done on the queen. Isabeau's finances were studied by Maurice Rey in Les
finance royales sous Charles VI, les causes du déficit 1388-1413 (1965) which certainly does not absolve the queen of charges of greediness. Documents published on Isabeau's reign include F. J. Petigny's "Charte inédite de la reine Isabelle de Bavière," (1848-1849), Vallet de Viriville's "Advis à Isabelle de Bavière, Mémoire politique 1434," (1866), and Douet-d'Arcq's Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles (1865) which contains Isabeau's entire account for the term of Saint John in 1401.

In contrast, almost nothing has been published on Marie of Anjou and Charlotte of Savoy. By far the most obscure of the four fifteenth century queens, Marie of Anjou has had no serious study. One must turn to works on her husband Charles VII, especially Du Fresne de Beaucourt's biography, for information on Marie. Vallet de Viriville however published in the Moniteur universel, Louis Napoleon's official newspaper, the "Comptes des dépenses de Marie d'Anjou 1455-1458 retrouvé dans les gargousses de l'artillerie" in 1854. Likewise Charlotte of Savoy has had little scholarly treatment and again works on her husband such as Alfred Gandilhon's "Contribution à l'histoire de la vie et la cour de Louis XI," (1905), Motchane's Louis XI et Savoie (1955), and Coville's La jeunesse et la vie privée de Louis XI (1908) provide the only discussion. On the other hand, a most important document, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie," which contains a list of her household officers and her possessions at the time of her death, was published in 1865 by A. Tuetey.

Anne of Brittany has received more attention than any other fifteenth century queen. The classic study is Le Roux de Lincy's four volume 1860 work Vie de la reine Anne de Bretagne, the latter two volumes of which are documents of the reign. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, another well known French historian, wrote both La duchesse Anne (1942) and "La politique d'Anne de Bretagne" (1947). The problem with these works, as one might expect, is the lingering fondness for Brittany as for Anne. Episodes in Anne's career are examined in Roger Grand's "Autour du contrat de mariage de Charles VIII et d'Anne de Bretagne," (1950), Émile Gabory's L'union de la Bretagne à la France, Anne de Bretagne duchesse et reine (1941), H. Bouchot's Charles VIII et Anne de Bretagne (1888), and Boislisle's "Document sur le mariage de Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne" (1890). Another important document is Le Roux de Lincy's publication.
"Détails sur la vie privée d'Anne de Bretagne suivis d'extraits des inventaires de meubles ayant appartenu à cette princesse" in 1850. In addition, many of Anne's letters have been published in such works as Le Roux de lincy's, Arthur de la Borderie's Choix de documents inédits sur le règne de la duchesse Anne de Bretagne (1866 and 1902), and L'abbé Durville's Quelques lettres d'Anne de Bretagne (1908) whose introduction catalogs other letters published. All this attention to Anne, who remains a sentimental favorite even today, has tended to take her out of the context of fifteenth century queenship in which she belongs.
APPENDIX B


Let it be known to all those present and future that after much deliberation, the words of marriage have been said between the very Christian and super illustrious Prince Charles, king of France, at present reigning, on one part and the very, very illustrious duchess Madame Anne, daughter and sole heir of the late Prince Francis II, duke of Brittany on the other part, with the advice of several very illustrious princes, lords of royal blood, and others, and also several people of the council . . .

Today at the chateau of Langeais in Touraine at the court of the king, the king and the very powerful lord Jean de Chalons, prince of Orange, have submitted themselves, their heirs, and all their property to the jurisdiction of the king's court for the contract to have all the virtue, authority, and stability that the sires and lady can give to it . . . in the form that follows

First, that the lord and lady have consented and promised in full and free will to the honor of God and all the ecclesiastical courts of Paradise and to the glory of the Catholic faith and the holy sacraments and to the honor of themselves and their countries to take one another in the holy sacrament of marriage that was instituted by God in the earthly paradise for our first parents who were in a state of innocence.

That is, the king our lord takes the lady and princess Madame Anne to be his wife and the lady takes the king to be her husband in the manner of our Holy Mother the Church.

Item. For the perpetual good and indissoluble peace between the crown of France and the duchy of Brittany which before were at war and in consideration of the honor that the king has shown for the lady and for the
conjugal affection that she has for him, the lady gives, cedes, leaves, and transports for herself and her successors always, perpetually, and irrevocably to the sire and his successors the kings of France by title of donation made by reason of the marriage without ever revoking it by testament or otherwise if she dies before the sire and without heirs by him, all and each of the rights, properties, possessions, and obligations of the duchy . . .

And likewise the sire, wishing to show the same favor to the lady, would cede and transport to the lady, in the case that he would die without legitimate heirs, all rights, properties, and possessions that she had given to him in the duchy . . .

And in order to avoid wars and misfortune between the countries, the lady would not enter into another marriage except with the future king if it pleases him and if it is possible or except with the next presumed successor to the crown and in that case she would show the king the recognition due him by reason of the duchy in the manner made by the dukes who preceded the lady. And the said duchy cannot be alienated from the hands of the sire and his successors the kings of France. And in the case that there are heirs from the marriage, and the lady survives the sire, the lady will possess the duchy as it belongs to her.

Item. The sire wants to make the dower of the lady the same as the dower of the late queen his mother . . .

Item. The sire wants that in the case he should die before the lady, that the lady will have for hers all her moveable property such as her jewels that she had at the time of his death, that is her personal goods and the goods for her service and for the maintenance of her household which he wants to belong to her perpetually and always.

And all the above things will be accomplished and nothing to the contrary. The sire and lady and their heirs are obliged to do this with all their goods present and future. And the lady does this in the presence and with the consent of her closest relative and heir the prince of Orange. . . He has ratified and approved the things said above, and in this case he has abandoned
his rights to the duchy.... The prince of Orange has ceded and transported forever and irrevocably to the sire his rights because the king has promised to compensate him elsewhere.

And the lord, lady, and prince of Orange have passed letters similar to this in the presence of Master Pierre Bourreau, licensed in law, notary of apostolic authority, and he corroborates the above things without any of the articles interfering with any of the other articles.

This was made at Langeais, the lord and lady and the prince of Orange present and consenting in the presence and with the advice and consent of the very high and powerful princes Louis, duke of Orleans, Pierre, duke of Bourbon, Charles, count of Angoulême, Jean, count of Foix, François, count of Vendôme, Guy de Rochefort, chevalier and chancellor of France, Reverend Father Louis of Amboise, bishop of Albi, Jean de Rely, doctor of theology, confessor of the sire and esleu in the bishopric of Angers, with several others on the side of the sire, and the prince of Orange, Philippe de Montauban, chancellor of Brittany, the sire of Guémené, the sire of Coetquen, grand master of the hôtel of Brittany, and several others on the side of the lady also present.

And the lord and lady promise in royal promises and the prince of Orange by faith and oath of his body never to do anything to the contrary.

And in the chateau of Langeais, a mass was prepared by the bishop of Albi to solemnize the marriage of the lord and lady in the presence of the notaries written below, the above said, and several other dukes and counts, the very illustrious princess Anne of France, duchess of Bourbon and sister of the king, and other lords and ladies. The bishop of Albi solemnized publicly the marriage in the customary manner.

And the minister the bishop of Angers celebrated the mass with the nuptial benediction. Langeais. Sealed with the seal which one uses in royal contracts in the city and lands of Tours. 16 December 1491. Le Long
Appendix G

Contract of marriage between Louis XII and Anne, queen of France and duchess of Brittany, Nantes, January 1499, translated from K 77, n. 8, original French published in G. Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, v. II, 1562-1565

Louis, by the grace of God king of France, makes it known to all those present and future that our very dear cousin King Charles VIII died and left our very dear and beloved cousin the queen Anne duchess of Brittany his wife without any children descended from them. And since his death, several discussions about a treaty of marriage between us and her have been made so that certain articles of the treaty have been made in the following manner:

First, it has been decided between them that for the good of their countries they want to marry each other. That is, the king takes the lady for his wife, and the lady takes the king for her husband, next Tuesday, January 8.

Item. It has been decided that the marriage would be made in the chateau of Nantes.

Item. The name of her principality of Brittany may not be abolished in the future. In order to help the people of the country in their affairs, it has been decided that the second child of the marriage, male or female, and those who follow, will be the princes of the country and will enjoy and use it as the dukes their predecessors and will make the customary homage to the king. And if it happens that there is only one male child and that this male has two or more male children or female, they will likewise succeed to the duchy.

Item. It has been agreed that the lady will enjoy entirely throughout her life the revenues of the domain assigned to her by the late king Charles VIII, her late husband.

Item. Besides the dower of the king Charles, the king will give the same dower as King Charles gave in the case that the king dies before the lady, and also she will enjoy their common goods. And if the lady
dies before the king and without children from him, or if their children died, the king would enjoy throughout his life the duchy of Brittany and other lands that the lady holds. And after the death of the king, the next true heirs of the lady will succeed to the duchy and lands without the other kings succeeding or able to quarrel or ask anything.

These things are agreed between the very Christian king and the lady, and they have promised to keep each other in good faith, in the word of a prince and princess by these letters signed with their own hands, the seventh of January, 1499. Louis. Anne.

Let it be known that we desire the marriage to be in full effect for the good of us and our realm. The articles will be fully kept. We have after much deliberation by several princes of our blood and lineage, prelates, and people of our council, with our knowledge and royal authority, promised and sworn in the good faith and word of a king to keep the articles for ourself and our successors without anything to the contrary under the obligation of all our goods which we submit to all courts and jurisdictions, secular and ecclesiastical, and to the censures of the pope. And finally so that these things are firm, we put our seal. Given at the chateau of Nantes, January 1499 and the first of the reign. Louis. The cardinals of Saint Peter ad vincula and of Amboise, the sire of Revestain, the prince of Orange, the marquis of Rothelin; the counts of Rohan, of Guise, of Ligny, of Dunois, and Rieux; the bishops of Albi, of Saint Brieuc, of Luçon, of Leon, of Septe, of Concaillle, of Bayeux; the sires of Gié, and of Baudricourt, marshals of France, of Sens, chancellor of Brittany, of La Tremoille, of Chaumont, of Beaumont, of Avaugour, of Tournon, the abbés of Redon, vicechancellor of Brittany, and of Monstier-Ramé, Jacques de Beaune general of the finances in Languedoc, Charles de Haultboys president of enquêtes, Philippe Baudot, governor of the chancellery of Burgundy, René du Pont, archidiacre of Ploegastel, Amaury de Quechquivilly, Rolland de Scliczoon, Alain Marec, seneschal of Rennes, the masters of requêtes, and councillors ordinary of Brittany, Gabriel Myron, doctor of medicine, and others. Sealed in green wax and silk tail. Le Marie. D'Aubigny.
APPENDIX D

Hôtel accounts of the queens

I. Isabeau of Bavaria

KK 45

25th account. Term of St. John the Baptist 1398
(January 1, 1398 to July 1, 1398), Jean le Perdrier, master of the chamber of deniers,
Jean de Chastenay, controller
Receipts 17408 l. 5 s. 8 d.ob.p.
Expenses 22269 l. 7 s. 2 d.p.
Debt 4861 l. 6 d.p.

26th account. Term of Noel 1398 (July 2, 1398 to
December 31, 1398)
Receipts 26275 l. 13 s. 6 d.ob.p.
Expenses 25219 l. 13 s. 6 d.p.
Surplus 1056 l.p.

27th account. Term St. Jean 1399
Receipts 24456 l. 10 s. 11 d.p.
Expenses 25287 l. 12 s. 6 d.ob.p.
Debt 831 l. 1 s. 7 d.p.

28th account. Term of Noel 1399
Receipts 28453 l. 5 s. 4 d.p.
Expenses 28934 l. 7 d.ob.p.
Debt 480 l. 15 s. 4 d.p.

29th account. Term St. John 1400, Pierre Floriot,
controller
Receipts 27811 l. 4 s. 6 d.ob.p.p.
Expenses 28708 l. 8 s. 8 d.p.
Debt 897 l. 4 s. 2 d.p.

30th account. Term of Noel 1400
Receipts 36581 l. 12 s. 2 d.p.
Expenses 37549 l. 13 s. 9 d.p.
Debt 968 l. 1 s. 7 d.p.

31st account. Term of St. John 1401
Receipts 30695 l. 17 s. 9 d.p.
Expenses 23707 l. 1 s. 2 d.ob.p.
Surplus 6988 l. 16 s. 6 d.ob.p.
This account is published by Douët-D'Arcq, Comptes de l'Hôtel, pp. 128-171.

344
| Account Number | Term of Account | Receipts |  | Expenses |  | Debt |  |
|----------------|----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 32nd account. | Term of Noel 1401 | 29075 l. 9 d.p. | | 32296 l. 16 s. 6 d.p.p. | | 3221 l. 15 s. 9 d.p. |
| 33rd account. | Term of St. John 1402 | 26704 l. 6 s. 1 d.ob.p.p. | | 29682 l. 1 s. 9 d.ob.p.p. | | 2977 l. 15 s. 8 d.p. |
| 34th account. | Term of Noel 1402 | 29816 l. 15 s. 7 d.p.p. | | 30594 l. 7 s. 5 d.ob.p.p. | | 777 l. 11 s. 10 d.ob.p. |
| 35th account. | Term of St. John 1403 | 33165 l. 1 s. 9 d.ob.p. | | 32853 l. 1. 15 s. 9 d. 3 p.p. | | 311 l. 6 s.p. |

KK 46

Accounts of Pierre Floriot, master of the chamber of deniers, and Jean d'Essoye, controller, Term of Noel 1403
Receipts 24734 l. 18 s.p.  
Expenses 27851 l. 16 s. 11 d.p.  
Debt 3116 l. 18 s. 11 d.p.  

Term of St. John 1404
Receipts 30043 l. 14 s. 5 d.ob.p.  
Expenses 24965 l. 19 s. 7 d.p.  
Surplus 5077 l. 14 s. 10 d.p.  

Term of Noel 1404
Receipts 27748 l. 3 s. 9 d.p.  
Expenses 32690 l. 11 s. 8 d.ob.p.  
Surplus 4942 l. 7 s. 11 d.ob.p.  

Term of St. John 1405
Receipts 27707 l. 17 s. 6 d.ob.p.  
Expenses 26706 l. 16 s. 4 d.p.  
Surplus 1001 l. 1 s. 2 d.ob.p.  

Term of Noel 1405
Receipts 30937 l. 17 s.p.  
Expenses 33628 l. 3 s. 8 d.ob.p.  
Debt 2390 l. 6 s. 8 d.ob.p.  

Term of St. Jean 1406
Receipts 19835 l. 11 s. 2 d.p.  
Expenses 24817 l. 5 s. 2 d.p.  
Debt 1770 l. 16 s. 9 d.p.  


BN Fr. 10370, fols. 1-20.

1st account of Jacques Testart, master of the chamber of deniers, and Etienne Bruneau, controller, October 1, 1420 to June 30, 1421

Receipts  576 l.p.
Expenses  21126 l. 1 s. 8 d.p.
Debt  20550 l. 1 s. 8 d.p.

2nd account. July 1, 1421 to November 2, 1421

Receipts  None
Expenses  2844 l. 9 s. 11 d.p.

3rd account. November 3, 1421 to June 30, 1422

Receipts  75 l. 5 s. 7 d.ob.p.
Expenses  6663 l. 16 s. 8 d.ob.p.
Debt  6588 l. 11 s. 1 d.p.

The previous figures on the hôtel of Isabeau of Bavaria are published in L. Douet-D'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel, xxxii-xxxiii, and Rey, Les finances royales, pp. 217 for receipts and 219 for expenses. Both give the figures only in livres parisiennes, and both do not give the debt or surplus. Rey uses only the KK 45 and KK 46 accounts.

Here is the report of the sources of the revenues of Isabeau's hôtel for the term of Noel 1405, when she received 30937 l. 17 s.p. This term has been chosen for its wide range of sources.

Receipts
From the treasuries of France through Jean Chaux, changer of the treasury of the king for the expenses of the hôtel of the queen, received by Floriot, September 30
From the viscount of Caudebec 240 l.p.
From the viscount of Rouen 240 l.p.
From the viscount of Vitry, November 2, 1405, 293 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.
From the treasurers, received December 14
From the viscount of Caen 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Vire 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Nogent-le-Roy 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Conches 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Beaumont-le-Roger 160 l.p.
From the viscount of Coutances 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Falaise 160 l.p.
From the receiver of Paris 240 l.p.
From the viscount of Bayeux 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Montivilliers 80 l.p.
From the viscount of Breteuil 80 l.p.
viscount of Auge 160 l.p.
receiver of Maçon 80 l.p.
viscount of Carentan 80 l.p.
viscount of Orbec 80 l.p.
viscount of Valognes 80 l.p.
viscount of Arques 80 l.p.
viscount of Pont Audemer 80 l.p.
receiver of Chaumont 400 l.p.
viscount of Evreux 80 l.p.
receiver of St. Pierre le Moutier 80 l.p.
receiver of Tournaï 80 l.p.
receiver of Sepoy 80 l.p.
receiver of Mousson 80 l.p.
collector of mortes mains of Vermandois 160 l.p.
from the collector of ports and passage
at Macon 80 l.p.
viscount of Avranches 80 l.p.
receiver of Touraine 80 l.p. = 3200 l.p.

SUMMA 3973 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

From Alexandre le Boursier, receiver general of aides
ordered for the war, September 1405
viscount of Falaise 840 l.p.
viscount of Bayeux 400 l.p.
viscount of Auge 240 l.p.
viscount of Pont-de-l'Arche 400 l.p.
viscount of Carentan 240 l.p.
viscount of Coutances 80 l.p.
viscount of Avranches 80 l.p.
viscount of Gisors 800 l.p.
Jean le Roy, committed to receive the revenues
of the waters and forests of the viscount
of Gisors, 420 l.p.

Alexandre le Boursier, November 6, 1405
receiver of Senlis 160 l.p.
receiver of Touraine 80 l.p.
prevote of the city of Laon 80 l.p. = 320 l.p.

Alexandre le Boursier, December 26, 1405
receiver of Toulouse 800 l.p.

SUMMA 4720 l.p.

From the viscount of Arques 349 l. 18 s.ob.p.

From Alexandre le Boursier, August 1405
receiver of aides at Lisieux 1600 l.p.
receiver of aides at Bayeux 1000 l.p.
receiver of aides at Caen 133 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.  
= 2733 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

From le Boursier, August 7, 1405, from the receiver of aides at Amiens 166 l. 13 s. 4 d.p.

From le Boursier, October 2, 1405
receiver of aides at Lisieux 3200 l.p.
receiver of aides at Bayeux 2000 l.p.
receiver of aides at Caen 2066 l. 13 s. 4 d.p.
= 5633 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

From Alexandre le Boursier, August 20, 1405
receiver of aides at Bayeux 1000 l.p.

SUMMA 9533 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

From Adam de Bragelongne, receiver general of finances of the queen for ordinary expenses of the hôtel, February 16, 1406, 3200 l.p.
receiver general of aides at Gisors 2800 l.p.
receiver general of aides at Bayeux 2000 l.p.

SUMMA 8000 l.p.

From Jean Dupuis, merchant of tin plates to whom the queen's masters of the hôtel sold old tin plates 20 l. 12 s. 6 d.p.

From the provisions of wine through Guillaume Bude
wine of Beaune 764 muys estimated at 50 s. per muy 1910 l.p.
wine of Burgundy 327 muys + at 30 s. per muy 490 l. 17 s. 6 d.p.
wine of Saint Pourcain 53 muys + 80 l. 10 s. 7 d.p.
wine of France 1859 muys + 20 s. the muy 1859 l. 6 s.p.

SUMMA 4340 l. 13 s. 1 d.ob.p.

Receipts for game - None
Receipts for gifts made to the queen while traveling through the countryside - None

TOTAL SUM 30937 l. 17 s.p.

II. Marie of Anjou

KK 56
10th account of Guillaume le Baudreyer, master of the chamber of deniers, and Philippe Berthier, controller
From November 17, 1422 to June 30, 1423
Receipts 14272 l. 16 s.p.
Expenses 23144 l. 3 s. 5 d.p.
Debt 8871 l. 7 s. 5 d.p.

Term of Noel, 1423
Receipts 22442 l.p.
Expenses 22133 l. 3 s. 10 d.p.
Surplus 308 l. 16 s. 1 d.p.

Term of St. John 1424
Receipts 13068 l.p.
Expenses 17353 l. 5 d.ob.p.
Debt 4285 l. 5 d.ob.p.

Term of Noel 1424
Receipts 14338 l. 16 s. 7 d.ob.p.
Expenses 16044 l. 3 s. 6 d.p.
Debt 1705 l. 6 s. 10 d.p.

Term of St. John 1425, 15th account
Receipts 11398 l. 15 s. 3 d.ob.p.
Expenses 15207 l. 2 s. 1 d.p.
Debt 3808 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

16th account. Term Noel 1425
Receipts 5621 l. 13 s. 7 d.p.
Expenses 12224 l. 9 s. 4 d.p.
Debt 5602 l. 15 s. 9 d.p.

17th account. Term of St. John 1426
Receipts 13948 l.p.
Expenses 11665 l. 15 s. 8 d.ob.p.
Surplus 2282 l. 4 s. 3 d.ob.p.

18th account. Term of Noel 1426
Receipts 6664 l. 14 s. 4 d.ob.p.
Expenses 9921 l. 14 s. 2 d.ob.p.
Debt 3256 l. 18 s. 9 d.ob.p.

19th account. January through March 1426
Receipts 9760 l.p.
Expenses 10545 l. 10 s. 8 d.p.
Debt 785 l. 10 s. 8 d.p.

K 530-2
Fragments 1457 April through September
Receipts 13200 l.t.

Term in 1458
Estimated receipts 12322 l. 1 s. 8 d.t.
Expenses 16242 l. 7 s. 2 d.t.
Debt (presumed) 3920 l. 5 s. 10 d.t.

Douët-D'Arcq gives the KK 56 receipts and expenses in
livres only in Comptes de l'hôtel, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
Here is a report of the sources of Marie of Anjou's hôtel revenues for the term of Noel in 1423 in which she received 22442 l.p. This term has been chosen because it is Marie's highest known hôtel revenue total. KK 56, fol. 25-26.

**Receipts**

From Guillaume Charrier, receiver general of all finances
- on Jean Roy, master particular of monies of Le Mans 1500 l.t.
- on Cardinet des Plantes, master particular of the monies of Angers, 4200 l.t.
- on Jean de Belliguy, master particular of the money of Chinon, 2400 l.t.
- on Jean de Varades, master particular of the money of Loches, 1200 l.t.
- on Jean de Clerbourg, master particular of money of Lyon, 1200 l.t.

**SUMMA** 10500 l.t. = 8400 l.p.

From Pierre Chastelain, receiver general of the king in Languedoc, 1000 l.t. = 800 l.p.

From Guillaume Charrier
- on Charrier, 100 l.t.
- on André de Chailly, master particular of the money of bridges (ponts), 400 l.t.
- on Jean de Belliguy, 700 l.t.
- on Archembault Charrr, receiver of Touraine, 5000 l.t.
- on Charrier, 150 l.t.

**Summa** 5850 l.t. = 4680 l.p.

- on Nicolas Henry, receiver of Limousin, 1000 l.t.
- on Archambault Charrr, 1000 l.t.
- on Archembault Charrr, 500 l.t.
- on Pierre de Martes, from the granary of Bourges, 500 l.t.
- on Guillaume Nerement, from the granary of Selles, 500 l.t.

**Summa** 3500 l.t. = 2800 l.p.

- on Jean de Varades, 145 l.t.
- on Etienne Chambellan, receiver of Berry, 1000 l.t.
- on the receiver of Touraine, 1000 l.t.
- on Charrier, 845 l.t.

**Summa** 3000 l.t. = 2400 l.t.

- on Charrier, 220 l.t. = 176 l.p.
- on Jean Andrault, receiver of Bourbon, 1200 l.t. = 960 l.p.
- on Charrier, 982 l. 10 s. t. = 786 l.p.

**SUMMA** 12202 l.p.

Other receipts for Louis of France, dauphin, from Charrier
- on A. Charrr, 1300 l.t. = 1040 l.p.

**TOTAL SUM** 22442 l.p.
III. Charlotte of Savoy

KK 68

9th account of Martin de Tours, master of the chamber of deniers, and Jean Damont, controller. Term from October 1, 1469 to September 30, 1470. This account combines hôtel and argenterie expenses

Receipts 28550 l.t.
Expenses 32024 l. 18 s. 8 d.t.
Debt 3474 l. 18 s. 8 d.t.

10th account. Term from October 1, 1470 to August 30, 1471, for hôtel only

Receipts 31014 l. 4 s. 9 d.t.
Expenses 26618 l. 9 s.t.
Surplus 4395 l. 15 s. 9 d.p.t.

This is the report of the sources of revenues for Charlotte's hôtel for the 10th account when she received 31014 l. 4 s. 9 d.t. KK 68, part 2, fols. 1-5.

Receipts

From the changer of the king's treasury - None

From Jean Briçonnet, receiver general of the king's finances January 28, 1471

on the receiver of assises and huitièmes of Berry 964 l. 4 s. 9 d.t.
on the receiver of assises and huitièmes of Chartres, Dreux, Rochefort, and Loggne 1600 l.t.
on the receiver of assises and huitièmes of Touraine 2000 l.t.
on the receiver of assises and huitièmes of Poitou 1500 l.t.
on the receiver of assises and huitièmes of Angers 1500 l.t.
on the receiver of assises, huitièmes of Saumur, 400 l.t.
on the receiver of assises, huitièmes of Loudun, 400 l.t.
on the receiver of assises, huitièmes of Saumur, 400 l.t.

SUMMA 10964 l. 4 s. 9 d.t.

From Matthieu Beauvarlet, notary and secretary of the king and receiver general of his finances on the rivers of the Seine and Yonne

on the receiver of aides of the city of Meaux 1200 l.t.
on the receiver of aides of Senlis 1800 l.t.
on the receiver of aides of the city of Beauvais 3000 l.t.
on the receiver of aides of Paris, 2500 l.t.
on the receiver of aides at Troyes, 1000 l.t.
on the receiver of aides at Provins, 500 l.t.

SUMMA 10,000 l.t.
From Jean de La Loere, councillor of the king, treasurer and receiver general of his finances in Languedoc, September 28, 1470 and August 8, 1471
- on the fermier general of Beaucaire 2000 l.t.
- on the receiver particular of Lodève 2000 l.t.
- on the fermier general of Beaucaire 116 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
- on the receiver particular of Lodève 1433 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
  SUMMA 5550 l.t.

From Jean Raguier, receiver general of finances for the king in Languedoc, March 1, 1470
- on the receiver of aides at Rouen 2500 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Evreux 2000 l.t.
  SUMMA 4500 l.t.
  TOTAL SUM 31014 l. 4 s. 9 d.t.

IV. Anne of Brittany

KK 82 is not an ordinary hôtel account but an account of wages of officers of Anne's hôtel. This was the first account of Jacques de Beaune, the queen's treasurer, for the term from January 1, 1492 to September 30, 1492, in which he received 36500 l.t. with the total of expenses missing. For the second term from October 1, 1492 to September 30, 1493, de Beaune received 45000 l.t. and spent 51918 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. for a debt of 6918 l. 2 s. 6 d.t.

These are the sources of revenues for the 1st account, KK 82, folios. 12-14.

Receipts

From Jean La Lement, councillor of the king and receiver general of finances in Normandy, June 10, 1492
- on the granary of Falaise 800 l.t.
- on the granary of Pont-Audemer 600 l.t.
- on the granary of Lisieux 400 l.t.
- on the granary of Evreux 500 l.t.
- on the granary of Vernon 400 l.t.
- on the granary of Bernay 400 l.t.
- on the granary of Fécamp 1300 l.t.
- on the granary of Harfleur 1000 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Alençon 1000 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Valognes 400 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Coutances 300 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Falaise 700 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Bernay 1100 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Evreux 800 l.t.
- on the receiver of aides at Arques 200 l.t.
  SUMMA 10,000 l.t.
From Antoine Bayart, councillor, treasurer, receiver general of the king's finances in Languedoc, Lyonnais, Forez, and Beaujolais, June 16, 1492
  on the granary of Beaucaire 2000 l.t.
on the granary of Nimes 2500 l.t.
on the granary of St. Esprit 2500 l.t.
on the receiver at Carcassonne 3000 l.t.
on Antoine Bayart, treasurer of Languedoc 2000 l.t.
SUMMA 12000 l.t.

From Thomas Bohier, councillor of the king, treasurer and receiver general of his finances in Brittany, May 12, 1492
  on the fermiers at Nantes 2000 l.t.
on the receivers of the diocese of Vannes 2000 l.t.
on the receivers of grains in the diocese of St. Pol 2000 l.t.
on the receivers of grains in the diocese of Rennes 2000 l.t.
on the receivers of grains in the diocese of Nantes 500 l.t.
on the receivers of taxes in the diocese of Rennes 2000 l.t.
on the receivers of taxes in Nantes 2000 l.t.
SUMMA 12500 l.t.

From Jacques Le Roy, councillor of the king and receiver general of his finances on the Seine and Yonne 2000 l.t.
TOTAL SUM 36500 l.t.
APPENDIX E

Dépenses des journées of the queen's hôtel accounts

I. Isabeau of Bavaria

KK 45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1398</td>
<td>21108 l. 2 s. 7 d.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1398</td>
<td>21020 l. 18 s. 11 d.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1399</td>
<td>23237 l. 4 s.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1399</td>
<td>24585 l. 10 s. 9 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1400</td>
<td>27562 l. 5 s. 10 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1400</td>
<td>34272 l. 10 s.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1401</td>
<td>21954 l. 3 s. 5 d.ob.p.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1401</td>
<td>28766 l. 11 s. 9 d.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1402</td>
<td>24584 l. 17 s.ob.p.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1402</td>
<td>23757 l. 13 s. 6 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1403</td>
<td>24628 l. 4 s. 5 d.ob.p.p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KK 46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1403</td>
<td>23744 l. 10 s. 9 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1404</td>
<td>23649 l. 6 s. 1 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1404</td>
<td>23695 l. 16 s. 2 d.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1405</td>
<td>25198 l. 16 s.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1405</td>
<td>27492 l. 8 s. 6 d.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of St. John 1406</td>
<td>21668 l. 4 s.ob.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term of Noel 1406</td>
<td>20301 l. 14 s. 11 d.p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The figures given above are given in livres only in Rey, Les finances royales, p. 223.)

BN Fr. 10370

October 1420 to June 30, 1421 20862 l. 3 s. 4 d.p.
July 1, 1421 to November 2, 1421 2785 l. 9 s. 11 d.ob.p.
November 3, 1421 to June 30, 1422 6550 l. 14 s. 2 d.ob.p.

As an example of a report of the dépenses des journées for Isabeau's hôtel, the second term of 1400 has been chosen because it is the largest total of expenses.

Dépenses des journées, KK 45, fols. 73-74.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master of the hôtel, for July 1400, in the presence of the

354
grand master, Guillaume Cassinel, and Oudart Le Hongre, chevaliers and masters of the hôtel, and other chiefs of office

per day 97 l. 18 s. 8 d.p. plus 1 s. 2 d.ob.p. 3035 l. 19 s. 10 d.p.

For the expenses of the dauphin Louis, John of France, and their wives, and Michelle of France, all being outside the queen's company

1756 l. 12 s. 1 d.ob.p.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master, on September 2, for August, in the presence of Cassinel and Charles de Villiers, chevaliers and masters of the hôtel, and others

per day 151 l. 12 s. 10 d.p. plus 2 s. 2 d.p. 3306 l. 0.ob.p.

For the children 2106 l. 3 s. 7 d.p.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master, October 2, for September, in the presence of Charles and Louis de Villiers, and others

per day 114 l. 12 s. 2 d.p. plus 1 s. 8 d.ob.p. 3438 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.

For the children 2002 l. 13 s. 3 d.p.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master, November 2, for October, in the presence of Louis de Villiers, Oudart Le Hongre, and others

per day 119 l. 1 s. 4 d.p. plus 1 s. 11 d.ob.p. 3691 l. 3 s. 3 d.ob.p.

For the children 2208 l. 7 d.p.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master, for November, in the presence of Cassinel, Le Hongre, and others

per day 121 l. 2 s. 9 d.p. plus 1 s. 11 d.p. 3634 l. 4 s. 5 d.p.

For the children 2298 l. 15 s. 3 d.p.

At Paris, in the chamber of the grand master, January 2, for December, in the presence of Charles de Villiers, Cassinel, and others

per day 118 l. 3 s. 2 d.p. plus 9 d.p. 3662 l. 18 s. 11 d.p.

For the children 2138 l. 3 s. 5 d.p.

For the dauphin until January 13, when he died

993 l. 7 s. 8 d.p.

SUMMA 34272 l. 10 s.ob.p.
II. Marie of Anjou

KK 56

| Term of Noel 1423 | 16096 l. 19 s. 6 d.ob.p. |
| Term of St. John 1424 | 15451 l. 1 s. 1 d.p. |
| Term of Noel 1424 | 15596 l. 18 s. 6 d.p. |
| Term of St. John 1425 | 12403 l. 15 s. 1 d.p. |
| Term of Noel 1425 | 11532 l. 16 s. 4 d.p. |
| Term of St. John 1426 | 10460 l. 4 s. 8 d.ob.p. |
| Term of Noel 1426 | 9479 l. 6 s. 10 d.ob.p. |

January to March 11, 1427 3926 l. 17 s. 8 d.p.

K 530-2

October to March 1459-1460 13108 l. 18 s. 6 d.t.

The first term of 1425 has been chosen as a sample of the dépenses des journées for Marie's hôtel because of the clear accounting it gives for the revenues of her son the dauphin. KK 56, fol. 82

Dépenses des journées

At Chinon, February 8, in the chamber of deniers of the queen, the dépenses des journées was accounted for January, in the presence of Nicolas Ribot, Jean de Gamaches, Henriet de Lizac, chevaliers and masters of the hôtel of the queen, the master of the chamber of deniers, and others 1442 l. 2 s. 8 d.p.

At Chinon, March 6, the accounting for February, in the chamber of deniers, in the presence of Ribot and others 1327 l. 13 s. 9 d.p.

At Poitiers, in the chamber of deniers, in the presence of Lizac, Gamaches, on April 10, for March 1815 l. 10 d.p.

At Poitiers, May 3, for April 1802 l. 5 s.p.

At Poitiers, June 9, for May 2208 l. 19 s. 3 d.p.

At Poitiers, July 6, for June 1715 l. 14 s.7 d.p.

For the expenses of the dauphin Louis in the presence of Jacques Trousseau

January 337 l. 11 s.p.
February 306 l. 2 s. 2 d.p.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Monthly Expenses</th>
<th>Total Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>302 l. 8 s.p.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>457 l. 14 s. 2 d.p.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>349 l. 8 d.p.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>339 l. 3 s.p.</td>
<td>2091 l. 19 s.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SUMMA</strong></td>
<td><strong>12403 l. 15 s. 1 d.p.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. Charlotte of Savoy

KK 68

October 1469 to September 1470 | 15936 l. 15 s. 5 d.t. |
October 1470 to August 1471    | 17254 l. 11 s. 8 d.p.t. |

The higher total will be used as a sample of Charlotte's reports of the dépenses des journées in her hôtel accounts, KK 68, part 2, folios 5-8.

**Dépenses des journées**

In the presence of Pierre le Breton and Guillaume de Brécy, chevaliers, masters of the hôtel of the queen, for October, are accounted the expenses of the queen, Anne, and Jeanne of France:

1635 l. 15 s. 5 d.t.

In the presence of Pierre le Breton, for November, for the queen and her daughters:

1763 l. 18 s. 9 d.t.

In the presence of Pierre le Breton, for December, for the queen and her daughters:

1637 l. 15 s. 9 d.t.

In the presence of Pierre le Breton, for January, for the queen and her daughters:

1364 l. 10 s.t.

In the presence of Jean Soreau and Pierre le Breton, masters of the queen's hôtel, expenses of the queen and Jeanne for February:

1228 l. 18 s. 4 d.t.

In the presence of Soreau, le Breton, for March, for the queen and Jeanne:

1276 l. 13 s. 3 d.t.

In the presence of Soreau, for April, for the queen and Jeanne:

1169 l. 11 s. 4 d.ob.t.

In the presence of le Breton and Soreau, for May, for the queen and Jeanne:

1372 l. 11 s 3 d.t.
In the presence of Guillaume de Brécy, prévôt, and
and Pierre le Breton, master of the queen's hôtel,
for the queen and Jeanne, and for Anne for
February, March, April, May, and June, and for
all three for June
2788 l. 8 s. 9 d.t.

In the presence of Guillaume de Brécy, Jean Soreau, and
Pierre le Breton, for the queen and her two
daughters, for July
1574 l. 1 s. 2 d.t.

In the presence of de Brécy, Soreau, le Breton, for
the queen and her two daughters, for August
1442 l. 7 s. 3 d.t.

SUMMA 17254 l. 11 s. 8 d.p.t.
APPENDIX F

Argenterie accounts of the queens

I. Isabeau of Bavaria

KK 41

Accounts of Hemon Raguier, clerk of the chamber of deniers, argentier

1st account, May 25, 1393 to June 30, 1394
  Receipts 9296 l.p.
  Expenses 10569 l. 10 s. 5 d.p.
  Debt 1273 l. 10 s. 5 d.p.

2nd account, July 1, 1394 to June 30, 1395
  Receipts 10650 l. 13 s. 4 d.p.
  Expenses 7515 l. 4 s. 11 d.p.
  Surplus 3135 l. 8 s. 5 d.p.

3rd account, July 1395 to January 1396
  Receipts 4373 l. 6 s. 8 d.p.
  Expenses 6195 l. 5 s. 2 d.p.
  Debt 1821 l. 18 s. 6 d.p.

4th account, February 1396 to January 1397
  Receipts 9400 l.p.
  Expenses 10601 l. 14 s. 3 d.p.
  Debt 1201 l. 14 s. 3 d.p.

5th account, February 1397 to January 1398
  Receipts 7646 l. 13 s. 4 d.p.
  Expenses 9383 l. 3 s. 8 d.ob.p.
  Debt 1736 l. 10 s. 4 d.ob.p.

6th account, February 1398 to January 1399
  Receipts 25724 l.p.
  Expenses 19291 l. 2 s. 9 d.p.
  Surplus 6432 l. 17 s. 3 d.p.

7th account, February 1399 to January 1400
  Receipts 37448 l. 15 s. 4 d.p.
  Presumed expenses 32409 l.p.

8th account, February 1400 to January 1401
  Presumed receipts 32471 l.p.
  Expenses 41452 l.p.
9th account, February 1401 to January 1402
Receipts 46000 l.p.
Expenses 48259 l. 10 s. 10 d.p.
Debt 2259 l. 10 s. 10 d. ob.p.

10th account, February 1402 to January 1403
Receipts 53632 l. 10 s.p.
Expenses 49287 l. 15 s. 9 d.p.
Surplus 4344 l. 14 s. 3 d.p.

Accounts of Jean Le Blanc, argentier, and Jean Boileau, procurer
1st account, February 1403 to September 1403
Receipts 41600 l.p.
Presumed expenses 47190 l.p.*
Presumed debt 5590 l. 4 s. 5 d.p.

2nd account, October 1403 to September 1404
Receipts (Presumed) 47739 l.p.
Expenses 41947 l. 19 s. 4 d.p.
Presumed surplus 5792 l. 8 d.p.

3rd account, October 1404 to September 1405
Receipts 42400 l.p.
Presumed expenses 41877 l.p.

4th account, October 1405 to September 1406
Receipts 32172 l. 10 s. 8 d.p.
Expenses 45117 l. 5 s. 10 d.p.
Debt 12944 l. 12 s.p.

5th account, October 1406 to September 1407
Receipts 78136 l. 3 s. 2 d.p.

These argenterie figures from 1393 to 1407 are given in livres only in Rey, Les finances royales, pp. 240-241. The presumed figures, which are consistent with Rey's, are derived from the known figure, either a receipt or expense total, subtracted or added to a surplus or debt figure, if this is known, or from the figure of the queen's overall debt or surplus, which was figured with all the previous accounts in mind.

Account of Robert Cistelle, argentier, May to Sept. 1420
Receipts 15824 l.p.
Expenses 15834 l. 17 s. 6 d.p.
Debt 10 l. 17 s. 6 d.p.
For an example of Isabeau's argenterie receipts, the account from October 1, 1405, to September 30, 1407, has been chosen because it is the largest total.

Receipts, KK 43, fols. 182-189.

From Adam de Bragelonde, receiver general of finances of the queen, January 7, 1407
on Jacques Dupuis, receiver of aides at Paris, 1600 l.t.
on Jacques Guillet, of the granary of Vernon, 1333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on Jean Henry, receiver of aides at Arques, 3000 l.t.
on Pierre Blansdraps, receiver of aides at Avranches, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on Jacques de Stancon, prévôt of Laon, 106 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on Étienne de Montfort, receiver of Meaux, 210 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on Jean Sagot, receiver of Troyes, 166 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the viscounty of Évreux, 533 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the receiver of Sens, 200 l.t.
on the receiver of Vitry, 400 l.t.
on the receiver of Paris, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
July 1407
on the receiver of Maçon, 600 l.p.
on the viscounty of Vire, 165 l.t.
on Guillaume de Longueuil, viscount of Montivilliers, 1250 l.t.
on the viscounty of Avranches, 700 l.t.
on Jean Germe, viscount of Rouen, 1000 l.t.
on Jean Tardif, viscount of Beauvais, 400 l.t.
on Jean Guillet, of the granary of Vernon, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on Jean Henry, receiver of Arques, 1500 l.t.
on Jacques Dupuis, 8000 l.t.
on Pierre Blansdraps, receiver of Avranches, 333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the receiver of Paris, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the viscounty of Évreux, 533 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the prévôt of Laon, 106 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the receiver of Meaux, 216 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the receiver of Troyes, 166 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on Jacques Vivien, receiver of Vitry, 320 l.p.
on the receiver of Maçon, 600 l.p.
on the receiver of Argues, 1500 l.t.
on the receiver of Avranches, 333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on Jean de Bray, receiver of Amiens, 1333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the granary of Vernon, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
August 1407
on the receiver of Maçon, 400 l.p.
on Jacques Dupuis, receiver of aides at Paris, 8000 l.t.
on Jean Henry, receiver of aides at Arques, 1500 l.t.
on the receiver of aides at Amiens, 1133 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the receiver of Avranches, 333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the granary of Vernon, 666 l. 2 s.t.
October 1407
on Jacques Dupuis, receiver of aides for the war at
Paris, 8000 l.t.
on Jean Henry, 1500 l.t.
on Pierre Blandsrafs, 333 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on Jean Guillet, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
November 1407
on Etienne de Montfort, receiver of Meaux, 216 l. 13 s.
4 d.t.
on the prévôt of Laon, 106 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the receiver of Sens, 200 l.t.
on the receiver of Troyes, 166 l. 13 s. 4 d.t.
on the viscount of Avranches, 700 l.t.
on the viscount of Evreux, 533 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.
on the receiver of Vitry, 400 l.t.
on the receiver of Paris, 666 l. 2 s.t.
on the viscount of Vire, 165 l.t.
on the viscount of Montivilliers, 1250 l.t.
on Jean Tardif, viscount of Beaumont, 400 l.t.
on Jean Germe, viscount of Rouen, 1000 l.t.
SUMMA 66000 l.p.

Revenues from the queen's domain
From the receiver of aides for the war at Melun, Moret, and Crécy-en-Brie, 8000 l.t.
From the receiver of the domain of Melun, 400 l.p.
From the granary of Vignory, 240 l.p.
From Pierre du Moulin, receiver of Crécy, 1680 l.p.
From the granary of St. Dizier, 760 l.p.
From Jean de Conde, receiver of aides at Chalons-sur-Marne, 1200 l.p.
From Simon de Bonne, receiver of aides at Langres, 240 l.p.
From the fermier of Saint-Ouen, 352 l. 3 s. 2 d.ob.p.
From the fermier of the hôtel of Saint-Ouen, 160 l.p.
From the fermier of Vaux-la-Reine, Stienne Le Rat, 64 l.p.
SUMMA 11496 l. 3 s. 2 d.ob.p.

From G. Trente, a Lombard merchant, forfeited by the king and given to the queen, 640 l.p.

TOTAL SUM 78136 l. 3 s. 2 d.ob.p.

II. Marie of Anjou

KK 55
3rd account of Jean Bochel, treasurer, receiver general, and argentier for Marie of Anjou, and Jean Parent, procurer, October 1, 1454, to September 30, 1455
Receipts 26586 l. 2 s. 6 d.t.
Expenses 27026 l. 9 s. 4 d.ob.t. (included 100 l.t. to the écurie and 8300 l.t. to the chamber of deniers for the hôtel)
Debt 440 l. 6 s. 10 d.ob.t.

Here is the report of the sources of the receipts for this term, KK 55, fols. 4-6.

Receipts
From the domain
From C. L'Artilleur, receiver ordinaire of Ste. Menehould, 1464 l.t.
From M. Barbier, receiver ordinaire of Chinon, 146 l.t.
From Jean Bernard, from the granary of salt at Chinon, 963 l. 15 s.t.
From Jean Le Fort, from the granary of salt at Ste. Menehould, 559 l. 7 s. 6 d.t.
From Languedoc
From Etienne Petit, treasurer general of Languedoc and committed by the queen to the general receipt of her finances, 16390 l.t.
From Matthieu Beauvarlet, notary and secretary of the king and committed by the king to the general receipt of all his finances on the fermier of salt at Poitou and Saintonge and the fermier of Anjou, 3240 l.t.
on the fermier of salt passing on the bridge of Ste.?, 1298 l.t.
on the receiver of aides in Bourbon, 500 l.t.
on the aides of Chartres, 200 l.t.
from the king to pay for jewels at the pleasure of the queen, 825 l.t.
TOTAL SUM 26586 l. 2 s. 6 d.t.

III. KK 68 Charlotte of Savoy
KK 68 combines a hôtel and argenterie account.
9th account of Pierre Artault and Jean Damont, October 1469 to September 1470
Receipts 28550 l.t.
Expenses 32024 l. 19 s. 8 d.p.t.
Debt 3474 l. 18 s. 8 d.p.t.
IV. Anne of Brittany

K 530-6, fragments of an extraordinary arrenterie account, January 1492 to September 1492

Receipts 30673 l. 11 s. 5 d.t.
Expenses 22427 l. 11 s. 5 d.t.
Surplus 8246 l.t.
APPENDIX G

TREASURY ACCOUNTS OF THE QUEENS

I. Isabeau of Bavaria

KK 48

1st account of Hemon Raguier, treasurer general of the queen, October 1408 to September 1411
Receipts 342362 l. 9 s. 4 d.t.
Expenses 322900 l. 1 s. 2 d.ob.t.
(To Pierre Floriot, master of the chamber of deniers for the hôtel, 129675 l.t.
To Jean le Blanc, argentier of the queen, 23161 l. 8 s. 2 d.t.
To Denis du Chesne, argentier of the royal children, 11213 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.)
Surplus 19462 l. 8 s. 1 d.ob.p.t.

2nd account, October 1411 to September 1414
Receipts 255335 l. 9 s. 11 d.t.
Incomplete

KK 47 Treasury account, 1414-1416
Receipts unknown
Expenses unknown
To Thevenin le Bailly, clerk of the hôtel 4700 l.t.
To Jean le Blanc, argentier, 10775 l.t.

Here is a highly abbreviated report of the sources for Isabeau's treasury receipts for the 1408-1411 account, KK 48, fols. 4-19.

From the king's treasury
on the viscounts of Gisors, Vire, Falaise, Arques
on the receivers of Vitry, Chaumont, Meaux, Maçon,
Tours, Tournai, Montargis 46615 l. 18 s.t.

From Alexandre le Boursier, receiver general of aides for the war
on the receivers of Paris, Lisieux, Montereau,
Rouen, Caen, Caudebec, Chateauthierry, Coutances,
Gisors, Loches, Chartres, Amiens, Senlis, Chinon,
Nemours, Montivilliers 250833 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.

365
From Pierre Floriot, master of the chamber of deniers of the queen, 8000 l.t.
From the queen's domain, Melun, Crécy, St. Ouen, St. Dizier, 36162 l. 14 s. 8 d.t.
From Jean Germe, viscount of Arques, from the archbishop of Rouen, 700 l.t.
From Jean Le Courtillier and Pierre Hazart, merchants in Paris, for the services of two convicts, 33 l. 15 s.t.
From Jean Moursin, in return for part of the property of Jacques Binot, 16 l. 15 s.t.

SUM TOTAL 342362 l. 9 s. 4 d.t.

II. Marie of Anjou

KK 55 has been discussed as an argenterie account. The account was made by Jean Bochetel, Marie's treasurer and argenter, for the term from October 1, 1454 to September 30, 1455

Receipts 26586 l. 2 s. 6 d.t.
Expenses 27026 l. 9 s. 4 d.ob.t.
(Expenses included 100 l.t. to the écurie and 8300 l.t. to Jean Berthelot, master of the chamber of deniers, for the hôtel.)

III. Anne of Brittany

KK 83

2nd account of Jacques de Beaune, treasurer of the queen, October 1492 to September 1493

Receipts 213902 l. 3 s. 11 d.t.
Expenses Incomplete (Expenses included 49560 l. 1 s. 9 d.ob.p.t. to Nicolas de Marchy, master of the chamber of deniers, for the hôtel, 30282 l. 10 s. 10 d.t. to Thomas de Riou for the écurie, and 48401 l. 2 s. 6 d.t. to Victor Gaudin, the queen's argenter.)

KK 84

3rd account of Jacques de Beaune, October 1493 to September 1494

Receipts 157117 l. 8 s. 10 d.p.t.
Expenses Incomplete (Included 32700 l. 10 s. 8 d.t. to de Marchy for the hôtel, and 29071 l. 7 s.t. to Gaudin for the argenterie)

KK 85

1st account of Jacques de Beaune le Jeune, made by Pierre Morin, October 1495 to September 1496
Receipts 87810 1. 3 s. 9 d.t.
Expenses 87700 1. 15 s. 9 d. ob.t.
(Expenses included 38656 1. 17 s. 3 d.t. to
Pierre Morin for the hôtel and 22767 1. 9 s.
4 d.t. to Gaudin for the argenterie.)
Surplus 109 1. 7 s. 11 d.t.

This is an abbreviated list of the sources of Anne of
Brittany's revenues for the treasury account in KK 83,
fol. 11-15.

Receipts

From Antoine Bayard, councillor of the king and receiver
general of his finances in Languedoc
on the granary of salt at St. Esprit, 4500 l.t.

From Jacques Le Roy, councillor of the king and receiver
general of his finances on the Seine and Yonne
on the receivers of Paris, Amiens, Chartres, 5000 l.t.

From Jean La Lemant, councillor of the king and receiver
general of Normandy
on the receivers of Rouen, Caudebec, Montivilliers,
Gisors, Lisieux, Bayeux, Alençon, Evreux, Coutances,
Carentan, Vernon, Caen, others, 31500 l.t.

From Thomas Bohier, councillor of the king and receiver
general of finances in Brittany
on the receivers of Nantes, Rennes, Vannes, St. Brieuc,
St. Malo, others, 20,000 l.t.

From Nicole Herbelot, changer of the king's treasury
on the receivers of Rouen, Arques, Bayeux, Montivilliers,
Pont-Audemer, Bourdeaux, Anjou, Berry, Nimes, Toulouse,
11000 l.t.

From Bayard, on the fermiers of St. Esprit, Narbonne,
others, 16000 l.t.

From Jacques Le Roy, on the receivers of aides of Paris,
Chartres, Meaux, Melun, 18000 l.t.

From La Lemant, on the receivers of aides at Rouen, Caudebec,
Arques, Gisors, Bayeux, Caen, others, 29725 l.t.

From Briconnet, receiver general of the king's finances
on the receivers of Saumur, Auvergne, Poitou, La Rochelle,
Saintonge, Bourbonnais, Berry, Angers, Limousin, Loudun,
others, 55177 1. 3 s. 11 d.t.

From Herbelot, a gift from the king, 200 royaux gold

TOTAL SUM 213902 1. 3 s. 11 d.t. and 200 royaux gold
APPENDIX II

Deniers given directly to the queen in the various account books

I. Isabeau of Bavaria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Deniers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1393-1394</td>
<td>2588 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1394-1395</td>
<td>1278 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1395-1396</td>
<td>634 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1396-1397</td>
<td>1303 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1397-1398</td>
<td>3051 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1398-1399</td>
<td>1723 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1399-1400</td>
<td>9861 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1400-1401</td>
<td>11459 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1401-1402</td>
<td>11843 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1403-1404</td>
<td>7430 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1405-1406</td>
<td>800 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury 1408-1411</td>
<td>100400 l.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury 1416</td>
<td>69645 l.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1420</td>
<td>14894 l.p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Marie of Anjou

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Deniers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hôtel July 1423</td>
<td>640 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hôtel January 1424</td>
<td>480 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hôtel July 1424</td>
<td>480 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hôtel October 1424</td>
<td>170 l.p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argenterie 1454-1455</td>
<td>1947 l.t.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Charlotte of Savoy

Dower-Treasury 1483 49 l.t.

IV. Anne of Brittany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Deniers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treasury 1492-1493</td>
<td>14175 l.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury 1493-1494</td>
<td>23725 l.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury 1495-1496</td>
<td>3050 l.t.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I

LIST OF PERSONNEL OF THE COURT OF ISABEAU

1398-1406, 1408-1417, 1420-1421

The list is taken from names on pension lists in AN KK 48 the queen's treasury account 1408-1413, AN KK 49 the treasury account 1416-1417, and the hôtel accounts AN KK 45 (1398-1403) and AN KK 46 (1403-1406). The list is supplemented by Rey's discussion of Isabeau's personnel, Rey, pp. 188-205, and Thibault's list, Thibault, Isabeau, pp. 109-111 which is only for the early years of Isabeau's reign, beginning in 1385.

I. Religious personnel

Six priests for the queen's chapel, ca. 1389
Friar Michel le Doyen, confessor, 160 l.p. annually, ca. 1398-1411
Jean Mairese, almsgiver and first chaplain, three other chaplains, Ancellet, sommelier of the chapel, one clerk of the chapel, 460 l.p. annually (for each of the six, 76 l. 13 s. 4 d.p.), ca. 1398-1411
Guillaume de Boisratière, archbishop of Bourges, confessor, ca. 1413
Friar Guillaume de la Haye, confessor, ca. 1415-1417
Friar Jean Cambrier, companion to the confessor, ca. 1415-1417
Jacques du Boishebert, almsgiver and first chaplain, ca. 1415-1417
Jean Poucin, chaplain, ca. 1415-1417
T. de la Ruelle, sommelier of the chapel, ca. 1415-1417
G. Milloquin, clerk and sommelier of the chapel, ca. 1415-1417
G. la Guillemette, pilgrim for the queen, 1415
II. Ladies

Isabelle of Melun, countess of Eu, first lady of honor, 1000 l.p. annually, ca. 1389
Jeanne of Artois, lady of Dreux, daughter of Isabelle of Melun, 500 l.p., ca. 1389
Jeanne of Luxembourg, 480 l.p., ca. 1398-1411
Bonne des Viscontis, 480 l.p., ca. 1398-1411
Marie de Savoisy, lady of Seignelay, 160 l.p., ca. 1389
Catherine de Fastavarin of Bavaria, 160 l.p., ca. 1385-1435
Isabelle la Boutilierre, lady of Malicorne, 160 l.p. ca. 1389-1409
Marie de l'Etampes, lady of Gamaches, 160 l.p., ca. 1398-1405
Robine de Montaigu, lady of Guitry, 160 l.p., ca. 1398-1405
Catherine de Villiers, lady of Le Quesnoy, 160 l.p., ca. 1389-1410
Anne de Sennhert, 160 l.p., 1398-1404
Marguerite, lady of Courcy, 160 l.p., ca. 1402-1410
Mme. de Moy, wife of Charles de Soyeourt, 160 l.p., ca. 1410
Mme. de Roussay (Isabelle le Chepy), wife of Jean de Roussay, 160 l.p., ca. 1410
Mme. de Fenepembert, lady of Germany, 160 l.p., ca. 1410
Mme. Jeanne de Bruniers, lady of Seurre, 160 l.p., ca. 1411
Jeanne de l'Etampes, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1398-1400
Marguerite de Pont-Audemer, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1398-1399
Isabeau d'Allemagne, damaiselle, 56 l.p., 1399-1400
Marguerite de Gremonville, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1389-1400
Drouette, damaiselle, 56 l.p. ca. 1398-1400
Jeanne de Pescamps, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1403-1405
Isabeau de Pontbriant, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1402-1405
Cigant de Robequin, damaiselle, 112 l.p., ca. 1402-1405
Jeanne de Courcy, damaiselle, 56 l.p., ca. 1402
Madeleine d'Allemagne, damaiselle, 56 l.p., ca. 1402-3
Marguerite de Morainvilliers, damaiselle, 56 l.p., ca. 1404
Isabeau de Sennhier, damaiselle, 56 l.p., ca. 1404
Isabeau la Mareschale of Germany, damaiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1410-1417
Annette de Halebroc, demoiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1410
Beatrix de Halebroc, demoiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1410
0. Spezeguerin, demoiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1410
Beatrix de P., demoiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1411
O. de la Vielsville, demoiselle, 140 l.t., ca. 1411

Femette, femme de chambre, 48 l.p., 1398-1404
Jeanne, ouvrière, 32 l.p., ca. 1398-1412
Jeanne, Laundress, 32 l.p., ca. 1398-1405
Jeanne, femme de chambre, 20 l.p., ca. 1398-1401
Mahaut de M., femme de chambre, 90 l.t., 1410
Charlotte de Cochette, ouvrière, 32 l.p., ca. 1403-5
Isabeau de Rus, ouvrière, 40 l.t., 1410-1411
Isabeau la Millette, 30 l.t., ca. 1410-1411

III. Hotel personnel

Grand masters of the hôtel
Philippe de Savoisy, 1385-1398
Yon de Garencières, 1200 l.p. annually, 1398-1409
Jean de Roussay, 1500 l.t. annually, 1409-1411
Guy de Nielle, seigneur d'Offémont, 1411
Charles de Bruniers, 1420

Masters of the hôtel
Guillaume Cassinel, 160 l.p., ca. 1389-1410
Louis de Villiers, 160 l.p., ca. 1397-1413
Charles de Villiers, ca. 1398-1413
Jean de Montaigu, ca. 1385-1398
Oudart le Hongre, ca. 1398-1401
Gasse de Morainvilliers, ca. 1398
Gisel de Fay, ca. 1385-1398
Jean de Montaignant, ca. 1401
Jean de Sevres, ca. 1401
Robert du Quesnoy, ca. 1403-1404
Henri de Vieux-Moutiers, ca. 1404
Raoul Cassinel, ca. 1405-1406, 1413
Jean Vincent, ca. 1413
Colinet Pieul, ca. 1413
Conrad Bayer, ca. 1413, councillor, 250 l.t.
Robert le Cigne, ca. 1413
Hector de Louans, ca. 1420

Physicians
Gerard de Lacombe, 8 s.p. a day, ca. 1398-1402
Pierre Miotte, 8 s.p. a day, ca. 1403-1407
Clerks

Guillaume le Madre, clerk of the paneterie, écurie, ca. 1398-1405
Martin le Simon, clerk of the cuisine, fourrière fruiterie, ca. 1398-1402
Jean de Croust, clerk in the fruiterie, ca. 1398
Jean de la Mare, clerk in the fourrière, échansonnerie, ca. 1398-1405
Jean de Bonville, clerk in the écurie, ca. 1398-1403
Guillaume du Palais, clerk in the paneterie, ca. 1398-1401
Robin Crete, clerk in the chamber of deniers, ca. 1399
Jean Gaugain, clerk in the échansonnerie, ca. 1401-1403
Jean le Blanc, clerk in the échansonnerie, ca. 1401
Jean de Meaux, clerk in the cuisine, ca. 1402-1403
Guillaume le Couteux, clerk in the chamber of deniers, ca. 1401-1403
Jean Arraulet, clerk in the chamber of deniers, ca. 1403, cuisine and fruiterie, ca. 1405
Jean Paris, clerk in the harnois, ca. 1405

Horsemen of the écurie

Thevenin Courtin, 1398-1405
Casin de Basanton, ca. 1398-1417
Jean le Charron, 1398-1406
Jean de Clermont, ca. 1398
Jacquemin Walnary, ca. 1398-1406
Jean Gendret, ca. 1398-1405
Jean Polite, ca. 1398-1406
Jean Cholier, ca. 1398
Germain le Coutier, ca. 1398
Jacques Quenore, ca. 1398
Ginot Clergeau, ca. 1399-1401
Jean Roncelet, ca. 1399
Denis le Breton, 1399
Robin Crete, Jean Gaugain, clerks, 1399
Jean de Laïstre, ca. 1399
Guillaume de Lisy, ca. 1399-1402
Thomas le Borgne, ca. 1400
Petit Guillot, ca. 1400-1404
Mannequin Charop, ca. 1404-1405
Guillaume Hacquenee, ca. 1401
Thevenin Colette, ca. 1398-1402
Guillaume de Claville, ca. 1402-1411
Jean de Seure, ca. 1401
Guillaume Fouquet, ca. 1404
Robin de la Rose, ca. 1402-1406
Jean de Rochefort, ca. 1402
Jean de la Chaumette, ca. 1402
Jean Laurent, ca. 1402
Simon de Richebourg, ca. 1406
Thevenin Lenfant, Belot Gallert, Regnault Vauldry, Jean Barbette, messengers, ca. 1401
Jean le Normand, messenger, ca. 1403

Hotel officers

Robert du Pont-Audemer, first écuyer d'écurie, ca. 1397
Pierre du Fay, échanson, ca. 1401
Robert le Cyne, first panetier, ca. 1402-1405
Jean Villier, fourrier, ca. 1402
Guillement Dumesnil, panetier, ca. 1402-1403
Jean de Chamoisy, first écuyer of the cuisine, 1403-1413
Charles de Brimiers, écuyer d'écurie, ca. 1412
Jean Chorret, fruitier, ca. 1412
Pierre de Chivy, écuyer d'écurie, ca. 1413
Colin de Vymont, écuyer d'écurie, ca. 1413

Valets

Pierre Lestournel, tailor, valet de chambre, ca. 1393-1396
Jean Pinchon, furrier, valet de chambre, ca. 1393
Jean Saudoubois, valet of the wardrobe, ca. 1393-1403
Hugues Herode (Arrode), valet de chambre, embroiderer, 1393-1406
Jean de Saumur, shoemaker, valet de chambre, ca. 1393-1399
Guillaume Turel, valet of the wardrobe, ca. 1397-1399
Jean Bernier, valet, tailor for écurie, ca. 1393-1403
Jean Porterin, valet de chambre, merchant in drugs and spices for the queen, ca. 1393-1400
Pierre de Mehant, valet, ca. 1398-1402
Pierre de Chavigny, valet, ca. 1402-1403
Petit Thomas, valet, 1402
Thomas Turrichon, valet, ca. 1412
Andriet le Maire, valet de chambre, guardian of the queen's tapestries, ca. 1393-1413
Hectart, valet de chambre, ca. 1413

Jean Clerbourg, jeweler, ca. 1393-1403
Perrette d'Angièrè, maker of lingerie, ca. 1393-1396
Asselot, maker of lingerie, ca. 1403
Jean Chardin, worker in the échansonnerie, ca. 1397
Etienne de Marle, apothecary, ca. 1406
R. Morel, apothecary, ca. 1413
Benoit le Damoisel, embroider, ca. 1413

IV. Financial officers

Receivers general and treasurers
Adam de Bragelongne, 1405-1407
Hemon Raguier, 1409-?
Hector de Louans, ?-1420

Masters of the chamber of deniers
Jean le Perdrier, 1389-1403, 112 l.p. annually
Pierre Floriot, 1403-1414
Jacques Testart, ?-1420
Marcel Testart, 1420, councillor, receiver general, treasurer

Controllers of the chamber of deniers
Jean de Chatenay, 1398-1400
Pierre Floriot, 1400-1403
Jean d'Essoyes, 1403-1409+
Etienne Bruneau, 1420

Argentiers
Hemon Raguier, 1393-1403, 100 l.p.
Jean le Blanc, 1403-1420+, 1200 l.t. pension 1417

Jean Boileau, 1403, procureur of the argenterie
Guillaume du Palais, controller of the argenterie, 1409-?

V. Political officers

Chancellors
Jean de Nielles, sire of Olhain, chancellor, councillor, 1409-1413, 1000 l.t.
Jean de Vaillly, chancellor, councillor, shared with the dauphin Louis of Guienne, 1413
Robert le Maçon, chancellor, councillor, 1413, 1000 l.t.
Councillors
Louis of Bavaria, brother of the queen, 1385-1435
Pierre de l'Esclat, councillor, ca. 1403-1409, 500 l.t.
Jean Dodieu, bishop of Senlis, councillor, d. 1411
Regnault d'Angennes, seigneur of Rambouillet, councillor, ca. 1410, 500 l.t. annually
Jean de Roussay, councillor, grand master of the hôtel, 1409-1411, 1500 l.t. annually
Jean Picquet, councillor, écuyer, 1412
Pierre de Fontenay, councillor
Guillaume Toreau, councillor, ca. 1416
Jean Trucon, procureur of the queen in the court at Rome, 1414

Secretaries
Guy de Champdivers, secretary, notary, ca. 1389
Jean Salaut, first secretary, notary, 1389-1409?, 100 l.t.
Hugues des Fontaines, secretary, ca. 1405
Jean le Picard, secretary, ca. 1410, 100 l.t.
APPENDIX J

PERSONNEL OF THE COURT OF MARIE OF ANJOU

The list is taken primarily from BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 347-349, dates from 1452-1463. AN KK 56, Marie's hôtel accounts were used for the years from 1422 to 1427. For the 1440's, the letters in BN Fr. 20418 were used. For 1454-1455, the argenterie accounts in AN KK 55 were used.

I. Religious personnel

Friar Jean Raffenei, confessor, ca. 1422-1427
Guichart des Bordes, almsgiver, ca. 1422-1427
Jean Nicole, chaplain, ca. 1422-1427
Pierre Carre and Jean Bachlieer, clerks in the queen's chapel, ca. 1422-1427
Jean Foucart, almsgiver, ca. 1442
Guillaume de Vaux, doctor in theology, confessor, 1452-1453, 100 écus gold
Guillaume Dreux, confessor, 1453-1454, 100 écus
Friar Jean Raoul, confessor, Franciscan, 1455-1463, 100 écus
Jean Barbedanne, almsgiver, 1452-1463, 100 écus
Jean Chausson, secretary, 1452-1453, 100 écus

Chaplains, 100 écus each
- Jean Gallicet, 1452-1454
- Pierre d'Argent, 1452-1463
- Robert Olivier, 1452-1454
- Gilles Grandin, 1452-1463
- Jacques le Long, 1452-1463
- Perinet Gredin, 1452-1463
- Jean Bachlier, 1452-1463
- Guillaume Chaumart, 1452-1463
- Jean de Fresne, 1454
- Jean du Buisson, 1454
- Pierre Basin, 1453-1460
- B. Ragebois, 1460
- Jean Semelle, 1459
- Jean Sohier, 1462
- Etienne Colombel, 1463

Other chaplains, wages from 100 l.t., 90 l.t., 50 l.t.
- Jean Foucart, 1452-1454
- Jean Aliquot, 1452-1463
- Jean le Gros, chaplain of high masses, 1462

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II. Ladies

Jeanne d'Orleans, daughter of Charles, duke of Orleans, and Isabelle of France, ca. 1422-1427
Mme. Catherine de l'Isle-Bouchard, countess of Tonnerre, widow of Hugues de Chalons, ca. 1422-1427
Mme. Perrette de la Roche-Guyon, daughter of Bureau de la Rivière, 1422-1463?, 300 l.t.
Macheline de la Gave, wife of President Jean Louvet, ca. 1422-1427
Marguerite de Preuilly, wife of Pierre Frottier, écuyer of the king, ca. 1422-1427
Mme. de Vaubonnais, Mme. de Mortaing, Mme. de Boustion, and Mme Dasse, ca. 1422-1427
Marguerite la Tourolude, wife of Regnier de Bouligny, ca. 1429
Mme. Jeanne de Montberon, ca. 1448
Mme. Colette de Vaux, lady of Gaucourt, 1456-1463, 300 l.t.
Mme. Blanche de Gamaches, lady of Chatillon, 1452-1461, 300 l.t.
Mme. Marguerite Rogres, wife of Pierre de Vaires, 1452-1454, 300 l.t.
Mme. Marie de Belleville, lady of Soubise, 1457-1462, 300 l.t.
Mme. Pregente de Melun, lady of St. Liebault, 1461-1463, 300 l.t.

Damoiselles

Jeanne du Mesnil, Eleonore de Lapau, Jeanne de Bournu, ca. 1422-1427
Pregente de Melun, Marguerite de Villequier, Jeanne de Guise, Yolande de la Barre, Jeanne de Rouxmalart, ca. 1440's

13 in 1452, 1453; 12 in 1454; 10 in 1455, 1456; 14 in 1457; 16 in 1458; 9 in 1459; 10 in 1460;
Marguerite de Salignac, 1453; Anne de Tillay, 1453; Marguerite Blosset, 1454; Isabeau du Hetray, 1442-1463; Jacquette du Plessis, 1453; Annette de Cuissé, 1463; Jeanne Burelle, 1461; Charlotte Bourgoing, 1456; Isabeau Rochette, 1460; Jeanne Seneschalle, 1461; Marguerite de Warne, 1456-1463; Jacquette Cleret, 1457-1459; Charlotte de Prie, 1457, 1460; Isabeau de Bournau, 1451-1459, 1461; Agnette de Tillay, 1451-1459; Jeanne de Vadetot, 1451-1459; Marie d'Aubusson, 1458-9, 1460; Jeanne Caudine, 1458-1459; Jeanne Rochelle, 1461; Blanche de Compaign, 1462; Jeanne Marescot, 1462; Jeanne Vallorie, 1462; Blanche de Maille, 1462-1463; Marguerite Rogres, 1462-1463; Catherine Rogres, 1462; Eleonore de Courcelles, 1463; Marguerite de Cuissé, 1463; Marie Sicarde, 1463; Perrette Rogres, 1463; Marie de Lespine, 1452-1462; Marie de Gaucourt, 1452-1460; Marie de Belleville, 1451-1459; Marguerite d'Avaugour, 1460; Claude de Chenieres, 1463; Odarte, damoiseille de Cursay, 1463

Children of honor

8 in 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455; 6 in 1456; 8 in 1457; 6 in 1458, 1459; 7 in 1460; 11 in 1461; 6 in 1462
(40 l.t. wages)
Guyon le Roy, Thibault de Vignolles, René Frezeau, Gilles de Belleville, Jean de Blanchefort, Jacques de Vignolles, Philippe de Courcelles, Pierre Cleret, Jacques Marescot, Bertrand de Gasogne, Charles de Trignac, Jean de Saulx, Gaston de Turquie, Helion de la Juille, Jean d'Oynville, Jean d'Escars, A. de Mistrefort, Hans Tors, Charles de Bruneu, René de la Chapelle, Helion de Chaslus, Guerin Mosnier, Francois Eucillechien, Helion des Aciger, Pierre le Bearnais, Hugues le Bascle, Bertrand de Perdillan, Louis Chauveron
III. Hotel and argenterie personnel

Masters of the hotel

Guy de Moy, grand master, ca. 1422-1427
Nicolas Ribot, ca. 1422-1427
Jacques Trousseau, ca. 1422-1427
Henri de Lisac, ca. 1423-1427
Jean de Gamaches, ca. 1424-1427-1432
Jean de la Haye, ca. 1446
Charles de Maille, ca. 1442-d. 1455, 120 l.t.
Louis de Clerembault, seigneur of Richelieu, ca. 1442-1462, 120 l.t.
Hardouin de Maille, grand master, 1452-1463, 300 l.t.
Guy de Fromentières, ?-d. 1455, 120 l.t.
Roger Blossetières, ?-1456, 120 l.t.
Charles Blosset, 1453-1462, 120 l.t.
Pierre Bonnart, ?-d. 1453, 120 l.t.
A. de Carhoye, 1453-1463, 120 l.t.
François de Clermont, seigneur of Dampierre, 1455-1460, 120 l.t.
Guillaume Tranchelion, 1456-1462, 120 l.t.
Hélion Tranchelion, 1460-1462, 120 l.t.
Joachim Girard, 1452-1463, 120 l.t.
Jean de Poix, dit Villemor, 1462-1463, 120 l.t.
Pierre de Jambes, 1462-1463, 120 l.t.
Eustache de Nozay, 1462-1463, 120 l.t.
Pierre de Courcelles, seigneur of Liebault, 1463, 120 l.t.
Pierre de Maille, 1463, 120 l.t.

Panetiers

Geoffroy des Vialux, first panetier, ca. 1422-1427
Guillaume de Champgirault, panetier, 1422-1454, 120 l.t.
(4 in 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456; 5 in 1457, 1458, 1459; 4 in 1460, 1461; 7 in 1462; 5 in 1463)
120 l.t. annually to each panetier
François du Plessis, ?-1455; Pierre Fretart, 1456-63;
Pierre de Maille, ca. 1450's; Guy de Giresmes, ca. 1442-1463;
Eustache de Nozay, 1455-1463; Jacques Odart, seigneur of Girsay, 1456-1660; Jean de Blanchefort, 1462-1463;
Jean de Marescot, 1462-1463; Jean de Bar, 1462-1463; Guillaume de Bourgneuf, 1463

Sommelières, valets, clerks of the paneterie
Jean Gadomer, Jean Echart, Jean d'Outreville, Robert le Feure
Echansonnerie

Echansons

(4 in 1452, 1453; 3 in 1454; 5 in 1455-1461;
12 in 1462; 6 in 1463)
120 l.t. wages
Pierre le Roy, ca. 1422-1427, Etienne le Roy, 1422?-1463; Guillaume du Perche, ?-1452; Pierre du Perdre, ?-1452; Jean Carat, ?-1463; Aubert Savary, 1454-1463; Jean de Broc, 1455-1463; Guillaume du Hetray, 1455-1463; Jean de Peruse, 1462; Gilles de Belleville, 1462-1463; Guy le Roy, 1462-1463; Jean d'Oynville, 1462-1463; Guillaume Cleret, 1462; Guillaume Rogres, 1462-1463; Nicolas Girard, 1463

Clerks of the échansonnerie, ca. 1422-1427, Jean Papillon, Robert Crete, Guillaume Ligier

Ecurie

Ginon de la Roche, écuyer of honor, ca. 1422-1427
Charles de la Roche, écuyer of honor, ca. 1422-7
Hans de Framberguet, écuyer, 1422?-1464, 200 l.t.
Alain Haussart, écuyer, ca. 1442
Jacques de Villiers, ca. 1442
Jacques Odart, seigneur of Cursay, ca. 1461, 120 l.t.
Joachin Girard, ca. 1469-1463
Thibault de Vignolles, ca. 1462, 120 l.t.
Louis d'Aubeterre, ca. 1462, 120 l.t.
Jean de Lannoy, ca. 1463, 120 l.t.

Clerks, ca. 1422-1427, J. Papillon, R. Crete, G. Ligier
Messengers, ca. 1455, E. Pijon, P. Pitou, G. du Palais, Y. Rostren, J. Jean

Fruiterie

Jean and Henri de la Chesnaye, fruitiers, ca. 1422-7
Jean de la Beaure, dit Grand Jean, fruitier, ca. 1455

Clerks of the fruiterie, ca. 1422-1427, J. Papillon and R. Crete

Fourrière

Gilles Mentenge, fourrier, ca. 1422-1427
Thibault du Mesnil, Y. Girault, fourriers, ca. 1455

Clerks of the fourrière, ca. 1422–1427, J. Gadomer, J. Echart, J. d'Outreville
Jean le Feure, valet of the fourrière

Cuisine

Guillaume de Monnerville, écuyer of the cuisine, ca. 1422–1427
Pierre le Jay, écuyer of the cuisine, ca. 1455
Jean Grand, ca. 1455, cook in the cuisine

Valets (Vallets tranchants)

120 l.t. each

Jacques de Villiers, ?– d. 1454
Jean de Marcision, seigneur of Combe, ?– 1462
Guillaume du Hetray, ?– 1455
Louis de Clerembault, 1454–1462
François du Plessis, 1455
Pierre de Corquilleray, 1462

Femmes de chambre

50 l.t. wages annually
(4 in 1452, 1453; 2 in 1454–1456; 5 in 1457–1458; 2 in 1459; 5 in 1460; 6 in 1461; 11 in 1462; 4 in 1463)

Huissiers de chambre

50 l.t. in wages annually
(2 in 1452; 3 in 1453, 2 in 1454–1459; 3 in 1460–1462; 2 in 1463)

Sommelier of the tapestries

Perrin de Neuport, ca. 1422–1427

Physicians

Pierre Bechetbien, ca. 1422–1427, 8 s.p. a day
Pierre Raoul, 1452–1462, 100 écus
Guillaume Girard, doctor in medicine, ?–1462, 400 l.t.
Pierre Andrieu, 1462–1463, 100 écus
Guillaume le Roy, 1463, 100 écus
Apothecaries

Jean Burdelot, ca. 1422-1442
Etienne Seignier, ca. 1452-1463, 100 l.t.

Jean le Roy, tailor, ca. 1455
Jean Beaujou, tailor, ca. 1455
Guillaume le Boulanger, furrier, ca. 1455
Jean Marchant, shoemaker, ca. 1455
Agnes la Courtepie, maker of lingerie, ca. 1455
Perrot Cousart, porter, ca. 1455
Martin Hersaut, Gilbert Jean, jewelers, ca. 1455
Perrin Dodin, furrier, ca. 1455
Jean de Lorgimont, ca. 1455, 50 l.t.
Henri de Vulcop, painter, ca. 1455, 120 l.t.
Vincent le Musiner, guard of the queen's deer, ca. 1455, 16 l. 10 s.t.
Jean Malue, Jean Brecolles, hunters, gamekeepers

IV. Financial officers

Guillaume le Baudreyer, master of the chamber of deniers, ca. 1422-1427, 8 s.p. a day
Philippe Berthier, controller of the chamber of deniers, ca. 1422-1427, 6 s.p. a day
Jean Bonin, treasurer general, ca. 1426
Jean Bernard, treasurer of the queen and the dauphin, councillor of the king, 1433-?
Jean de Fromentières, clerk in the chamber of deniers, ca. 1422-1427
Colinet Langeois, receiver of the salt granary at La Rochelle, ca. 1436
Guillaume Vincent, receiver of aides at Saintonge, ca. 1438
Etienne Petit, secretary, receiver general of the queen's receipts in Languedoc, ca. 1440-1453
Jean Pasquier, receiver of the salt granary in Poitou, ca. 1443
Etienne le Vernois, secretary, receiver of the salt granary of Montpellier, ca. 1432-1442, receiver general, argentier, ca. 1449
Jean Berthelot, master of the chamber of deniers, 1452-1463
Louis Jure, clerk of the chamber of deniers, ca. 1453
Michel Gaillard, treasurer and receiver general of the queen's finances, ?-1453, controller
of the argenterie, 1453-1463
Jean Bochetel, notary and secretary of the king, treasurer and receiver general of the queen, 1453-1463
Jean Clotet, clerk of the chamber of deniers, 1453-1455
Nicolas Bouteiller, secretary, controller of the chamber of deniers, 1453- d. 1456
Jean Gaudette, master of the storehouses of wine of the hôtel, 1453-1463, controller of the chamber of deniers, 1457
Mathurin Gaillard, clerk of the chamber of deniers, 1455-1457
Simon Gaunigneau, controller of the chamber of deniers, 1456-1463
Martin Aujoran, controller of the argenterie, 1451-1458
Louis Jure, controller of finances, 1461-1463

V. Political officers

M. François de Clermont, seigneur of Dampierre, grand chevalier of honor, 1462-1463, 300 l.t.
A. de Carhoe, councillor, master of the hôtel, 1453-1463
Jean Lopin, procureur, ca. 1455
Guillaume de Balau, procureur, ca. 1455
Jean de Brecey, secretary, ca. 1455
APPENDIX K

THE COURT OF CHARLOTTE OF SAVOY

This list of Charlotte of Savoy's household is the most complete of the four queen's lists. The source for the early years, as well as the middle years, from 1462 to 1479, is BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 351-352 from which I have not included the personnel for the dauphin Charles and Charlotte's two daughters Anne and Jeanne. Other lists of Charlotte's personnel are BN Fr. 21451, fols. 322-328 with dates in the 1480's and fols. 325-328, also in the 1480's, which includes the native city or region of the named officer. BN Fr. 21451, fol. 320 is the list of personnel still on pension in 1499. Finally, a list of ladies and officers at the time of Charlotte's death in 1483 is in Tuetey, ed., "Inventaire," EBC XXVI, 339-344.

I. Religious personnel

Jean Blanc, almsgiver and chaplain, 1462-1479, 72 l.t.  
Jean Aliquot, chaplain, 1468-1469, 72 l.t.  
Louis Gigault, chaplain, 1469-1472, 72 l.t.  
Jean de la Fosse, chaplain, 1469-1483, 72 l.t. and 84 l.t.  
Jean Sauvage, sommelier of the chapel, 1472-1483, 120 l.t., native of Beaulieu, near Loches  
Pierre le May, sommelier of the chapel, 1472-1483, 72 l.t. and 90 l.t., native of Loches  
M. Gabriel, priest and chaplain, 1483, 60 l.t.  
Guillaume Verrier, clerk of the chapel, 1483, 60 l.t.  
Jacques d'Esty, almsgiver, 1480, 60 l.t.  
Laurent Blanchart, chaplain, 1480, 24 l.t.

II. Ladies

Jeanne deCourandon, lady of Segré, first lady of the queen, wife of M. de Segré, master of the queen's hôtel, ca. 1480, 1200 l.t.  
Madame de Meaux, ca. 1480, 365 l.t.  
Martine Turpin, lady of Bueil, 1475  
Francoise de la Forest, lady of Bussières, 1480-1483, 200 l.t., native of Dauphine  
Louise des Byars, wife of Jean de Tardes, 1483, 120 l.t.  
Louise de Poulac, lady of Boisfreslon, 1483, 120 l.t.
Catherine Giraulde, wife of Jean Pinquet, écuyer of the queen, 1483, 120 l.t.
Marie Cavée, widow of Leonard Cavé, 1483, 120 l.t.
Jeanne Pasquier, wife of Etienne Pasquier, 1483, 76 l.t.
Jeanne de Menetou, wife of Matthieu du Four, 1483, 50 l.t.
Antoinette de Chazeron, lady of Combronde, ca. 1470
Mlle. du Feuillet, ca. 1480, 120 l.t.
Antoinette de Bussières, ca. 1480, 120 l.t.
Gabrielle de Bussières, ca. 1480, 30 l.t.
Isabeau de Martenay, ca. 1480, 30 l.t.
Charlotte de Tillay, ca. 1480, 30 l.t.
Françoise Pinquette, ca. 1480, 120 l.t.
Marguerite de Willon, 1483, 120 l.t.
Louise d'Eurre, 1483, 120 l.t.
Marie de Vaux, 120 l.t.
Jeanne de Chazeron, 1483, 120 l.t.
Marie d'Auffey, 1483, 120 l.t.
Louise Cavée, daughter of Marie, 1483, 120 l.t.
Claude d'Orlière, 1483, 76 l.t.
Marie de Cordan, 1483, 100 l.t.

III. Hôtel personnel

Masters of the hôtel
Philippe des Essars, 1462-1465, 1000 l.t.
Jacques Trousseau, 1465-1468
Pierre le Breton, 1468-1483, 600 l.t.
Guillaume de Brécy, 1472-1476
Georges le Prevost, 1472
M. de Coue, 1472
Thibault de Mareuil, 1476
Pierre Cleret, 1478-1483, 240 l.t.
Olivier Guerin, 1483, 600 l.t.
Jean d'Aux, 1483, 500 l.t.
M. de Segré, 1480, 1200 l.t.
Philippe de Tanville, ca. 1480, 400 l.t.
Jean des Aubus, ca. 1480, 400 l.t.
Guillaume de Bouzanton, ca. 1480, 1200 l.t.
M. de Courcelles, ca. 1480, 400 l.t.
M. Moreau, ca. 1480, 400 l.t.
M. du Fau, ca. 1480, 240 l.t.
Guillaume des Aubus, 1483, 120 l.t.

Panetiers
Pierre Godefroy, 1462-1476, 330 l.t.
Yon de Carmien, panetier, 1476-1479, 330 l.t.

native of Brittany
Bernard d'Aydie, panetier, 1476-1479, 330 l.t.
Antoine Guerin, ca. 1480, 180 l.t.
Jean Dodineau, sommelier, 1480-1483, 120 l.t. native
of Anjou
Hervé l'Estrublé, sommelier, 1480-1483, 120 l.t.,
native of Maine
Girault d'Aucezenne, panetier, 1483, 240 l.t.
Eustache Malotier, panetier, 1483, 120 l.t.
Copin Breton, sommelier, 1483, 120 l.t.
H. Mignon, sommelier, 1483, 120 l.t.

Echansonnerie

Guillaume de Brecy, 1462-1472, 240 l.t.
Blaise Savary, échanson, 1472-1480, 240 l.t., native
of Berry, 240 l.t.
Alain de la Bussière, échanson, 1472- d. 1473, 240 l.t.
Raoul Abbe, échanson, 1472-1480, 240 l.t., native of
Brittany
M. du Brueil, native of Amboise, ca. 1480
Jean du Rougier, sommelier, 1480-1483, 144 l.t.,
native of Normandy
Jean Chambellan, sommelier, 1480-1483, 143 l.t., native
of Le Mans
Jean de Villemart, sommelier, 1480-1483, native of
Sully
Matthieu du Bois, sommelier, 1480-1483, native of
Prailly
C. de Sazilly, échanson, 1483, 240 l.t.
Pierre du Perche, échanson, 1483, 240 l.t.
Jean le Pré del Grélin, 1483, 60 l.t.
Jean du Mesme, aid, 1483, 36 l.t.
Guillaume Girault, aid, 1483, 36 l.t.

Écuyers d'écuyerie

Robert le Borgne, 1462-1476, 240 l.t.
Antoine d'Ancezune, 1462-1483, from 240 l.t. to
600 l.t., native of Caderousse near Avignon
Matthieu Cailleteau, 1472-1480, 240 l.t., native of
Brittany
Guillaume du Tiercent, 1476-1479, 240 l.t.
Jacob des Aubus, 1480, 180 l.t.
Gilles du Bec, 1480, 180 l.t.
Guillaume d'Ancezune, 1483, 330 l.t.
Nicolas Calonnat, 1483, 240 l.t.
Pierre Bertran, valet, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of
Navarre
Guillaume Fournier, horseman, ca. 1480, native of Maine
Jean Perrin, aid, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of Berry
Jean Guignart, aid, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of Paris
Thomas Charles, valet, 84 l.t.
Jean de Ligueil, valet, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of Beauce
L. Maussion, charretier, ca. 1480, 84 l.t., native of Berry
Oudin Quinerit, charretier, 1480-1483, 84 l.t.
Andre Quinerit, charretier, 1480-?, 84 l.t.
Jacques Bourgeois, charretier, 1480-1483, native of Paris
Jean Viau, charretier, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of La Rochelle
Jean le Paige, charretier, 1480-1483, 84 l.t., native of Amboise
Guillon Pasquier, valet, 1483, 84 l.t.
Jean Brunteau, aid, 1483, 84 l.t.
Jean Maussion, charretier, 1483, 84 l.t.
Bertrand du Noyer, charretier, 1483, 60 l.t.
Jean Galmant, marshal, 1480-1483, 84 l.t.
Pierre Champion, charretier, 1483, 84 l.t.
Pierre Bigot, valet, 1483, 84 l.t.
Jacques Fournier, horseman, 1483, 60 l.t.
Cardin le Franc, charretier, 1483, 84 l.t.

Cuisine

(7 in 1463-1465; 11 in 1466-1468; 12 in 1469-1471; 11 in 1472; 14 in 1473-1474; 15 in 1475; 16 in 1476; 10 in 1478-1479)

Jean Allaire, écuyer of the cuisine, ca. 1480, 120 l.t.
Pierre Bourreau, écuyer, ca. 1480, 60 l.t.
Yon Camelin, cook, ca. 1480, 80 l.t.
Pierre Carre, potagier, ca. 1480, 60 l.t.
Andre Robineau, master cook, ca. 1480, native of Basoche
Denis Brule, hateur, 1480-1483, 100 l.t., and 144 l.t., native of Amboise
Michel Moynart, potagier, 1480-1483, 120 l.t., native of Maine
Jean de Senlis, potagier, 1480-1483, 120 l.t., native of Amiens
Antoine Coillon, cook of Madame of Beaujeu, ca. 1480, native of Dauphiné
Pierre le Royer, écuyer, 1480-1483, 120 l.t., native of Amboise
Nicolas Bigourrois, aid, ca. 1480, native of Chinon
G. Louis, saucier, ca. 1480, native of Dauphiné
Louis Louis, aid of the saucier, ca. 1480
Louis, porter, ca. 1480
Robert, patissier, ca. 1480, native of Saint Quentin.
Guichart Cahier, écuyer, 1483, 120 l.t.
Paul Fumée, écuyer, 1483, 180 l.t.
Louis du Bois, saucier, 1483, 60 l.t.
Antoine Regnault, galopin, 1483, 60 l.t.
Pierre Colin, souffleur, 1483, 60 l.t.
Guillaume Guerin, souffleur, 1483, 60 l.t.
Pierre Ronerre, porter, 1483, 43 l.t.
Pierre Fournier, huissier, 1483, 36 l.t.
Robin Touchet, potagier, 1483, 60 l.t.
Jean Lis, potagier, 1483, 60 l.t.
Andre Louis, saucier, 1483, 84 l.t.
Jean Garnier, saucier, 1483, 60 l.t.

Fruiterie

Etienne Rousseau, fruitier, 1480-1483, 40 l.t. and 96 l.t.
Jean l'Aisné, fruitier, 1480-1483, 40 l.t. and 96 l.t.,
native of Normandy
Robin Maussion, native of Normandy
Martin le Guenais, aid, 1483, 48 l.t.

Fourriere

Etienne Pasquier, fourrier, 1480-1483, 180 l.t., native of Amboise
Pierre Grandin, fourrier, 1483, 180 l.t.
Jean Vignault, fourrier, ca. 1480
Jean Beiron, valet, 1483, 72 l.t.
Jean Charbonneau, valet, 1483, 72 l.t.
Jean Regnault, valet, 1483, 60 l.t.
Jean de Brion, valet, 1483, 60 l.t.
Martin Popillart, valet, 1480, 30 l.t.

Valets de chambre

Jean Petit, died 1467, 180 l.t.
Guillaume Coquebourt, 1462-1472, 180 l.t.
Pierre d'Aires, 1462-1472, 180 l.t.
Antoine Boutet, 1468-1483, 120 l.t. and 180 l.t.,
native of Tours
Etienne Boutet, ca. 1480, native of Berry
Jean de Paris, ca. 1480, 80 l.t., native of Paris
Maquinet, ca. 1480, 80 l.t.
Cantello, ca. 1480, 80 l.t.
Guillaume le Barbier, ca. 1480, native of Montargis
Jean Bairrier, ca. 1480, native of Tours
Jean Pavillon, ca. 1480, 60 l.t.

Huissiers de chambre

G. Renaudot, 1462-1476, 60 l.t.
Guillot Regnault, 1480-1483, native of Limosin
J. Hubelin, 1462-1479, 60 l.t.
Jean Hubelin, 1483, 96 l.t.
Jean d'Amboise, concierge of the chateau at Amboise, 1483, 60 l.t.
Pierre Jousselin, 1462-1483, 60 l.t. to 120 l.t.,
native of Maine
Guillaume Cimier, 1483, 60 l.t.
Coton, 1480, native of Dauphiné
Martin Engenart, 1483, 72 l.t.
Jean de la Bondimere, 1480, 120 l.t.

Jean, valet of the wardrobe, ca. 1480, native of
Abbeville
Michel Martin, marshal des logis, 1468-1473, 130 l.t.
Jean de Vaucelles, 1473-1479, 130 l.t.
Louis Alais, marshal des logis, 1483, 200 l.t.
Antoine Boutet, tapisser, 1480-1483, 50 l.t. to 120 l.t.
Antoine le Grec, joueur de luth, 1483, 50 l.t.
Pierre Reilhac, shoemaker, 1483, 36 l.t.
Jean de Briode, seller, 1483, 36 l.t.
Lambert du Sey, jeweler, 1483, 180 l.t.
Isabeau Michele, laundress, 1483, 180 l.t.
Jean de la Roderie, ca. 1480, 60 l.t., tailor
Jean Lointhier, tailor, 1483, 90 l.t.
Jean Milet, physican, 1483, 300 l.t.
Etienne de la Lande, apothecary, 1480, 80 l.t.
Jean Gascogne, 1480-1483, 120 l.t., native of Anjou
G. du Bois, femme de chambre, 1483, 50 l.t.
Catherine de Bruxelles, femme de chambre, 1483, 50 l.t.
Anne Verrière, nurse, 1483, 100 l.t.
Jeanne Garnière, nurse of the late François, 1483, 50 l.t.
Secretaries

René Tardif, 1469-1479, 120 l.t.
Louis le Maye, 1480, 120 l.t.
Jean de Lessau, 1480-1483, 300 l.t., native of Abbeville
Louis Jure, 1483, 300 l.t.

Clerks

Lyffart, dit Coulomier, 1480-1483, 120 l.t.
Pierre Bourreau, 1480-1483, 120 l.t., native of Amboise
Jean de Manseul, 1483, 60 l.t.
Guillaume de Sauzay, 1483, 100 l.t.
Herve Blanchet, 1483, 180 l.t.

IV. Financial officers

Pierre Artaud, dean of St. Martin of Tours, master of the chamber of deniers and argentier, 1462-1472, 1000 l.t.
Jacques de Moulins, master of the chamber of deniers, 1472-1479, 1000 l.t.
Martin du Bois, master of the chamber of deniers, and argentier, 1483, 600 l.t.
Jean Damont, controller of the chamber of deniers and argenterie, 1462-1479, 240 l.t.
Pierre Signac, controller of the chamber of deniers and argenterie, 1480, 180 l.t.
Louis le Maye, controller of finances, 1483, native of Loches
Henri Gaudet, controller of the treasury, 1483, 180 l.t.
Pierre Burdelot, treasurer, 1483, 600 l.t.

V. Political officers

Jean Tiercelin, seigneur de Brosse, councillor, captain of Chinon, 600 l.t.
Philippe Remon, councillor, 1483, 300 l.t.
Francois d'Evre, chevalier, 120 l.t.
APPENDIX L

THE COURT OF ANNE OF BRITTANY

1496-1498

The principal reference for this list of Anne of Brittany's ladies and officers is BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 357-360, a list for only the three years 1496, 1497, 1498. The list was checked by BN Fr. 8269, fols. 403-407, officers and ladies of Anne for 1496, 1497, 1498, which is not identical to the BN Fr. 9175 n.a. list. Another reference is the publication by Lobineau of "Estat de la maison de la Reine Anne pour l'année commencée le premier d'octobre 1498," in Histoire de Bretagne, v. II, 1587-1590. For the most part, I have followed Lobineau's spelling, especially of the difficult Breton names. References for other years include KK 82, wages of officers and ladies of the queen's hôtel, January to September 1492, and the publication by Le Roux de Lincy, "Maison de la reine Anne de Bretagne en 1492," Vie, v. IV, 3-12, which is taken from KK 82. Another publication is Lobineau, "Autre estat de la maison de la Reine Anne, tiré d'un premier compte de Maistre René Hurault notaire et secretaire du Roy, tresorier et receveur general des finances de ladite Reine, pour un an commence au premier octobre 1505," in Histoire de Bretagne, v. II, 1593-1595. I have been unable to find lists for Anne court during the latter part of her reign or near the time of her death.

I. Religious personnel

Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Lodève, confessor and almsgiver, 400 l.t. annually
Claude de Tournon, bishop of Viviers, first almsgiver and confessor, 300 l.t.
Pierre Blanchet, almsgiver, 200 l.t.
Friar Yves Mahieuc, confessor, 200 l.t.
Antoine de Samremoien, treasurer of the chapel, 120 l.t.
Geoffroy le Picard, chaplain, 120 l.t.
Jean Cochetel, chaplain, 120 l.t.
Jean Coquerel, chaplain, 120 l.t.
Jean Sauvage, chaplain, 120 l.t.
Germain de la Halle, chaplain, 80 l.t.
Remy Laurans, chaplain, 80 l.t.
Pierre Tremereuc, clerk of the chapel, 100 l.t.
Guillaume Bailly, sommelier of the chapel, 100 l.t.
Jean le Maitre, clerk, 100 l.t.
Guillaume le Clerc, clerk, 150 l.t.
Pregent Jagu, chantre, 100 l.t.
Yvon le Brun, chantre, 100 l.t.
Pierre Troupe, chantre, 100 l.t.
Pierre Brunel, chantre, 100 l.t.
Pierre Yuert, lute player, 100 l.t.
Jean Chargagne, tambourineur, 120 l.t.

II. Ladies

Dames

Mme. Mathurine du Perrier, lady of La Guerche, first lady of honor, 1200 l.t.
Mme. Jeanne Chabot, lady of Montsoreau and du Petit Chateau, 1000 l.t.

Damoiselles

Mlle. Françoise de Bretagne, 1300 l.t.
Charlotte of Aragon, princess of Taranto, 300 l.t.
Anne of Bourbon, lady of Montpensier, 300 l.t.
Anne of Foix, lady of Candalle, 300 l.t.
Jeanne de Jambes, lady of Beaumont, 1300 l.t.
Antoinette de Chateauneuf, 200 l.t.
Jacqueline de l'Estrac, 200 l.t.
Jeanne de Murat, lady of Bourg, 200 l.t.
Jeanne de Longepierre, 200 l.t.
Isabeau de Saffre, lady of Monceaux, 200 l.t.
Catherine des Barres, 200 l.t.
Catherine Gaillard, 300 l.t.
Catherine de Tournon, 200 l.t.
Madeleine de Cecille, 200 l.t.
Jeanne de Rohan-Guéméné, 300 l.t.
Filles d'honneur

Marie d'Escars, 35 l.t.
Françoise de Bonvilliers, 35 l.t.
Louise de Villequier, 35 l.t.
Louise de Bourdeilles, 35 l.t.
Anne de la Grange, 35 l.t.
Françoise du Mas, demoiselle de l'Isle, 35 l.t.
Antonique de Dicastillo, 35 l.t.
Jeanne le Voyer, demoiselle of Montbouan, 35 l.t.
Jeanne de la Plesse, 35 l.t.
Charlotte d'Asnières, 35 l.t.
Orfaise du Boisguéméné, 35 l.t.
Blanche de Marigny, 35 l.t.
Anne de la Roche, 35 l.t.
Anne de Culant, 35 l.t.
Anne de Plumaugat, 35 l.t.
Anne le Porc, 35 l.t.
Jeanne Friconne, 35 l.t.
Marie de Sourdeac, 35 l.t.
Françoise Laurans, 35 l.t.
Isabeau de Martenay, 35 l.t.
Charlotte Guenant, 35 l.t.
Françoise des Hommes, 35 l.t.
Brandine de Bron, 35 l.t.
Jeanne de Dicastillo, 35 l.t.
Françoise Dany, 50 l.t.
Yolande d'Oille, 35 l.t.
Jeanne de St. Amadour, 35 l.t.
Mlle. de Boisy, 35 l.t.

III. Hôtel personnel

Masters of the hôtel

Jacques d'Epinay, chevalier, seigneur of Segré, councillor, chamberlain of the king, grand master of the queen's hotel, 800 l.t.
Jean, seigneur of Grignault, chevalier, mayor and captain of Bordeaux, first master of the hôtel, 700 l.t.
Lopez de Dicastillo, chevalier, 700 l.t.
Guillaume Guillemet, 500 l.t.
Florent Thoreau, seigneur de Molitard, chevalier, 500 l.t.
René Brette, 400 l.t.
Paul Fumée, 200 l.t.
Jean de Plouer, 300 l.t.
Louis Herpin, 500 l.t.
Nicolas Payen, seigneur of La Pannière, 300 l.t.
Henri du Gaspurn, 300 l.t.
Colin de Marchy, 200 l.t.
Jean, sire of Lubières, 500 l.t.

Paneterie

Panetiers, 300 l.t.
Francois de Bron, first panetier, 400 l.t.
Jean de Chiault
Regnault de Brignac
Jean Tiercelin
Lyonnet Patris
Robert Juston
Gilles d'Oigny
Olivier le Voyer, dit Montauban
Guillaume de St. Fargeau

Sommeliers de la paneterie de bouche

Robert du Gaspurn, 180 l.t.
Jacques de Bezit, 180 l.t.
Roland Austin, 180 l.t.
Olivier de Lescouet, 180 l.t.
Michel de la Cruche, aid, 90 l.t.

Sommeliers de la paneterie de commun

Philippe Millon, 120 l.t.
Ginon du Gaspurn, 120 l.t.
Jean le Pot, dit Greslin; 120 l.t.
Yvon Quisses, aid, 70 l.t.
Guillaume Jacquet, aid, 70 l.t.
Jean Bertho, baker, 80 l.t.

Échansonnerie

Échansons, 300 l.t.
Gilles de Carmene, first échanson, 400 l.t.
Gilles de Boisrion, échanson, 300 l.t.
Jean de Brignac
Lyon de Guicazno
Thomas d'Estuer
François de la Salle, chevalier, 300 l.t.
Geoffroy de Poulhe, 300 l.t.
Robert de la Pommeraye

Sommeliers de l'échansonnerie de bouche

Olivier du Tertre, 200 l.t.
Thomas le Marchand, 180 l.t.
Simon Millet, 180 l.t.
Jean Baignon, 180 l.t.
Guillaume Gaudaire, aid, 70 l.t.
Olivier Larmor, aid, 70 l.t.

Sommeliers de l'échansonnerie de commun

Thomas Corault, 120 l.t.
Jean de Foulgeres, 120 l.t.
Jean le Chaux, 120 l.t.
Guy Mesteyr, 120 l.t.
Jamet Robin, aid, 70 l.t.
Jean Gueguen, aid, 70 l.t.
Olivier Guillanton, aid, 70 l.t.

Écurie

Écuyers tranchants

Jean de Dicastillo, first écuyer, 400 l.t.
Arthur de Loyon, 300 l.t.
Odet de Loyon, 300 l.t.
Charles l'Esprevier, 300 l.t.
Pierre de Piedonault, 300 l.t.

Grand écuyer

Louis de Menton, seigneur of Lornay, captain of the
One hundred Germans of the king, 600 l.t.

Écuyers d'écurie, 300 l.t.

Pierre de St. Gilles
Gilles de Tissue
Alain de Coetgouredon
Jean de Miraumont
Hugues de St. Marcel
Raoul de Tournemine
Regnault de Montestrucet
Louis de Longueval
Guillaume de Loyon
Joachim des Aubus

Cuisine

Écuyers de la cuisine de bouche

Amaury Auclir, 200 l.t.
Pierre de Boisgueheneuc, 300 l.t.
Guillaume Berard, 200 l.t.

Écuyers de la cuisine de commun

Robert Juston, first écuyer, 200 l.t.
Cebron du Mas, 150 l.t.
Ginon le Lievre, 120 l.t.
Guillaume de la Bodiniere, 120 l.t.

Cuisine de bouche

Pierre Fresnay, cook, 160 l.t.
Pierre de Marchenay, cook, 160 l.t.
Jean Pescheloye, cook, 160 l.t.
Jean Pineau, potagier, 120 l.t.
Pierre Carre, potagier, 120 l.t.
André Pineau, hateur, 120 l.t.
Guillaume Benoist, hateur, 120 l.t.
Roland Loisel, hateur, 70 l.t.
Janet Charon, porter, 70 l.t.
Jean l'Evêque, dit Courtin, child of the cuisine, 40 l.t.
Colas Landois, galopin, 30 l.t.
Jacques le Roux, galopin, 30 l.t.
Vincent Loisau, huissier, 40 l.t.

Cuisine de commun

André Gourdeville, cook, 140 l.t.
Guillaume Blandin, cook, 140 l.t.
Meri Rousseau, cook, 140 l.t.
Geoffroy Tiron, potagier, 100 l.t.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Pillastre</td>
<td>cook, 100 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Chesnaye</td>
<td>porter, 60 l.t.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Savary</td>
<td>porter, 60 l.t.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean le Goux</td>
<td>child of the cuisine, 40 l.t.</td>
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<td>Jean l'Evesque</td>
<td>galopin, 30 l.t.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Boucahir</td>
<td>galopin, 30 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Chevalier</td>
<td>dit Landore, huissier, 15 l.t.</td>
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</table>

**Fruiterie**

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<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Millon</td>
<td>fruitier, 100 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Bauge</td>
<td>fruitier, 100 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Helier</td>
<td>aid, 60 l.t.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Bauge</td>
<td>60 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurin Villemard</td>
<td>aid, 60 l.t.</td>
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**Fourrière**

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<tr>
<td>Georges de Quisticinic</td>
<td>marshal des logis, 400 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etienne Denis</td>
<td>fourrier, 140 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume de Loyon</td>
<td>140 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Beart</td>
<td>140 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Langouge</td>
<td>140 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivier Platon</td>
<td>valet, 70 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Bequin</td>
<td>70 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Guillois</td>
<td>70 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Chasenay</td>
<td>50 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andre Bodin</td>
<td>aid, 60 l.t.</td>
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**Gardes vaisselles**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Payment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henri le Frère</td>
<td>guard of silver tableware of the cuisine de bouche, 240 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Charron</td>
<td>aid, 180 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamet Auffray</td>
<td>paticier, 70 l.t.</td>
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</tbody>
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**Huisssiers de chambre**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Payment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Olivier de Causequet</td>
<td>160 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honore Vollette</td>
<td>160 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Picard</td>
<td>160 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean de la Lande</td>
<td>160 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques de Petres</td>
<td>160 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Canellot</td>
<td>140 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude de Longueval</td>
<td>80 l.t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Valets de chambre

Pierre Bay, first valet de chambre, 160 l.t.
Jacques l'Origuire, 120 l.t.
Vincent Guicto, 140 l.t.
Guillaume Roland, 120 l.t.
Guillaume Bougar, 120 l.t.
Claude de la Baume, 120 l.t.
Guillaume Porcher, 120 l.t.
Raoul Morice, valet of the garderobe, 40 l.t.
Jean Sebillet, dit Guilledin, 80 l.t.
Roland Lesquen, valet of the damoiselles, 40 l.t.
Jean Thomas, tailor, 300 l.t.
Jean Fenhouet, pelts, furrier, 120 l.t.
Yvonnet Chotart, shoemaker, 60 l.t.

Tapissiers

Antoine Boutet, 100 l.t.
Baudichon du Hamel, 100 l.t.
Jean le Feuvre, 300 l.t.
Jean de Dol, 100 l.t.
Julien Cosset, 100 l.t.

Huissiers de salle

Jean Prieur, 80 l.t.
Jean Pelart, 80 l.t.
Jacques de Grimont, 80 l.t.
Mathurin Rambault, huissier du bureau, 40 l.t.

Porters

Guillaume Dabo, 150 l.t.
Pierre Simon and Gilles Rivière, 120 l.t.
Jacques Pincot, 120 l.t.
Michel du Croiset, 120 l.t.

Doctors of medicine

Olivier Laurent, 600 l.t.
Gabriel Miro, le jeune, 600 l.t.
Gabriel Miro, l'aîné, 360 l.t.
Michel Carre, apothecary, 250 l.t.
Jean Malaise, surgeon, 300 l.t.
Falconer
Guillaume de la Feur, grand falconer, 600 l.t.

Clerks of the offices
Pierre de Champagne, 150 l.t.
Pierre Aude, 180 l.t.
Raoul Robert, 100 l.t.
Raoul Menager, 120 l.t.

Secretaries
Guillaume de la Forest, 240 l.t.
Crespin Normand, 240 l.t.
Jean Sappin, 240 l.t.
Jean Simon, 100 l.t.
Michel Gouy, 50 l.t.
Laurens Masault, 100 l.t.
Pierre Signac, 400 l.t.
Jean Bernard, notary and secretary of the king, controller of the argenterie and écurie of the queen in place of Jean de Cerisy, 400 l.t.

Aids
Guillaume Berard, écuyer of the cuisine de bouche, 75 l.t.
Guillaume Becavin, aid of the paneterie de bouche, 90 l.t.
Guillaume Gandaire, aid of the échansonnerie, 75 l.t.
Olivier Lermos, aid of the échansonnerie, 75 l.t.
Guillaume Jacquet, aid of the paneterie du commun, 75 l.t.
Jamet Robin, aid of the échansonnerie, 75 l.t.
Roland Loisel, porter in the cuisine, 75 l.t.
Jean l’Evesque, galopin, 75 l.t.
Vincent Loisel, aid of the cuisine, 75 l.t.
Florentin Dugar, aid of the tapiissiers, 90 l.t.
Jean Helier, aid of the fruiterie, 90 l.t.
Jean Billard, aid of the fruiterie, 90 l.t.
Mathurin Villemard, aid of the fruiterie, 90 l.t.

Charretiers
Jean Content, 60 l.t.
Thomas l’Eveille, 60 l.t.
Pasquier Rambault, 60 l.t.
Colin Molineau, 60 l.t.
Martin du Puy, 60 l.t.
Jean du Puy, 60 l.t.

Jewelers

Arnaud de Viviers, 120 l.t.
Guillaume Charrau, lapidary, 100 l.t.

Femmes de chambre

Catherine Gaillard, damoiselle, femme de chambre, 150 l.t.
Annette du Mesnil, 150 l.t.
Annette Martine, 150 l.t.
Jeanne Mauray, 150 l.t.

Laundresses

Jeanne la Raye, 160 l.t.
Marguerite la Coquilliere, 160 l.t.
Yvonne Mauvel, 160 l.t.
Perrine de Chaux, lingerie, 120 l.t.
Guillonne Tanquerille, 60 l.t.

IV. Financial officers

Jean de Beaune, le jeune, treasurer, receiver general, 2000 l.t.
Pierre Morin, master of the chamber of deniers
Victor Gaudin, argentier
Jean de Cerisy, controller of the argenterie, 400 l.t.
Pierre Signac, controller of the écurie, 400 l.t.

V. Councillors

Jacques de Tournon, councillor, chevalier of honor, chamberlain of the king, 1200 l.t.
Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Lodève, confessor, almsgiver, 400 l.t.
Guillaume Gueguen, abbé of Redon, vice chancellor, councillor, vice chancellor of Brittany, 1000 l.t.
Antoine de Longueuil, bishop of Leon, 400 l.t.
Antoine de Samremoien, treasurer of the chapel, 120 l.t.
Pierre Blanchet, almsgiver, 200 l.t.
Jean de Plouer, master of the hôtel, 500 l.t.
Guillaume Guillemet, master of the hôtel, 500 l.t.
Lopez de Dicastillo, chevalier, master of the hôtel, 500 l.t.
APPENDIX M

TESTAMENT OF CHARLOTTE OF SAVOY

KK 69, fols. 23-26

Copy of the testament and last will of noble and princess Mary of Savoy made at the castle of Amboise December 1, 1483

Du nom du père, fils, Saint Esprit et très glorieuse
verge mère de Dieu et de toute la benoite court
celestiel de paradis. Nous Charlotte par la grace
de Dieu Roine de France mère du Roy Charles à
présent vivant considérant notre fragilité et qu'il
n'est rien plus certain que la mort et plus incertain
que leure d'icelle à présent de tenue par infermeté
de maladie combien que soyons par la grace de Dieu
sainde'deu tendement et bon memoire voulons vivre et
mourir en la foy catholique desirons de tout notre
cœur disposez de nos biens et facultés a ce que ne
mourions intestate. A nous fait dit et declare de
notre certain et vrai propos notre testament et
derrenier voulete en la maniere qui s'ensuit

Du premier lieu. Nous recommandons à Dieu notre
père omnipotent, à son benoist fils, au Saint Esprit,
da verge mère notre ame auquel leur plaise ordonner
estre mise entre les mains du benoist archange Saint
Michel pour la presenter devant ladite Sainte trinite
quant elle partira de notre corps.

Item. Nous eslisons notre sepulture à la
discretion de nos très cher et très ame fils le Roy
et de nos executeurs cy dessoubs nommés.

Item. Nous voulons et ordonnons nos debtes être
justement païé et même en ce que devons à Alexandre
Blandin tant pour le fait de notre argenterie comme
pour les gaiges de nos officiers et livrées de nos
femmes à argent du temps de feu messire Pierre Artault
dont ledit Alexandre tenoit le compte et généralement toutes nos autre debtes à icelles avoir et prendre sur le plus beau et meilleur de tous et chacuns nos biens meubles.

Item. Donnons à notre fille d'Orléans la somme de 200 marcs d'argent de notre vaisselle pour lui aider à son cuisine.

Item. Voulons et ordonnons que la somme de 6000 escus d'or soit donne et distribuée par les mains de nos executeurs à nos officiers tant hommes que femmes.

Item. En autrxe ce donnons à la dame de Bussières la some de 3000 escus d'or pour lui aider à marier ses filles en recompense des services quelles nous ont fait.

Item. Donnons à Anthoine Dancezune notre escurier d'escurie la somme de 10,000 escus d'or pour les services qu'il a longtemp fais et mêmement durant notre maladie.

Item. Donnons à Marie notre femme de chambre la some de 2000 escus d'or pour lui aider a marier ses filles.

Item. Donnons aux filles de Jamet Hubelin notre huissier pour lui à les marier la somme de 500 escus.

Item. Donnons au convent de Saint François d'Amboise pour aider et aie les frères dicellui convent soient pais à prier dieu pour le salut de notre ame 1000 escus.

Item. Donnons à la vesne de feu Jehan le Verrier en faveur de ce qu'elle a nourry lui de nos enfans et fait plusieurs autre services pour lui aider à marier ses filles 500 escues.

Item. Donnons aux deux filles de maistre Jehan de Lessau pour aider les marier la somme de 1000 escus.

Item. Nous prions et requerons le Roy notre fils comme Roy et lui commandons que mère qu'il vuelve entretenen tous et chacun nos officiers en leurs estats et offices anisi qu'ils sont de present. Lesquelles à nous leurs avons donnés et nommées et qu'il leur a coutumes et aussi qu'il les entretiengne en leurs libertés, privileges et franchises telles que ont à coutume joyr les officiers des Roys et Roynes.

Item. Nous prions le Roy notre fils qu'il ait pour singullièrement recommandez les convents des frères mineurs de l'observance memement ceulx d'Amboise et de Tours
que de notre très chier seigneur que dieu absoille a fait refformer et mettre en observance.

Item. Pour faire et complir tous les choses dessus dit Nous eslisons executeurs de ce present notre testament et derreniere voulient l'arcerysque de Tours, notre fils de Beaujeu, notre frere de Dunoys, et notre serviteur Jehan Tiercelin qu'ils nous obligons tous et chacuns nos biens meuble jusques au parfait paiement et accomplissement de l'execucion de ce present notre testament. Et si nosdites biens meubles n'estoient souffisans pour acomplir notre testament Nous prions et requerons le Roy notre fils qu'il le vueille faire entretenir et acomplir.

Item. Ordonnons que nosdites executeurs notiffient au Roy c'est present notre ordonnance et derreniere vouient a fin qu'il n'ait cause d'ignorance.

Fait ce present notre testament au chastel d'Amboise le premier jour de decembre 1483, ce present de Jehan Tiercelin, escuier, seigneur de Brosse, Pierre le Breton et Jehan Daux, maistres d'ostel, Anthoine d'Ancezune, grant escuier d'escurie, maistre Adam Fumée, Robert du Lyon, et Bernard Chaussade, Jehan Millet, docteurs en medicine, Philippe Remoy, docteur en loix, Pierre Burdelot, tressorier et autre nos conseillers et officiers. Anisi signe.

Copie d'original 7 aoust 1484
Money of account

The distinction between money of account and actual coin is a problem to historians of later medieval Europe. Money of account was the measure of value while actual coin was the medium of exchange. Financial transactions were expressed in money of account, and payment was made in coin.

In the seventh century, the Merovingians minted the silver denier, which was virtually the only coin in use for over five centuries. As early as the seventh century, the system of calling twelve deniers a sou (12 d. = 1 s.) and twenty sous a livre (20 s. = 1 l.) was used. In the twelfth century, King Louis VII issued the first denier parisis as a non-feudal, royal coinage, and Philip Augustus began to mint deniers tournois after he had conquered the Angevin lands and taken over the mint of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours. Philip Augustus allowed only the deniers parisis and the lighter deniers tournois to be used in the royal domain.

Although it was common to refer to 12 deniers as a sou and 240 deniers (20 sous) as a livre, the sou and livre did not themselves actually exist as coin. This was a system of counting coin and not a system of coin itself. Thus the sou and livre are referred to as "money of account" based on an actual coin, the denier. The relationship of the denier to the sou to the livre was traditional and thus the same for both deniers parisis and deniers tournois:

\[
1 \text{livre} = 20 \text{sous} = 240 \text{deniers}
\]

\[
12 \text{d.p.} = 1 \text{s.p.} \quad 12 \text{d.t.} = 1 \text{s.t.}
\]

\[
20 \text{s.p.} = 1 \text{l.p.} \quad 20 \text{s.t.} = 1 \text{l.t.}
\]
The denier parisis was valued higher than the denier tournois, and the relationship between the two types of denier was also traditional.

\[ 4 \text{ d.p.} = 5 \text{ d.t.} \]

The abbreviation ob. as in 5 d.ob.t. was for obole, a half of a denier (also known as a maille), and the abbreviation p. which occurred in the fashion, 5 d.ob.p.t., was for poge or pougeoise, which was a fourth of a denier.

A system of money of account was so institutionalized that it might continue to exist even when the denier that was its basis was no longer widely used. For example, the last deniers parisis issued by Charles V appeared in 1365 and had disappeared by the time of his death in 1380. Although Charles VI, as in 1385, and Charles VII, as in 1437, minted deniers parisis, the deniers tournois were by far more common. The early accounts of Isabeau of Bavaria and then of Marie of Anjou, which extend to 1427, still used the livres parisis account system, but Marie's accounts show the necessity of dealing primarily with the denier tournois. To do this, the accountants converted deniers tournois to deniers parisis on the basis of the mid-fourteenth century relationship of 4 d.p. = 5 d.t. These conversions were made freely in the account books. For example, in KK56, fols. 1-2, Marie of Anjou's account from November 17, 1422, to June 30, 1423, gave receipts in both systems, but the livres parisis appeared only as a conversion from the deniers tournois.

Receipts

From Guillaume Charrier, receiver general of all finances, the sum of 1125 l.t. 900 l.p.
From Charrier, 60 l.t. 48 l.p.
Summa 948 l.p.

From the receiver general Jean Taumier, the sum of 10,000 l.t. 8000 l.p.
From Taumier, 1300 l.t. 1040 l.p.
From him, 5156 l.t. 4124 l. 16 s.p.
From him, 200 l.t. 160 l.p.
Summa 13324 l. 16 s.p.
TOTAL SUM 14272 l. 16 s.p.

The account system based on the livres parisis disappeared from the queen's accounts after these early accounts of Marie of Anjou. The livre tournois, which was the money
of account for the later accounts of Isabeau and Marie, was the only money of account used by Charlotte of Savoy and Anne of Brittany. The kings of France continued to mint the denier tournois until the seventeenth century.

Weights

The weight system for gold and silver was based on the marc of Troyes, which weighed about 244.8 grams. The marc was divided into 4 fiertons, the fierton into 2 onces, the once into 8 gros, the gros into 3 deniers, the denier into 2 oboles, or mailles. Thus the marc valued 4 fiertons, 8 onces, 54 gros, 192 deniers, and 384 oboles. There was also another division pattern that began after the once: the once was divided into 20 esterlins, the esterlin into 2 mailles, the maille into 2 felins, and the felin into 2 carats. This made the marc equal to 8 onces or 160 esterlins or 340 mailles or 640 felins or 1280 carats. Here the accounting was easy. The once weighed 20 esterlins, and the livre valued 20 sous, so if one knew the price of an once, one also knew the price of an esterlin.

Actual money

Money of account was not "imaginary money," but the livre and sou did not exist, and the denier was really only a silver penny. Charles V's 1365 deniers parisis weighed 1.275 grams (which was very close to the 1 marc (244.8 grams) = 192 deniers relationship), and Charles VIII's deniers tournois of 1483 weighed 1.019 grams. The kings of France needed coins larger than the silver denier, but they kept the old accounting system. The habit of making a sou of a dozen deniers and a livre of a score of a dozen deniers was so ingrained that a new coin would have to be evaluated in these terms for accounting purposes. Money of account served as a common denominator to express the varying values of gold and silver coins.

Saint Louis began in 1266 to mint a larger silver coin, the gros tournois, which was equal for a while to the sou. In 1364, the silver blanc was minted to replace the gros tournois. In the mid-fifteenth century, Charles VII minted a blanc worth 10 d.t., and Louis XI minted a blanc worth 11 d.t. The blanc was the principal silver coin until the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII who minted the silver douzain, worth 12 d.t. (1.021 grams), to correspond to the blanc.
In 1290, Philip IV established the first successful national gold coinage with several types of gold coins including the mouton, or agnel. The franc à cheval, or franc d'or, which began to be minted in 1360 as a result of the ransom for King John, was originally accounted at 30 s.t. and later at 20 s.t. (1 l.t.). The standard French gold coin, the écu, was minted first in 1385. Initially the écu à la couronne weighed 4.079 grams and was valued at 1 l.t. Although the weight and fineness of the gold gradually sank, the value of the écu gradually rose to 22 s. 6 d.t. in 1400 and 27 s. 6 d.t. by 1461. The écu au soleil issued by Louis XI in 1475 was valued at 33 s.t. and weighed 3.496 grams. By Louis XII in 1495, the écu was accounted as 36 s. 3 d.t.

Conversions from coin to the money of account were simple and common. In KK 55, fol. 103-104, Marie of Anjou's accountants made these conversions.

P. Bouchière, merchant of Bourges, for two feather beds from Mehun, 10 écus 13 l. 15 s.t.

J. Paulxhuisson, called Valentionois, merchant of Bourges, for two feather beds, 6 écus a piece, 12 écus 16 l. 10 s.t.

G. de Vulcop, painter of the king at Paris, for a half ounce of fine azur given on December 10 to Henry de Vulcop, his brother, painter of the queen, to paint stories in hours, and delivered to the lady for her pleasure, 5 écus 6 l. 17 s. 6 d.t.

G. Rougieur, merchant of Bourges, for 3 pieces of red fabric for the bedroom of Mad. de Laval, 35 écus 48 l. 2 s. 6 d.t.

R. de la Rue, merchant of Paris, who follows the court, for a large piece of black silk, 8 écus 11 l.t.

J. d'Aubigny, for one mule of brown hair given to the prior of the Celestins of Soissons, 13 écus 17 l. 17 s. 6 d.t.
I. Isabeau of Bavaria

Archives Nationales

KK 41 Argenterie accounts May 1393-January 1400
KK 42 Argenterie accounts February 1401-January 1403
KK 43 Argenterie accounts February 1403-September 1407
KK 44 Argenterie accounts May to June 1420
KK 45 Hôtel accounts January 1398-July 1403
KK 46 Hôtel accounts July 1403-June 1406
KK 47 Treasury accounts 1414-1416 fragments
KK 48 Treasury accounts October 1408-1413
KK 49 Accounts of Menus Plaisirs March 1416-April 1417

K 53, n. 79 Right of safe conduct issued by Isabeau to the abbey of Longchamp, February 8, 1389

K 54, n. 57 Letter of Isabeau to the abbess of Longchamp in which the queen asks the abbess to cancel the debts owed the abbey by the inhabitants of Antony, who are poor, January 27, 1398

K 55, n. 36 Alliance of Isabeau with the dukes John of Berry and Louis of Orleans, December 1, 1405

K 57 B, n. 34 Alliance of Isabeau with Charles of Orleans, January 29, 1412
K 63, n. 16 Isabeau donates her hôtel Saint Ouen to the abbey of Saint Denis as part of the execution of her last will, September 15, 1431

J 402, n. 10 Letters of Charles VI naming the queen, John of Berry, Philip of Burgundy, and Louis of Bourbon, Louis of Bavaria, and a council as partners in the regency for his son, January 1393

J 390, n. 7 Letters of Charles VI declaring his intention that the queen will enjoy the entire 25,000 l.t. of rent for her dower in addition to the revenues she would receive as regent and tutor, January 13, 1397

J 364, n. 3 Letters of Charles VI which change the lands granted to Isabeau for her dower, May 3, 1403

XIA 8603, n. 367 Letters of Henry VI granting Isabeau the dower of the city and lands of Brie-Comte-Robert, May 6, 1424

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BN Fr. 10370, fols. 1-22 Hôtel accounts, October 1420-June 1421

BN Fr. 6537, fols. 113-114 Charles VI gives the hôtel Saint Ouen to Isabeau, October 19, 1401
fol. 115 Letters of Charles VI assure the queen that she will receive her dower, November 10, 1403

BN Fr. 6544, fol. 7 Testament, April 5, 1408

BN Fr. 23024, fols. 111-122 Testament, September 3, 1413

BN Fr. 22452, fol. 4 The queen appoints Guillaume de Laillier, councillor of the duke of Burgundy, to collect taxes in Normandy, February 21, 1418

BN Fr. 20615, fol. 23 The queen appoints Guillaume le Bouteillier her ambassador to Normandy, January 24, 1418

BN Fr. 20174, fol. 59 Letters of Isabeau in which she asks the duke of Burgundy to release a prisoner, February 24, 1418

BN Fr. 20416, n. 19, fol. 14 The queen appoints a tax official for Albi, February 3, 1416
II, Marie of Anjou

Archives Nationales

KK 56  Hôtel accounts  November 1422-March 1427
KK 55  Argenterie accounts  October 1454-Sept. 1455
K 530-2  Fragments of Hôtel accounts 1455-1460
K 63, n. 28  Letters of Charles VII naming Jean Bernard treasurer of all the finances of the queen and dauphin, October 5, 1433
   n. 35  Letters of Charles VII assigning the queen for two years 10 d.t. on each quintal of salt sold in the granaries of Languedoc, April 27, 1434
K 64, n. 4  Letters of Charles VII assigning the queen 10 d.t. on each quintal of salt sold in Languedoc, December 1, 1435
J 594, n. 17  Donation made by Yolanda, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, to Marie, queen of France, her daughter, of the barony of Concentania in the kingdom of Valence and the baronies of Borja and Magallon in Aragon, and all her rights in the kingdom of Valence and Aragon, and in the principality of Calalogue, February 16, 1439
X1A 9317, n. 26  Letter of the dowager Marie to Parlement asking for haste in the process between the wife and brother-in-law of Louis d'Aubeterre, écuyer d'écurie of the queen, and their uncle Guy de Mareuil, June 8, 1463

Bibliothèque Nationale

BN Fr. 20418  Contains forty-four letters of Marie, mostly to her financial officers about the direction of her finances, 1425-1463
BN Fr. 3601 n.a., n. 12 Letter of Marie to the collector of her salt revenues in the Languedoc, April 3, 1432

BN Fr. 20400, n. 14, 15, 16, 17 Letters of Marie to the collectors of the granaries in Languedoc, 1441-1442

BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 347-349 List of officers of Marie of Anjou, 1452-1463

BN Fr. 20429, fol. 61 Letter of Marie to her son the dauphin Louis informing him of the illness of the king and recommending her brother Charles of Maine, 1461

BN Fr. 5727, fols. 9, 10 Letters of the dowager queen asking for news of her son, the king

BN Fr. 20428, fol. 82 Letter of the dowager queen to her son the king in behalf of Jean de Pocé, once master of her chamber of deniers, and Jean's two sons for sums owed to the father and for offices for the sons, December 17, 1461

BN Fr. 11196, fols. 3-10 Financial accounts for the funeral services given for Marie by her son Louis XI, December 1463

BN Fr. 3882, n. 14, fols. 25-39 Louis XI outlines his claims to Angevin properties as the sole heir to the claims of his mother Marie

III. Charlotte of Savoy

Archives Nationales

KK 68 Hôtel accounts October 1469-August 1471

KK 69 Financial accounts of the dower, funeral, and last will and testament September 1483-1484

K 73, n. 26 Inventory of the jewels of the late queen Charlotte ordered by her son Charles VIII, 1485
Letter of Charlotte to Parliament asking that the process between Pierre de Montamat, brother of an écuier of the king, and the one de Brezons concerning the archdiocese of Billon be promptly judged, July 25, 1478

Letter of Charlotte asking the Parliament to deal promptly with the process between Étienne Orsin of Orleans and Raymonnet de Dezest, tailor and valet de chambre of the dauphin, February 20, 1479

Letter of Charlotte recommending to Parliament the cause of the sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis of Ave Maria at Paris who are menaced with expulsion by the Cordeliers and other mendicants of Paris, October 16, 1481

Another letter from Charlotte recommending the cause of the sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis of Ave Maria, December 12, 1481

Another letter by Charlotte for the sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis, February 14, 1482

Another letter from Charlotte for the sisters mentioned above, April 27, 1482

Charlotte writes a letter announcing to the Parliament that she has sent her échanson to solicit the expedition of the process between the sisters of Ave Maria and the Mendicants, July 9, 1482

Bibliothèque Nationale

BN Fr. 20176, fols. 20-27 Contract of marriage between the dauphin Louis and Charlotte's father Louis of Savoy, February 14, 1451, published by Guichenon

BN Fr. 6737, fols. 42-70 Dowry of Charlotte of Savoy, 1459

BN Fr. 2811, fol. 48 Letter of Charlotte to King Charles VII in behalf of an envoy sent to the king by her husband the dauphin, from Genappe, December 13, 1460
BN Fr. 11196, fols. 11-26  Financial account for Charlotte's expenses at the funeral of her nephew the prince of Piedmont, 1471

BN Fr. 2916, fol. 3  Letter of Charlotte to M. du Bouchage (Imbert de Batarney), the king's councillor, in behalf of a poor painter of Bourges, Jean Coulombe, June 12, no year

BN Fr. 2907, fol. 4  Letter of Charlotte to M. du Bouchage in behalf of the family of a recently deceased military captain in the Dauphiné, August 7, no year

BN Fr. 6602, fol. 98  Letter of Charlotte in behalf of M. de Javre concerning his land claims sent to M. de Montfort, king's councillor, July 2, no year

BN Fr. 2909, fol. 9  Letter of Charlotte to M. du Bouchage in behalf of her servant Jean, a native of Picardy, February 12, no year

BN Fr. 10238, fol. 56  Letter of Charlotte to Jacques Coutier, president of the chamber of accounts in Paris, in behalf of Adam Fumée in a land claim, November 23, 1483

fol. 57  Letter of Charlotte to the men of accounts in Paris again in behalf of Adam Fumée in the land claim, November 23, 1483

BN Fr. 9175 n.a., fols. 351-352  List of officers of the hôtel of Charlotte of Savoy, October 1462-1472

BN Fr. 3882, fol. 256  Officers of the hôtel of Charlotte, January 2, 1477

BN Fr. 21451, fols. 320-328  Wages of officers and ladies in the hôtel of Queen Charlotte, October 1, 1480?

BN Fr. 11785  Dower of Charlotte of Savoy, 59 fols. September 18, 1483

BN Fr. 15538, fol. 60  Testament of Charlotte of Savoy, December 1, 1483

fol. 62-63  Officers of Charlotte at the time of her death, published by Tuetey

fol. 64-101  Inventory of Charlotte's wealth at the time of her death, published by Tuetey
IV. Anne of Brittany

Archives Nationales

KK 82 Wages of hôtel officers Jan. 1492 - Sept. 1492

KK 83 Treasury accounts October 1492-September 1493

KK 84 Treasury accounts October 1493-September 1494

KK 85 Treasury accounts October 1495-August 3, 1496

K 530-6 Extraordinary argenterie accounts 1492

K 74, n. 18 Letter of the duchess Anne confirming a religious foundation established by her uncle Jean, January 6, 1490

n. 25 Letter of the duchess Anne and Maximilian concerning lands occupied by the French

n. 33 Contract of marriage with Charles VIII, December 16, 1491, not identical to the ones published by Lobineau

K 77, n. 5 Dower of Anne, widow of Charles VIII, September 20, 1498

n. 8 Marriage contract with Louis XII, January 1499, published by Lobineau

J 605, n. 82 The duchess Anne promises to pay her uncle and aunt, the king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, of Aragon and Castile, for their assistance against France, September 7, 1490

J 893, n. 9 Letter of the duchess promising to pay Alain d'Albret for his assistance against the French, December 14, 1490

J 648, n. 15 The duchess promises to pay Henry VII king of England for aid against the French, April 23, 1491

J 246, n. 120 Queen Anne promises to marry the king Louis XII as soon as it is legal and asks the king to turn over to her certain cities and fortifications in Brittany while she allows him to hold certain other places in Brittany as security for the marriage August 19, 1498. Published by Morice
J 745, n. 20 Louis XII confirms gifts (revenues of the domain, salt tax, and other rights in the county of Montfort) made by Charles VIII to Anne, June 19, 1500

J 951, n. 7 Louis XII gives the queen tutelage of their daughter and sets up a regency with Anne, the countess of Angoulême, and others May 31, 1505

n. 8 Letters of Anne, the countess of Angoulême, and Louis XII on the tutelage and regency, May 31, 1505, and the oath taken by Anne and Louise, the countess of Angoulême, to marry their children Claude and Francis, May 31, 1505

J 819, n. 4 Series of letters by Anne and others supporting the claims of Philippe de Chalons, prince of Orange, son of Jean, to land donations made to Orange by Francis II and Anne, July 28, 1509

n. 9 Pope Alexander VI guarantees the rights of Brittany within the church in letters to Anne, July 28, 1509

X1A 9321, n. 35 Letter of Anne asking Parlement to receive Aubert le Viste, reporter in the chancery, to the office of councillor-clerk of Parlement, which has been vacant since the resignation of Etienne de Bailly, February 15, 1492, Published by Durville

n. 39 Letter of Anne asking Parlement to hasten the process between Pierre Bracque and Louise de Claux on one part and Anne Gaudin on the other, March 12, 1492, Durville

n. 69 Letter of Anne recommending to Parlement the cause of her écuyer Jean de Moraumont who is involved in a process against Pierre and Jean de Mouchy and Jean de Rochebaron on account of a marriage treaty he made with Michelle de Mouchy, daughter of Pierre, December 11, 1494, Durville

n. 78 Letter of Jean de Chalons recommending to Parlement in the name of Queen Anne the cause of her écuyer Jacques de Villebranche nominated by her to the office of greffier
of Rennes which has been contested by Jean Regnier
who protects the rights to this office for the
former greffier Pierre Lelasseur who was ousted
by the queen, December 28, 1494

n. 82 Letter of the queen recommending to Parlement
the cause of Michel de Souasse, protege of the
princess of Viane, who complains against Philippe
de la Baulme, Dec. 31, 1494, Published by Durville

n. 123 Letter of the queen recommending to the
Parlement the cause of the prince of Orange Jean II
of Chalons, June 18, 1495, Durville

n. 129 Queen asks Parlement to dispose of the
process of the marshal of Rieux as soon as possible,
July 12, 1495, Durville

n. 131 The queen recommends to Parlement the cause
of the bishop of Saintes, Pierre de Rochechouart
nephew of the bishop of Albi, and a relative of
Pierre, who are engaged in a process on account of
the bishopric, June 29, 1495, Durville

n. 136 The queen recommends to Parlement the cause
of Friar Theodore of St. Chamond, abbé of St. Antoine
of Viennois, named to the commanderie of Bailleul in
Flanders which is contested by Gabriel Robertet,
August 7, 1495, Durville

n. 185 Anne recommends to Parlement the cause of
the vice chancellor Guillaume Gueguen who is engaged
in a process on account of the bishopric of Nantes,
December 20, 1497, Durville

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épargne of the duchess, April 1491

BN Fr. 10238, fol. 81 Letter of the duchess to the
men of accounts in Paris in behalf of one of
her guards who owes rent at Lyon, May 12, no year

BN Fr. 20366, fol. 78 Papal dispensation for the
marriage of Anne to Charles VIII, Jan. 1492,
Published by Lobineau
BN Fr. 20424, n. 19, fol. 33 The queen receives sums from Charles VIII to pay her German troops, December 15, 1491
n. 20 The queen receives money from the king to buy jewels, June 27, 1492

BN Fr. 15523, fol. 25 Letter of Anne, Louis of Orleans, Pierre and Anne of Beaujeu expressing their intentions to support the king against his enemies, 1492

BN Fr. 20424, fol. 3, n. 2 Anne receives money from the king to buy New Years Day gifts, December 25, 1493
n. 3 Anne receives money for her pleasure, December 22, 1494
fol. 4, n. 4 Anne receives money for her pleasure, March 8, 1499
fol. 5, n. 6 Anne receives a gift of money during a pregnancy, September 23, 1499

BN Fr. 8269, fols. 403-407 Officers of the hôtel of Anne, 1496-1498

BN Fr. 9175 n.a. Officers of the hôtel of the queen, 1496-1498, fols. 357-360
fols. 361-364 Purchases for the mourning of Anne and her officers for Charles VIII, Published by Lobineau

BN Fr. 2919, fol. 5 Letter published by Le Roux de Lincy

BN Fr. 2922, fols. 27, 32, 33, 38, 50 Letters published by Le Roux de Lincy

BN Fr. 2929, fols. 5, 12, 18, 19, 41, 43, 52 Letters published by Le Roux de Lincy

BN Fr. 11532 Gifts made to Anne by Languedoc, the Dauphiné, and Provence in 1496, 29 fols.

BN Fr. 6602, fol. 187 Letter of Anne to M. du Plessis asking that he turn over to her 200 units of gold that the king gave to her, June 3, no year

BN Fr. 2915, fol. 9 Anne's letter to the king's treasury in behalf of her cousin the abbess of Caen, October 20, no year
BN Fr. 2932, fol. 5 Anne writes in behalf of a man in need of funds to accomplish a marriage, November 6, no year

BN Fr. 10376 Financial account of the mourning for Charles VII, 150 fols. April-June 1498

BN Fr. 3907, fols. 173-174 Anne notifies the duchy of Brittany of the terms of her marriage contract with Louis XII, January 7, 1499

BN Fr. 7645 n.a., fol. 36 Louis XII orders that Anne will recover all the places in Brittany except Nantes, etc., which he will retain as security for their marriage, August 19, 1498

n. 38 Louis XII promises Anne that he will marry her or render to her the forts in Brittany, August 1498

n. 400 Letter of Anne to the treasurer about the illness of Louis XII and an attempted mutiny in his army, August 17, 1501

BN Fr. 2832, fols. 1-3 Louis XII guarantees the independence of Brittany, January 19, 1499 Published by Lobineau

BN Fr. 3102 n.a., n. 8 Anne writes to the sire of Rohan of her desire to end their dispute, December 23, 1499

BN Fr. 2933, fols. 283-284 Arrangements are made for a settlement of claims of the Rohan family against Anne, June 13, 1501

BN Fr. 2928, fol. 18 Letter of Anne inquiring about the French army's progress in the Italian wars, August 17, no year

BN Fr. 20459, fols. 169, 171 Letters of Anne asking about the health of her children, February 3, October 11, no years

BN Fr. 7064, n. 59 The king of Aragon gives Anne a gold chain worth 563 l.t., December 20, 1509

BN Fr. 18709, fols. 445-446 Gift of the county of Etampes by Louis XII to Anne of Brittany, May 1513

BN Fr. 22335, fols. 1-227 Inventories of the wealth of Anne, 1496-1507
Inventory of the letters in the coffers of Anne of Brittany at the time of her death

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