

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

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THE PATRONAGE OF

LOUIS, THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

A SURVEY OF THE ORLEANS DOCUMENTS

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

THE TAPESTRIES.

by Sue-Anne Flutter, B. Pharm.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of B.A. (Hons.)

July, 1985.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations are used for titles of periodicals:

Bulletin Monumental	Bull. Mon.
Burlington Magazine	Burl. Mag.
Gazette de Beaux Arts	Gaz. BA.
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes	JWCI

Other abbreviations used are:

Additional Charter	Add. Ch.
Additional Manuscript	Add. Ms.
Egerton Manuscript	Eg. Ms.
Archives Nationale, Paris	AN
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	BN
British Library, London	BL
dernier paris	d.p.
livre paris	l.p.
sols paris	s.p.
livre tournois	l.t.
sols tournois	s.t.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Source: A. Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles. Ducs d'Orléans. Leur Influence sur Les Arts. La Littérature et l'Esprit de Leur Siècle, Paris, 1844, plate IV.]

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....ier les paines
.....et vaines
.....son espé en
....que il a coppé e(n).

Deux pieces fist de la pierre de marbre
sans amener l'espée d'acier fin
lors demy mort s'est couchié contre. j. arbre
en graciant jhesus le roi devin
la le trouva son frère bauduin
auquel rolland de soif se desconforte
mais il ne sceult trouver iaue ne vin
pour adouchier l'ardeur terrible et forte.

Bauduin prent cheval cor et espee
et se depart car les sarazins c(raint)
or vient thiery qui voit fort décoppée
la cha(r) rolland qui durement (se plaint)
reclama(n)t dieu qui tout scet et tout vaint
et thiery pleure aux pita(ables cris).
ainsy rendy l'esperit comme saint
le bon rolland martir de jhesus c(rist).

Source: J. Asselburghs, La Tapisserie Tournaisienne au XVe Siècle, Tournai, 1967, plate 13, The Story of Charlemagne, The Battle of Roncevaux.

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Map of France, showing the locations of the *châtellenies* and *châteaux* owned by Louis of Orléans in the Counties of Asti, Blois, Dunois, Beaumont, Valois, Angoulême, Périgord, Portien, Dreux, Chiny, Vertus, Soissons, the Duchies of Orléans and Luxembourg, and the Barony of Coucy.

Source: J. Mesqui and C. Ribera-Pervillé, "Les Châteaux de Louis d'Orléans et Leurs Architectes (1391-1407)", Bull. Mon., vol 138, no.3, 1980, p294.

INTRODUCTION.

This thesis examines aspects of the patronage of the arts by Louis, Duke of Orléans. Unlike the scholarship devoted to Charles V and his brothers, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, the King's sons, Charles VI and Louis of Orléans¹ have only been touched upon.

Nevertheless this period of the sovereignty of the French King Charles V, his brothers and his sons coincides with the so-called "Golden Age of Tapestry."² These figures emerge as munificent patrons of art and their role as patrons is reflected in the splendour and extravagance of their palaces and their collections.³

Tapestries, illuminated manuscripts and precious objects were prestige items, possession of them served as status symbols which designated rank and power. The main sources through which we can determine the extent of these collections are inventories, wills and other documents which deal with the possessions of the particular noble households. By closely examining such surviving primary historical literary sources and matching them with whatever fragments that survive of the art objects,⁴ we can attempt to place Louis of Orléans within the context of contemporary patronage.

1. Appendix I, Genealogical Table.

2. See G. Hunter, Tapestries, Their Origin, History and Renaissance, New York, 1912, p28, p33ff.

3. A. Tilley, "The Renaissance in Europe", Ch. XXV in Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 8, editors C. Previt -Orton and Z. Brooke, Cambridge, 1936, p782.

4. Appendix II, Catalogue of art objects connected with the House of Orl ans.

In a 1977 Ph. D. thesis, with the promising title The Artistic and Literary Patronage of Louis of Orléans and His Wife, Valentine Visconti, 1389-1408,¹ the author tackled the problem of the sources relating to the patronage of Louis of Orléans. Unfortunately, after noting the problems of dispersal and loss which befell the archival material concerning Louis of Orléans, he failed to explore fully the fate of the documents which did survive and so a vital part of the extant primary material has been largely ignored.² The objective of the dissertation was to show that Louis and Valentine were not patrons of Italianate artistic influence in Paris, but rather that they supported the artistic and literary traditions of the monarchy, thereby validating Louis' political ambitions, especially in the event of his claim to the throne.³ Their literary and architectural sponsorship was the prime concern of the thesis.⁴ Louis' collection of tapestries was neither completely analysed nor compared

1. C.R.Shultz, The Artistic and Literary Patronage of Louis of Orléans and His Wife, Valentine Visconti, 1389-1408, 1977 Ph. D. Thesis, Michigan, 1980.

2. The vast collection of receipts and invoices in the British Library are summarily referred to, apparently through a secondary source, *ibid.*, p44.

3. To prove Louis' affiliation with the Parisian market and to exclude any preference for foreign dealings, Shultz has proposed that Louis systematically destroyed or gave away any foreign goods, even those he may have commissioned. See his conclusion, *ibid.*, p396-405

4. Useful stylistic comparisons are made with surviving fragments of sculpture from Louis' buildings and the sculptural commissions of Charles V. The sections dealing with the Orléans manuscripts include biographical information on litterateurs associated with the household, as well as details of Louis' purchases and commissions of manuscripts through copyists and librarians. The chapters that discuss the manner by which manuscripts entered the Orléans collections are summarised in an Appendix where certain omissions can be noted. This survey has indicated to Schultz the size of the ducal library. He does not mention that no inventory of the library was taken.

with the tapestries of the other Dukes or the King.¹

The thesis also contains many lapses in scholarship, contradictions in facts, omissions of documents and a lack of familiarity with the language of the sources. Appendix III, which consists of "officers, artists and artisans" connected with the Orléans household, bears no direct relationship to the text of the thesis itself but may be closer to Laborde's text.² Some of the names mentioned can only be identified through reading the source cited in the footnotes, while others are unknown. Also a number of well-known identities are excluded from the Appendix. The sources of the Orléans documents are listed, yet scant use is made of one of them, while heavy reliance is placed on comparative material drawn from studies of the Burgundian Dukes. On occasions, the author's translations of the transcripts of the documents have confused the intended meaning.³ Since Valentine's testamentary inventory was

1. Apart from two Parisian tapestry makers, Shultz has ignored extant documentation which throws light on the other tapissiers through whom Louis bought his tapestries, Louis' possible influence on the organisation of tapestry ateliers and our knowledge of the tapestry market towards the end of the fourteenth century. A duplication of some of the material in the chapter on tapestries is unavoidable for the sake of the clarity of my text.

2. For reference to Laborde Table Méthodique see ibid., p456.

3. Shultz proposed that on at least three occasions Louis was melting his precious jewels and tableau to obtain funds. For example see ibid., p212-214 and p233: Shultz claims that this statue was melted down in 1407 however the document he quotes, J. Roman, Inventaires et Documents Relatifs aux Joyaux et Tapisseries des Princes D'Orléans-Valois. 1389-1481 [hereafter referred to as Roman], Paris, 1896, p207, is prefaced by the note that the list of gems which followed were removed from the precious objects which were melted down a long time ago [piéca fondus]. Shultz has apparently not realised that the later references are to precious stones and not the objects of jewellery themselves. A similar confusion occurs in the Paris Inventory of 1407/8: Shultz, op. cit., p242, asserts that these objects were "slated to be melted" although the

ignored to a large extent, the analysis of the last two Orléans inventories was not approached and the author appears unaware of the existence of the earliest inventory.¹ The problems associated with the plethora of invoices and receipts which pertain to Louis of Orléans were not addressed. Until these sundry documents are fully considered no assessment of the extent of Louis' sponsorship of artistic endeavours will be comprehensive. The thesis was more concerned with the motivation behind Louis' patronage rather than its extent. To this end, the exclusion of significant archival material can be understood, but not justified. Hence a complete analysis of Louis of Orléans as patron of the arts still remains to be attempted.

The two purposes of my thesis are to bring together and to assess the wealth of material relating to Louis of Orléans and by using these additional sources to focus on Louis' role as patron of tapestry.² Although much has been written concerning the organisation of tapestry ateliers, the role of the individual patron has not received sufficient

inventory clearly concludes with the statement that these objects were to be sold [nous avons ordonné estre vendues."] see Roman, p230]. In fact the sole purpose of drawing up the Paris Inventory was to sell certain items of the estate of Louis of Orléans. Other mis-interpretations of the sources occur, however one which concerns tapestries is of interest to my thesis. The Paris Inventory includes some items which had come from Coucy, ibid., #687, [venues de Coucy] yet on two occasions Shultz refers to these as a "shipment of tapestries from Coucy to the capitol [sic][which] were lost enroute." (Shultz, op. cit., p99, 272.)

1. These three inventories are examined in detail in my thesis and in the appendices and their relative significance established.

2. The failure of Schultz, passim, to address these additional sources in their entirety may invalidate the conclusions he has drawn in his thesis.

detailed investigation. In Louis' case all extant documentary material needs to be considered to establish his role in the patronage of tapestry. "The task", as Max Friedländer saw it, "consists in building bridges from one bank to the other, in bringing the documents into harmony with the surviving examples."¹ However, few tapestries survive from the late fourteenth century and none of these appears to be connected with Louis of Orléans.² Yet, when consideration is given within the context of extant tapestries with subject matter similar to tapestries described in Louis' inventories, a broader picture emerges.

1. M. Friedländer, On Art and Connoisseurship, Oxford, (1942), 1946. p150.
2. For a reference to fragments of tapestry attributed to Louis of Orléans which appears to be based on a mis-interpretation of the cited source, see P. Verlet, "Gothic Tapestry from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries" in The Art of Tapestry, ed J. Jobé, London, 1965, p20. For other scholars, referring to the same source, who do not confirm this attribution, and date the fragments 1455-1470, see discussion by R. Lejeune and J. Stiennon, La Legende de Roland dans l'Art du Moyen Age, Brussels, 1968, p370-377. Also see G. Digby, Victoria and Albert Museum. The Tapestry Collection. Medieval and Renaissance [hereafter referred to as V&A], London, 1980, p18-19 for his dating: third quarter of the fifteenth century; and J. Asselberghs, La Tapisserie Tournaisienne au xv^e Siècle, Tournai, 1967, p25. The questions posed here will be further discussed.

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

When Charles V died in 1380, his son Charles VI, who at that time was only twelve years old, became King. This resulted in some instability as two of his uncles, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, held the power behind the throne.¹ The Duke of Burgundy was the more powerful and his manipulation of the Crown for his own ends is well known.² In 1385, Charles VI was married and in the following year he conferred the

1. See M. Nordberg, Les Ducs et la Royauté. Etudes sur la Rivalité des Ducs d'Orléans et de Bourgogne. 1392-1407, Uppsala, 1964, passim, especially Introduction p1-3, for the ambiguous role in the regency government played by the Duke of Bourbon, the maternal uncle of the King. See also A. Champollion-Figeac Louis et Charles. Ducs d'Orléans. Leur Influence sur Les Arts, La Littérature et L'Esprit de Leur Siècle, [hereafter referred to as Champollion-Figeac] Paris, 1844, p71.

2. For Philippe le Hardi's role in politics, from the reign of Charles V onwards see the Ph.D. thesis by P. de Winter, The Patronage of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy (1364-1404), [hereafter referred to as De Winter], Michigan, 1976, p71ff. For the Duke of Burgundy's manoeuvres serving his self-interests see especially ibid., p72. It can be argued that Louis acted both in his own interests and those of France, see F. Darwin, Louis d'Orléans (1372-1407) A Necessary Prologue to the Tragedy of La Pucelle D'Orléans, London, 1936, p18. It should be noted that De Winter is not a totally reliable source. At times, his references to archival material are not accurate. For example, he cites the tapestry collection of the Duke of Berry as consisting of twenty eight pieces (De Winter, p136), however the reference he used [B. Prost, "Les Tapisseries du Duc de Berry", Archives historiques, artistiques et littéraires, I, 1889-1890, (hereafter referred to as Prost, Tapisseries,) p385-392], mentions twenty seven tapestries and two complete sets or chambres. Furthermore, a more complete source is available: J. Guiffrey, Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry, (1401-1416), Vol. II, [hereafter referred to as Guiffrey, Jean de Berry] Paris, 1896. His reference to the Library of the Duke of Orléans (De Winter, p275) is based on the inventory compiled at Blois. He refers to his source as the manuscript in the Archives Nationales, although the numbers he quotes show that he must have been using F. Graves, Deux Inventaires de la Maison d'Orléans, 1389 et 1408 [hereafter referred to as Graves,] Paris, 1926, as his source for the AN. Ms. There was no inventory of the Library of Louis of Orléans, a fact stated by L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, [hereafter referred to as Cabinet], vol I, Paris, 1868, p104 and confirmed by other scholars.

Duchy of Touraine on his brother, Louis, a precocious pretender to the throne.¹ By the age of twenty, Charles assumed a more active role as monarch, aided by the Duke of Berry.² However, with the commencement of Charles' debilitating illness in 1392,³ a need arose for others to take over during his "absences."⁴ In 1392, Louis turned twenty and became the Duke of Orléans.⁵ The power struggle now focused on the confrontation between the Houses of Orléans and Burgundy. Philippe of Burgundy died in 1404, and then the conflict became one between Louis and the new Duke of Burgundy,

1. For Charles' marriage to Isabeau see Graves, p19 n.1. For the bestowing of the title of Duke of Touraine see Graves, p12 n.3.

2. For documents signed by Charles and the Duke de Berry see F. Lehoux, Jean de France, Duc de Berri, Paris, 1966, vol II, p313 n.1. For Charles' loss of confidence in Berry following the crisis in Languedoc see ibid., p.261.

3. The illness suffered by Charles was possibly a maniac depressive psychosis. See Darwin, op. cit., Chapter I, p1ff; Nordberg, op. cit., p3; Shultz, op. cit., p8; E. McLeod, Charles of Orléans, Prince and Poet, London, 1969, Chapter 1, p10ff. This last author has included footnotes to the archival material in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, but as stated in her introduction, she has drawn them from modern sources, rather than the original documents, although the particular source which she consulted is not identified.

4. Concerning the role of the Dukes in the Royal Council, see Lehoux, op. cit., vol II, p294, and p294 n.1-3 for mention of the Dukes Berry, Burgundy, Orléans and Bourbon. Documents were signed by the King and the Dukes of Berry and Orléans and not by the Duke of Burgundy, see ibid., p310 n.7.

5. For a discussion of Louis receiving the Dukedom of Orléans in exchange for that of Touraine see Champollion-Figeac, p52. See also Lehoux, op. cit., vol II, p293 n.6. This exchange was, according to Champollion-Figeac, specifically to elevate the position of Louis as a defence against the power exercised by the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy. This would appear to put Louis in a position of authority in 1392, before, according to De Winter, p72, he had any aspirations to the power of the throne. De Winter noted the "dominant figure behind the throne ..for a good twenty years" was that of Philippe le Hardi, ie. from 1380-1400. Other sources, such as Lehoux, op. cit., vol II, p293 n.8 (for an allowance to Louis for his royal duties) and Nordberg, op. cit., p3 would seem to contradict this and show that Louis' was exercising his authority on the throne before 1400.

Jean sans Peur.¹

The protagonists in this confrontation strengthened their positions through the acquisition of property. Louis quickly became one of the great property owners and by 1392 had more holdings in Paris than either the Dukes of Burgundy or Berry. The Duke of Burgundy operated his Parisian interests from the *Hôtel d'Artois* and the Duke of Berry from the *Hôtel de Nesles*. Louis had acquired as gifts from the King, Charles VI, in 1388 the *Hôtel de Behaigne* and, four years later, the *Hôtel d'Orléans*, situated in the Rue S. André des Arts.² The latter *hôtel* became his principal Parisian residence. He also owned other less luxurious establishments in Paris.³

Louis' holdings were greatly enhanced when, in 1389, he married Valentine Visconti, the daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the Duke of Milan. This added to Louis' properties the counties of Asti and Vertus, as well as potentially creating a power base for France in Italy, through the marriage.⁴

1. The rivalry between the Duke of Orléans and the Dukes of Burgundy is discussed in Lehoux, *op. cit.*, vol II, Chapter III: "La Maladie du Roi/ Le Gouvernement des Ducs" p261-387. Also see Nordberg, *passim*.

2. See F. Graves, Quelques Pièces Relatives à la Vie de Louis I, Duc D'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa Femme, [hereafter referred to as Graves, *Pièces*] Paris, 1913, p16.

3. For detailed discussion of the architecture and architects sponsored by Louis of Orléans see Shultz, *op. cit.*, p31-138 and 246-259. Also see J. Mesqui and C. Ribera-Pervillé, "Les Châteaux de Louis d'Orléans et Leurs Architectes (1391-1407)", *Bull Mon*, 138, no3, 1980, p293-345. See Graves, p50 for the Hôtel de Giac and for a reference to this as *Hôtel de la Poterne*, see P. Henwood, "Peintres et Sculpteurs Parisiens des Années 1400. Colart de Laon et les Statuts de 1391", *Gaz BA*, ser 6, vol 98, 1981, [hereafter referred to as Henwood, *Colart de Laon*], p102.

4. For the contract of marriage, see Graves, p19, p20 n.3 and Graves, *Pièces*, p1-15.

The purchases of the counties of Blois, where Louis established his household, and Dunois, were supplemented by the King's generosity in the form of the fortresses of Pierrefonds and La Ferté Milon and the counties of Angoulême and Périgord. It was in June 1392 that Louis further strengthened his power and assets when, through the King's munificence, he exchanged his Duchy of Touraine for the Duchy of Orléans. This duchy, which was much wealthier, gave him a greater source of income and increased his ability to purchase further properties. He also bought furnishings for his many residences; gifts, jewels and clothing for his family, and retinue, manuscripts, paintings and tapestries. In addition, Louis owned the *châteaux* of Villers-Cotterêts, Châteauneuf, which he significantly restored and Montils, to which his wife had additions completed at her own expense. After voluntarily leaving Paris early in 1396, with her son Charles, who was born two years earlier, Valentine seemed to prefer the more intimate surroundings of Asnières and Château-Thierry, which was a gift from Charles VI in 1400.¹

In 1400 Louis became the 'seigneur de Coucy', having purchased this barony from the widow of Enguerrand de Coucy, adding this to his titles of 'duc d'Orléans, conte de Valois, de Blois, et de Beaumont'.² Both the County of Coucy and the Duchy of Lorraine, bought in 1402 were strategically placed, close to the territory of the Duke of Burgundy. With the King's assistance, Louis bought the Duchy of Luxembourg.³ These properties, all carefully acquired, were to be equally carefully accounted

1. For references to these *châteaux* which are held in the British Library (Add. Ch. 2981, Add. Ch. 3001, Add. Ch. 4269) and other sources see McLeod *op. cit.*, p362 n.9 and n.10.

2. For documentation of Louis' use of these titles see Roman, Documents XXI and XXII.

3. See Champollion-Figeac, p245.

for in his will of 1403.¹

Louis was also responsible for the construction of certain buildings other than *châteaux*. In particular, following the 'Savages Ball' in 1393, he had built a chapel, adjoining the Célestins Convent² and adjacent to the *Hôtel St-Pol*, the preferred residence of the King. This was to be Louis' favourite convent in which he was buried and where he had maintained a cell that he used for periods of meditation.³ His

1. For his will of October 19 1403, and the distribution of his property see *Graves, Pièces*, p196-219, for a copy, dated 13th July, 1507, of the original. The manuscript cited by *Champollion-Figeac*, p255-256, was housed in the King's library in 1844. The reference by McLeod, *op. cit.*, p27, concerning AN K534 cannot be clearly interpreted as referring to either the original manuscript or a copy. See *ibid.*, p363.n33. A further reference to Louis' testament, in P. Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1911, p46.n.7 does not specify the date of the document which is cited. Also see Nordberg, *op. cit.*, p12-23, for references to the document AN K534 which he describes as including receipts of the Duke with regard to the marriage with Valentine and the gift from the King of the county of Dreux. Nordberg does not refer to this document as including Louis will. In Shultz *passim* reference is made to Louis' will, but the document is not identified.

2. For a description of the Ball see *Champollion-Figeac*, p75. For a tapestry of a savages' ball, not necessarily the particular incident concerning the Duke of Orléans and his brother, see Verlet *op. cit.*, p53. For Louis' expiation of his involuntary fault and foundation and dedication of the chapel see *Champollion-Figeac* p.77, p86 n.2. see Shultz, *op. cit.*, p65, 129-133, who ties Louis patronage to the traditions established by his father, Charles V.

3. For references to the chapel of Célestins, planned as the Orléans' family mausoleum see *Graves*, p56. Valentine was to be buried there, however both she and her son Charles were buried at Blois. For reference to Orléans mausoleum in a document concerning the *ymagier*, Jehan de Tholry, see *Graves, Pièces*, p253-255. Also see *Champollion-Figeac*, p254. For Louis' relationship with the monks at Célestins, see *ibid.*, p.88.

donations to the Célestins' Chapel included manuscripts, tableaux and stained glass windows.¹

On the night of the twenty third of November, 1407, Louis was assassinated by the agents of Jean sans Peur. He was struck down in the *Vieille rue du Temple* en route to the Hôtel St-Pol. Valentine, who had not been in Paris since her exile in 1396, was at Château-Thierry.² The ensuing manoeuvres, the trials, charges, confessions and denials have been well documented.³ These circumstances must be borne in mind when considering the atmosphere in which the inventory of Louis' possessions in Paris was compiled⁴ and which still existed when the inventory of Valentine's effects was commenced at Blois one year later, on the fourth of December, 1408, the day she died.⁵

Twelve years after Louis' assassination, in 1419, the Armagnacs retaliated and murdered the Duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur.

1. For these donations see Delisle, Cabinet, vol II p249ff; Darwin op. cit., p136; and Champollion-Figeac, Third Part p9-10, p12. One of the decorative designs used in the glass of the chapel was his heraldic shield, held by two angels: ibid. For funding of this and other religious establishments see Shultz op. cit., p103ff and Graves, Pièces, documents LI, XCVII, CXVI, CXXVI.

2. For her arrival in Paris on the tenth of December, 1407, see ibid., p ix.

3. See Nordberg op. cit., p225ff; Champollion-Figeac p243ff; R. Vaughan, John the Fearless. The Growth of Burgundian Power, New York, 1966, p29-49.

4. For this inventory, the Paris Inventory, see Roman, Document XXX, p209 and Appendix VIII. [BN Cabinet des Titres, pièces orig., 2154, no. 254; Orléans IV]. The preface to the inventory, mentioning the goods belonging to Valentine, the Duchess, and Charles, the Duke of Orléans, establishes that it was written after Louis' death.

5. For this inventory, the Blois Inventory, see Graves, Inventory II and Appendix VII. [AN KK268a].

II. LITERARY SOURCES.

i DISPERSAL OF THE SOURCES.

The literary documentation of Louis of Orléans' possessions consists of the Paris inventory of 1403, [1403 Inventory], now apparently lost; a second Paris inventory of 1407/8, [the Paris Inventory]; and the Blois inventory of 1408/9, [the Blois Inventory]. There is also an inventory of the possessions of Valentine which was drawn up in 1389 in Paris [the Trousseau Inventory] and lists those possessions which she brought with her to France. An additional inventory exists, in Lombard script, which lists those goods which Valentine left in Milan.¹ There are also fragmentarily preserved documents in the form of invoices and receipts in the Archives Nationale and Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, and the British Library, in London, which provide additional information about the possessions of the Duke and Duchess of Orléans.

Nothing is known concerning the 1403 Inventory after its last mention in 1844 and it is presumed lost. Valentine's Trousseau Inventory and the Paris and Blois Inventories survive in original manuscript, largely preserved, and are now housed in the Archives Nationale and Bibliothèque

1. The inventories are as follows:

-Paris 1403 Inventory: last mentioned in an extract published by Champollion-Figeac, p.247-251, see Appendix VI.

-Paris Inventory of 1407/8: Paris, BN Cab des Titres, Pièces Orig. 2154 n^o 254 (Orléans IV), published in Roman, p209-230, and Graves, Pièces, Document CXL, p225-237. Roman will be used as the reference to this inventory since the entries are numbered and so can be readily identified, see Appendix VIII.

-Blois Inventory of 1408/9: Paris, AN KK 268a, published in Graves, p83-169, see Appendix VII.

-Trousseau Inventory of 1389: Paris, AN KK264, published in Graves, p59-81, see Appendix VII. [Contemporary Milan inventory of Valentine's wedding gifts: Paris, AN KK 268b, in Lombard hand; a copy in French is housed as AN KK 896 f^o 36.]

Nationale, in Paris.

One further collection which concerns the history of the Orléans-Valois' was acquired in 1867 by the Bibliothèque Nationale. This collection, in thirty three volumes, from the Milanese Archives was the Archive Sforzesco.¹

The documentation of the Blois household suffered a less happy fate and in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries experienced considerable devastations. The archives of the *Chambre des Comptes de Blois*, were transferred from the château to the municipality, and then some were transferred to the *Chambre des comptes de Paris*,² while the remainder was sold in 1792 to the Baron de Joursanvault. This saved them from destruction which was occurring in post-revolutionary France. The Blois Orléans' documents were now housed in two principal locations. According to Roman,³ by the end of the eighteenth century, the true worth of the "useless parchment" was not recognised and there was a general indifference to documents. Some of the Blois documents were acquired by Beaumarchais⁴ and were in turn sold by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1784/5. These documents are to be found in the *fonds of Pièces originales du Cabinet des Titres*, some having been bound in fourteen volumes in-folio, under the rubric *Orléans*. However a large number of similar documents of accounts and quittances of the Dukes

1. BN fonds italien no. 1583-1615; see C. Langlois and H. Stein, Les Archives de L'Histoire de France, Paris, 1891, p869. For further details on some of the archival material in Milan see E. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, Ducs de Milan au xve Siècle, Paris, 1955, passim.

2. On the reunion of the County with the Crown, see Roman, p80.

3. Ibid., p.80. See also Langlois and Stein, op. cit., pXI-XII.

4. See Roman, p80-81 and Delisle, Cabinet, vol I, p551.

of Orléans are distributed amongst other volumes in the *Pièces originales* collection, and not under the rubric Orléans.¹

The Joursanvault Collection was sold in 1838². The catalogue of this sale, by de Gaulle and a later catalogue, compiled by Laborde in 1852, are valuable records of the documents and their purchasers. Not all the documents were sold and in 1853, through a "bibliophile Jacob", they passed into the hands of the librarian at Louvain, M. Pollain, and then were sold in Brussels in 1855.³ The Bibliothèque du Louvre collected documents among the Joursanvault manuscripts which related to the "old library of the Dukes of Orléans" while the Library of the City of Paris made some "unimportant acquisitions."⁴ However, during the night of 23rd. May, 1871, a fire destroyed the Bibliothèque du Louvre, including an important part of the Joursanvault collection.⁵ Another collection of Orléans documents, in ten volumes, which was acquired in 1830 by M. Bastard d'Estang, was given to the Bibliothèque Nationale by his widow.⁶ Laborde noted that the British Library vigilantly bid for the documents on Costumes, Armes et Equipements, Meubles et Chartes anglo-françaises.⁷ Prior to the Joursanvault auction, the British Library had already acquired various

1. These volumes are included under numbers 2151 to 2164. See Roman, p81 for an inventory of these in L. Delisle, Cabinet historique, 1877, vol I, p236.

2. According to Delisle, Cabinet, vol II, p295ff, the Baron's heirs made injudicious investments, which resulted in the necessity to realise on their assets. An offer to the Bibliothèque Nationale to purchase the entire collection was rejected. Hence the collection was sold on the open market.

3. The original list of purchases noted in the de Gaulle catalogue was lost. Laborde's diligence therefore preserved for posterity the new locations of these documents. For details of the acquisitions see Delisle, Cabinet, vol II, p296-7. For reference to Laborde, see Shultz, op. cit., p25.

4. See Delisle, Cabinet, vol II, p296. For extracts from the Joursanvault documents, see Graves, Pièces, p257-259.

5. Langlois and Stein, Op. cit., p882. 6. See Shultz, op. cit., p25, for reference to these published in Delisle Les Collections de Bastard d'Estang à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Nogent-Le-Rotrou, 1885 and Graves, Pièces, p261-263.

7. See Delisle, Cabinet, vol II, p296. 14

other documents. Some four and a half thousand documents of the *Chambre des Comptes de Blois* thus entered the British Library. Most are to be found under the classification Additional Charters and Manuscripts.¹ For this thesis the most interesting are those pertaining to tapestries

1. Reference to the charters may be found in the List of Additions to the manuscripts in the British Library. In particular see the volumes for the years 1836-1840 and 1854. For documents concerning the descendants of Louis, see the volume for the years 1911-1915, p1164. For some of these see Appendix IX. The Orléans documents in the British Library are:

- Inventory of the Archives of M. le Baron de Joursanvault, nos. 1-1353. XVIIIth cent. Folio. [Add. Ms. 11539]
- Inventory of the Archives of M. le Baron de Joursanvault, containing titles from 1351-1396. XVIIIth cent. Folio. [Add. Ms. 11540]
- Inventory of the jewels, vessels of gold and silver, books, tableaux of the Duke of Orléans, delivered Sept 27 1396 to Denis Mariete, his argentier. On vellum. Folio. [Add. Ms. 11541]
- A collection of pieces relating chiefly to Normandy and other parts of France, whilst in the possession of the English...incl: Inventory of tapestries found in various residences of the Duke of Orléans XVth cent...Folio. [Add. Ms. 11542]
- Inventory of tapestries belonging to Valentine Visconti in 1408 [Eg. Ms. 1639]
- Order to J. le Flament, for payment for his journey to Calais, 10 October 1396. [Add. ch. 1517]
- Five hundred and thirty-five original documents, consisting of charters, warrants, payments, acquittances, inventories etc. illustrative of the Costume of France from the year 1355-1667 [Add. ch. 2028-2561]
- One hundred and twenty nine similar documents, illustrative of the use of Armour, offensive and defensive, and of equipments, from the year 1315-1636 [Add. ch. 2562-2689]
- One hundred and thirty-nine similar documents, illustrative of Furniture, Tapestry etc used in France from the year 1327-1698 [Add. ch. 2690-2829]
- Three hundred and sixty similar documents, illustrative of Goldsmiths' work, Jewellery, Ornaments of dress, etc. 1355-1578 [Add. ch. 2830-3191]
- One hundred and two similar documents, illustrative of the Coinage and Commerce of France, from the year 1297-1700 [Add. Ch. 3192-3293]
- Four hundred and sixty-eight similar documents, illustrative of the expenses of the Royal Family of France, and the house of Orléans, with various other miscellaneous matters, from IXth-XVIIth century. [Add. ch. 4124-4578]

including an inventory of tapestries found in various residences of the Duke of Orléans, early in the fifteenth century and another manuscript which contains reference to at least two tapestries which belonged to Valentine.¹

French scholars have largely restricted their investigations to sources housed in French institutions, while only one English author has concentrated on the British Library collection.² The problem of enormous archives of material which are housed abroad and relate to French history has long been recognised.³ However, as far as Louis of Orléans is

1. The documents relating to tapestry are:

BL Add. Ch. 2690-2829, BL Add. Ms. 11542, BL Eg. Ms. 1639. For reference to Eg. Ms. 1639, pp31b, 33 see D. Wood, " 'Credo' Tapestries", Burl. Mag., vol 24-5, 1913-1914, [hereafter referred to Wood, "Credo" Tapestries], p248.

2. For publication of collections of documents and inventories which refer only to those in France see Graves [note that ibid., p75 n1, he mentions an inventory of Valentine's effects when she left Paris in 1396, BL Add. Ms. 11541.]; Also see Graves, Pièces: Roman; and M. Nordberg, op. cit., (for his manuscript sources see p238). For Laborde, who compiled information relating to the Orléans' patronage of the arts from Burgundian documents, see Shultz, op. cit., p25. For descriptions of Louis' tapestries where only documents in London in the BL are cited see W. Thomson, A History of Tapestry, London, (1906) Third edition 1973, [hereafter referred to as Thomson, Tapestry] p62-69, 74-6, p87ff, p117-118. McLeod, op. cit., refers in her text to the collections in the BL and the AN and BN, but not her source for these. For J.J. [sic] Champollion-Figeac, ed. Lettres de Rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et Angleterre... tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny, 2 vols, Paris, 1866 see McLeod op. cit., p395. This would presumably be of value in determining the content of the documents housed in the BL however I have not had access to this volume. If he followed the practice of Aimé Champollion-Figeac (Louis et Charles, Ducs d'Orléans. Leur Influence sur les Arts, La Littérature et l'Esprit de Leur Siècle), and failed to identify the document from which he was working, then this source would be of limited value.

3. See Langlois and Stein, op. cit., p i-xv and p908-911.

concerned, the sources available on both sides of the Channel do not appear to have been systematically correlated.¹

1. For the Duke of Berry a compilation of sources has been published by Meiss: see M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of The Duke, London, 1967, [hereafter referred to as Late XIV Century]; French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master, London, 1968, [hereafter referred to as Boucicaut Master.]; French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, London, 1974 [hereafter referred to as The Limbourgs]. Despite the recent publication by Shultz, op. cit., no comparable work which consolidates all sources concerning the Orléans documents appears to have been devoted to Louis of Orléans. Shultz notes that the problem exists ibid., pp1, 19-20, 25, 75 n.2, 297 n.4. Yet, his only reference to the inventory of tapestry, BL Add. Ms. 11542 (ibid., p44) is in a footnote in the section concerning architecture. He cites this as an additional charter both here and in the bibliography and appears not to have seen the original document. Other documents in the BL are referred to through secondary sources, such as Thomson, Tapestry, which Shultz regards as the best source available (ibid., p152 n.2). Two of these documents are cited independently in the bibliography. One further Additional Charter is noted ibid., p236, but the reference is not specific so the details of the document remain unknown.

ii. COMPILATION OF THE SOURCES.

When considering the primary literary sources dealing with the possessions or patronage of the House of Orléans, we should keep in mind both the circumstances under which these sources were composed, as well as place them in a context of similar literary sources dealing with contemporary patrons.

Valentine took careful preparations to protect her possessions following Louis' assassination, fearing Jean sans Peur's next move. This is reflected in both the inventories written in Paris and Blois, which show that Louis' goods were given into the custody of various persons for safe-keeping.¹ In the Paris Inventory, certain goods marked with a cross were to be retained, while all the remaining items were to be sold, on the advice of the Orléans auditors and counsellors.²

Louis' son, Charles, as a cosignatory with his mother in the inventories which followed his father's murder, was thoroughly familiar with the financial situation and this would explain why he began an inventory of the effects of his mother on the very day of her death. Compilation of the document proceeded over some time.³ According to the

1. Those mentioned in Louis' Paris Inventory are Hughes de Guingant, Jehan Poulain, Denis Mariéte, Jehan Macé, Guillemain Ligier. Louis' effects were in Paris and must therefore be those which were in his Parisian hôtels. It is possible that Valentine organised the commencement of the inventory by De Recy, whose signature appears at the conclusion of the document, [Roman p230], before she left Paris on February 28th 1408 [See McLeod op cit p43]. She may have made arrangements which entrusted Louis' possessions to certain persons and undertaken the compilation of the inventory later, possibly after her return, with Charles, to Paris on August 28th, 1408. [Graves, Pièces, p ix.] Louis' Parisian Inventory records the goods being owned "by us", that is Valentine and her son, Charles.

2. The crosses are indicated in the publication by Graves, Pièces, and not Roman. 49 entries are marked to be retained, not including any tapestries.

3. From 4th December, 1408 to 29th March 1409, not all sections are dated.

opening lines of the Blois Inventory, it was compiled at the *Château de Blois*. The first items recorded were those which Valentine had brought from Lombardy.¹ Those mentioned next were brought from Paris the previous November. Some notations recorded that goods were to be prepared for sale. In later additions to the document there was an indication of the fate of other items, whether they were given to a specified person, taken to Paris for sale, or melted down.²

Although we have both the Paris and Blois Inventories, these need not be taken as complete records of the total possessions of the household, as already Valentine and then her son Charles had started to dissipate the estate prior to the inventories' completion to settle debts.³ Nevertheless these inventories form our main sources of information for the wealth, possessions and patronage of Louis, as too few of the objects themselves are extant.

1. These items can be compared with those in the Trousseau Inventory, see Graves, p59ff.

2. For examples see ibid., p105, 123, 134, 137, 139. The additions are noted in parentheses [for the explanation see ibid., p85.n.1] Those persons who had care of Valentine's property were: Madame d'Anneville, Jehanette de Saint Lubin, Marguerite de Solier, Marion Damelle, Jehane de Hetedon (dame de Traversan), Madame de Saint Oen, Noel de Belay, Phelipot Moule, Simonnet du Val, Jehan Fusée, Jehan de Milat (dit l'Angevin), Guillemín Cacheu, (clerk of the chapel). The position of the tapestries in the inventory may suggest that they were in the care of Guillemín Cacheu. Their listing was undertaken by Jehannet Treuffe, who also collated other goods which are mentioned as being in the safe-keeping of Guillemín Cacheu.

3. By the time of her return to Paris, dispersal of some property had already commenced. See BL Add. Ch. 3117 for sale of a ring in April 1407 to Jean de Berry; BL Add. Ch. for sale of other property in McLeod, op. cit., p364 n.12. Louis' will expressed the wish that his debts should be cleared, see Graves, Pièces, p198.

iii. LOUIS AND THE RENAISSANCE COURT.

Like Louis, the Duchess of Orléans was raised within a climate actively engaged in the patronage of the arts.¹ The foundation of the library of the Dukes of Milan was attributed to Galéas Visconti, Duke of Milan, her grandfather.² The most important and the best known part of this collection was the works of Petrarch.³ Fewer manuscripts in the collection were written in Italian than in French. This may have been due to the influence of Blanche of Savoy, the French wife of Galéas. The Trousseau Inventory of goods which Valentine brought with her to France when she married Louis mentions various books, including four Hours, two books of Saints, three German books and a Mandeville.⁴ Books listed in the Blois Inventory compiled after her death included le Miroir des Dames, la Preudomie de l'homme, by Christine de Pisan, the Ballades of Eustache Deschamps, and an Apocalypse with illuminations.⁵ In fact, when Valentine voluntarily departed from Paris in 1396, after being accused of being a pervasive influence on the King and the Court, it was the writers Honoré Bonet and Eustache Deschamps who came to her defence.⁶

1. Pellegrin Elizabeth, op. cit., p4. Louis XII removed some of the collection from the chateau of Pavia in 1499-1500. It is this selection of the Visconti-Sforza library which has best survived the passage of time and was united with the collection from the chateau of Blois and that of Charles VIII, ibid., p72.

2. Delisle, Cabinet, vol I, p129. The rudiments of the library commenced under his father, Azon Visconti.

3. Pellegrin op. cit., p45. See also Delisle, Cabinet, vol I, p.138.

4. Ibid., p104. ff.

5. Ibid. Also see Shultz, op. cit., p180.

6. See Champollion-Figeac, p102-104 for a description of the magic with which she was supposed to manipulate the afflicted King, in Froissart, Book IV, Chap LIV, edit. Buchon, vol XIII, p436 ff, and reference to Deschamps' Ballade inedite, Manuscript BN no.7219 folio cciii.

Shultz op. cit., p349-352 includes note of Honoré Bonet's L'Apparicion de Jehan de Meun. The frontispiece from the manuscript BN fonds francais no 811, is reproduced in Champollion-Figeac, Pl VI.

Valentine's close connections with the writers and poets of the day may have been a natural progression from her childhood environment. However, in this she was similar to Louis, whose interests had been nurtured through his infancy by Charles V.¹ Both Christine de Pisan and Eustache Deschamps were favourite poets of Louis and sang his praises.² Louis was both patron and friend.

Louis' benevolence could be seen at home. He commissioned magnificent great coats, or houppelandes, for himself, his family and friends, his loyal retinue, and the King. Many of these coats glittered and tinkled with decorations, including Louis' emblematic wolves.³ His repositories were well stocked with goods, so that particular requirements could be met, if not through his agent supplying the goods, then through supply of the materials from the Orléans' stores. Frequent

1. The closeness of the cultural links between father and son forms the basis of Shultz's thesis. For the literary world see especially Shultz op.cit. pp175-207, 291-308.

2. For these and other poets and writers associated with the Orléans' household see ibid., p324-395.

3. For Louis' wardrobe any number of documents could be consulted eg. amongst the Roman documents one hundred and thirty five houppelandes are mentioned, eleven jackets, two hundred and twelve robes and forty nine pelts for various houppelandes and 1204 other various pelts. For other houppelandes see McLeod op.cit., p362 n.6 for BL Add. Ch. 2157; also see the following entries referring to houppelandes: Roman, * 308, black satin trimmed with ermine and the six colours which were Louis' insignia; ibid., * 344 for Louis' two fools and the King's fool; ibid., *233, 234, for one given to *Mareschal Bouciquaut* [sic]; ibid., *194 for the Duke of Bourbon; ibid., *373, for Eustache Deschamps, described here as Louis' maistre d'ostel; ibid., * 324 for the livery for Louis' voyage to Saint Omer for his varlets de chambre, butlers, minstrels and other officials, in all two hundred and twelve robes of mid-length green length with black, oversewn with the band of Louis' six colours. For little trinkets such as bells of gold for belts and collars see ibid., *112-164 for purchases from Hance Croist, Louis' jeweller and varlet de chambre. For wolves (*loup*: probably a play on Louis) see ibid., *126 for a houppelande decorated with 271 wolves, each wearing a golden collar with a bell.

mention is made of material from London which was taken from the garnison. Other materials bought at the St. Denis Fair were stored in this repository until required for use.¹ Extravagant though he may have been, certain items were recycled. This may indicate however, rather than economy, the rarity of the materials.²

Documents detailing expenses relating to purchases for the Orléans' retinue allow some idea of the entourage attached to the *maison d'Orléans* and the close attention paid to the particulars of their clothes.³ Excursions, such as the one to enable a meeting between his son, Charles, and a prospective bride, Elizabeth, the neice of the King Wenceslas of Bohemia, were carefully orchestrated, not only politically, but arranged with an eye to the colourful appearance of the party. The nine ladies who formed part of Valentine's retinue were clad in green, trimmed with ermine, while Louis and his seven pages were in black felt.⁴ Two hundred and twelve officials and staff accompanied Louis to Saint Omer while his entourage to Germany totalled two hundred and fifty five persons.⁵ It was not unusual to travel abroad with a large retinue, yet this pomp and ceremony was found in the mundane activities of the Orléans household. His son, Charles, had a governess, nurse, nursery-maid

1. Roman, * 264, 338. Textiles were bought seasonally and stockpiled in the garnison. For textiles bought in Montpellier, Avignon and Lombardy see Graves, Pièces, p29, 31, 33. For reference to the garnison at Coucy see ibid., p246-247.

2. Sable pelts for a houppelande for the Duke were taken from a houppelande made previously for the King, Roman, *335.

3. See McLeod, op. cit., for Laborde 5824 and details of Louis' squire dressed in white taffeta for a joust. See Roman, p79, for Louis' household founded on a footing equal to that of King.

4. See McLeod op. cit. p363 n36 for documents in the BL. [Add. Ch. 2267, 2269, 2262, 2260, 2286, 2271, 2263].

5. See Roman *324 and Champollion-Figeac, p117-118.

and other staff to care for him.¹ For entertaining his household, Louis retained his own fools, minstrels, *heraulx* and *chanteresses*.²

These extravagances extended into his amusement activities as witnessed in the Orléans' accounts. The *Mareschal Bouciquaut* and *Symon de Dapmartin* were companions with whom he played jeu de paume and other games of chance.³ Louis' inventories reveal his debts and the payments he made to the *Mareschal* and to his chamberlain, M. de Colombère, following losses during various games.⁴ The King celebrated Louis' wedding with a lavish *fête*; it was a tradition which Louis adopted.⁵ Gift giving was another important custom and in the documents concerning Louis, mention is frequently made of various gifts given to family and friends, particularly the *estraines*, or gifts on New Years Day.⁶ In the absence of open warfare, the major source of entertainment for the Court became one of extravagant display.

It cannot be coincidental that when Louis became the Duke of Orléans his accounts extended over considerable periods, whereas the

1. For mention of Charles' retinue see McLeod *op. cit.*, p362 n.8 and n.16.

2. See *Champollion-Figeac*, p81.

3. See *Graves*, *1098, for an ivory chess table. See *Roman*, *691 for a tapestry with a squire and lady playing chess.

4. See *Champollion-Figeac*, p80, for payment of a sum owed after a game of jeu de paume in September 1393. For an account of December 1394 see *ibid.*, p82. Also see *Graves*, *Pièces*, p100.

5. See *Champollion-Figeac*, p51ff. For preparations for tournaments and *fêtes* see *ibid.*, p55ff. For equipment and decorations delivered to Boniface and Enguerren, stablehands of the Duke see *Roman*, * 13-29.

6. For a crown for Valentine see *ibid.*, * 11; for New Year's Day gifts bought by the Duchess of Touraine for the Royal Family and their household see *ibid.*, *35-43.

documents seeking payment from him, while he was the Duke of Touraine related to single orders.¹ Valentine's dowry from Milan, together with her territorial assets added to Louis' income,² but this trust and extended credit was due to Louis' increased prosperity. Some of his funds were the result of the increased revenue from the wealthier Orléans duchy, but in part we can see direct assistance from the Crown. Louis' territorial purchases were assisted and at times entirely supported by Charles VI. Vague services which he rendered were given as reasons for the King's generosity.³ These pensions and gifts were in addition to the allowances Louis received on marrying Valentine. Expenses which might be regarded as being the responsibility of the Duke, such as those incurred during the confinement of his wife, were also paid for by the King.⁴ Following her expulsion from Paris, Valentine was paid by both Louis and the King.

1. Both Roman and Graves, Pièces publish documents showing this. See Roman, Document XII, from 27.05.1393-21.01.1394; Roman, document XIV 07.02.1394-09.11.1394; Roman, document XV p.131 07.02.1394-31.01.1395; Roman, document XV p.150 01.02.1396- 31.01.1397. It should be noted that Roman, has titled two documents as Number XV.

2. For her dowry of 450,000 florins, see Champollion-Figeac, p5. For reference to purchases made from her dowry, see Nordberg, op. cit., p16 (AN K534).

3. See for example. Champollion-Figeac, p54 for a document of 16th. September 1389 concerning payment of 5,000 gold francs to Louis for household expenses and two hundred gold francs for Valentine's personal use, while Louis accompanied Charles VI to Languedoc. Ibid., p59 for a document of 12th March 1390, relating to a voyage in Lombardy. Also see ibid., pp.69-70, 109, 246. For an allowance on 7 September 1392, of 4500 francs/month for Royal duties, see transcript of BL Add. Ch. 4247 in Lehoux op. cit., vol II, p293-294. For a comparison of the drain placed on the Royal purse by the Dukes of Burgundy and Orléans see Nordberg op. cit., p4-38. Nordberg's results of the percentage of total income derived from Royal revenue in 1404/5 may be summarised as follows: Louis of Orléans 90%; Jean sans Peur 24%.

4. See Champollion-Figeac, p58 and Graves, Pièces, p41-42.

However, funds were not always adequate and at certain times, stringent economies had to be undertaken. A projected expedition to Lombardy was preceded by the compilation of an inventory of goods to be pawned or melted so that funds could be procured.¹ There is great variety in the items to be thus disposed of: various goblets, table ornamentations as well as six tableaux and eight "ymages d'or", two of which were identified as New Year presents from the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The final item added a touch of irony: it was an epée, the work of Venetian artisans.² This must be an occasion when superficiality did not appeal to Louis.³ These economic difficulties did not apparently persist, since, only one month later, records show that Louis paid a substantial account owing to his jeweller, furrier and drapers.⁴ More than two hundred and fifty

1. See Roman, Document XXIII dated 25th September, 1403, (#417-453.) Whether the expedition actually took place is not certain, however appears unlikely. Some of the items mentioned here reappear in later documents, mostly those of Charles d'Orléans in 1408, 1410 and 1411. See ibid., p197. The 1403 Inventory, which will be discussed in detail later, was compiled the same day.

2. ibid., #453: " Item, une grant espée toute couverte d'or à l'ouvrage de Venise, garnie ou pommeau de douze gros ballais, douze grosses perles, et en la bouterolle d'en bas d'un gros ballay et d'un gros saphir."

3. Shultz, op. cit., p245 gives this as an example justifying the premise of his thesis: "It is thus possible to argue that Louis preferred the styles of the capitol [sic] to those of more distant regions.he may have decided that the Venetian dress sword was not in keeping with the sort of Parisian-oriented image that, we believe, he sought to project of himself." Shultz's analysis of the systematic disposal of foreign goods which he proposed Louis practised is at times a selective and tenuous argument and on occasions he contradicted his own thesis: see, for example, ibid., p230, 401.

4. Roman, Document XXIV.

precious stones which were removed from the items which were melted were recorded in a document three years later and were used to decorate a pourpoint for the marriage of Louis' son, Charles, with Isabelle, the King's daughter.¹

The documents and inventories thus far discussed would support the notion of Louis being a "Renaissance Prince."² Louis is given credit for the same munificence and patronage of art and learning as the generation before him, Charles V and his brothers, who surrounded themselves with extensive collections of gems, precious stones and tapestries. They had a passion for gathering vast numbers of extravagant and precious joyaux d'or, which, according to Panofsky, "epitomised the taste of the International Style".³ Yet their political motivations and the desire to create an image of power and status also played a vital part in their patronage of art.⁴

1. Ibid., Document XXVIII .Listed here are 181 pearls, 82 ballaiz ie. balas rubies, and two other rubies.

2. Tilley op.cit. p782.

3. E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, New York, (1953), 1971, [hereafter referred to as Panofsky, ENP.], p68. Also see F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France. The Fourteenth Century. 1310-1380, London, 1978, p9ff.

4. R. Cazelles, "Peinture et Actualité Politique sous les Premiers Valois", Gaz BA, vol. 92, 1978, p53-65.

iv. LOUIS OF ORLEANS AND CONTEMPORARY PATRONS.

To fully assess Louis' role as patron, as reflected in the literary sources, it is important to build a comparative framework consisting of other contemporary related material. Hence, it is appropriate to consider, briefly, the inventories of the Kings, Charles V and VI and the other Dukes.

Louis' literary patronage has been identified with the cultural traditions of his father, Charles V.¹ However, no accurate comparisons of the King's library, or the libraries of his brothers, can be drawn with the Duke of Orléans' library, since an inventory of Louis' library was not prepared.² Nevertheless, the documentary evidence of the other ducal libraries provides further sources of information concerning Louis.³

The inventories of the library of Jean de Berry were carefully compiled and from them much more information can be obtained than was

1. See Shultz, op. cit., p175-205 for Louis' methods of acquisition of books [ie. from the Royal library, by gift and presentation, by purchase and through a campaign of manuscript production.] For Louis' librarian, Gilles Malet, his bookseller, Etienne L'Angevin and Godefroy le Fèvre, gardien de Derniers des Coffres, who settled Louis' transactions, see ibid., p291-308. For the Orléans' patronage of particular literary figures [Eustache Deschamps, Jean de Garenceières, Honoré Bonet, Guillaume de Tigonville, Guillaume Cousinot, Jean Froissart, Jacques Legrand, Christine de Pisan, Gontier Col, Jean de Montreuil and Jacques de Nouvion] see ibid., p324-395. Also see ibid., p407-455 for Appendices I and II, which list the manuscripts referred to in the above sections.

2. For the first inventory of the library at Blois, in 1417, see Delisle, Cabinet, vol I, p105. He estimated that Charles of Orléans' library contained 91 volumes. Louis' library was "one of the most beautiful princely libraries of the Middle Ages", see L. Delisle, Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol II, [hereafter referred to as Manuscrits français] Paris, 1878, p. cxxxiv.

3. This aspect, using contemporary comparative material is only briefly considered by Shultz, op. cit., p3-7.

possible with the inventory of Charles V.¹ A variety in methods of "book-keeping" was used in each of the three Berry inventories drawn up in 1401-1403, 1413 and 1416. The earliest inventory recorded in sequential fashion the Duke's possessions, room by room, as they were scattered amongst his residences, as was the case with Charles V's inventory. This same style of sequential compilation was employed in the Blois Inventory in 1408, although items were listed according to broad categories. Unlike the Duke de Berry's later inventories, Louis' inventories reveal no information of the provenance of the various items.

The Berry 1413 inventory lists items in a chronological order of accession and provides information concerning those books acquired from the estate of Louis and Valentine.² The 1416 inventory carefully records gifts which were presented to and made by the Duke.³ Being cognisant of the extent of Jean de Berry's patronage, it is not surprising that books were dedicated to the Duke nor that he had certain manuscripts, such as those by the Limbourg brothers, copied and illuminated especially for his library.⁴ These procedures were not unique to the Duke of Berry. The study of Robinet d'Etampes' "book-keeping" has

1. For the inventories of Jean de Berry's library see Delisle, Cabinet, vol 1, p56ff. For this and his patronage see Meiss, Late XIV Century, Boucicaut Master, The Limbourgs, passim.

2. M. Meiss and S. Off, "The Bookkeeping and Chronology of Jean de Berry's Manuscripts", AB, vol 53, 1971, p225-235.

3. For gifts from Louis, see Delisle, Cabinet, vol. 1, p59; for gifts to Louis from the Duke de Berry, see ibid., p.63

4. ibid., p60ff.

determined that the original destination for the works of Christine de Pisan was, in fact, the library of the Duke of Orléans.¹ Their appearance in the Berry Library has been attributed to Jean de Berry's inability to resist such magnificent manuscripts, when offered them by Christine de Pisan. While not placing Louis' patronage of writers on the same level as that of the bibliophile Jean de Berry, it can be nevertheless identified as significant patronage.

In the dissertation by De Winter on the patronage of Philippe le Hardi, the Burgundian archival material is discussed.² Extant documentation, although not entirely complete, is very rich. The analysis of this *corpus* of material is of considerable use in determining the *moeurs* of the Court and the tastes of the Duke himself. The library of Philippe le Hardi was described as "less ephemeral" than that of his brothers,³ indicating that the books showed "the Duke's preference for works that were useful for groping with contemporary problems".⁴ Christine de Pisan was the most popular author in this library with three

1. Meiss and Off, *op.cit.*, p228, p233 item no 959. These are the manuscripts BN fr.835, 606, 836. Also see Shultz *op.cit.*, p374 for reference to BN fr 606 and 848 both of which contain dedications to Louis. In Appendix I, *ibid.*, p428 he lists BN fr 606 as a "doubtful or erroneous" attribution to the Orléans' library. This manuscript he includes as part of a collection of four manuscripts: BN fr 835, 606, 836, 605. The other manuscript, BN fr 848, is not listed. Shultz apparently therefore concludes that none of these belong in either the catalogue of the library of Louis of Orléans or the Catalogue of Titles (Appendix II), *ibid.*, p435 contrary to the opinion of Meiss, *Late XIV Century*, p37, 292, 439 n.135.

2. *De Winter*, p.43ff.

3. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol I, p68.

4. *De Winter* p278. See also *ibid.*, p297 where De Winter sums up the Duke's attitude as concrete and accessible rather than abstract and eclectic. It included no fewer than 215 volumes a number which it was claimed made the Duke of Burgundy's collection second only to the King's.

of her books recorded in Philippe le Hardi's collection.¹ Political motivation against Louis of Orléans may have been behind the Duke of Burgundy's commission to Christine to write a biography of Charles V.² In assigning the role of her principal patron to the Duke of Burgundy, no further justification of this claim was offered, apart from the three manuscripts listed in the Burgundian inventory and the commissioning of another. On this basis, Louis could also be credited with being an equal patron of Christine de Pisan, as he had, at least, commissioned, the manuscripts which appeared later in the Duke of Berry's inventory.

The sons of Charles V were reared in luxury; surrounded by such treasures as Charles V's library, his precious objects and jewellery, rich costumes and tapestries. It seems natural that such an atmosphere would be conducive to promoting an appreciation of the arts in both the future Charles VI and his brother, Louis. This esteem for the beaux arts was displayed by the King's brothers, the Dukes of Anjou, Burgundy and Berry, who were constant rivals in search of power and prestige. The difficulty in estimating Louis' role as patron arises through the lack of both complete documentation of his possessions and extant identifiable objects, as well as the problems which devastated the Orléans archives: the precarious political situation in 1407-1408 and the negligence and vandalism of later centuries.

1. Ibid., p285. For payments made by the Duke of Burgundy to Christine de Pisan for certain books see P. Cockshaw, "Mentions D'Auteurs, de Copistes, D'Enlumineurs et de Libraires dans les Comptes Généraux de l'Etat Bourguignon. (1384-1419)", Scriptorium, vol 23, 1969, p122-144.

2. De Winter., p287. For political considerations of Burgundy's patronage see A. Kleinclausz, "L'Art Funéraire de la Bourgogne au Moyen Age", Gaz BA, ser 3, vol 26, 1901, p441-458.

III. TAPESTRIES.

i. TAPESTRY ATELIERS.

The literature concerning the organisation, location and operation of tapestry workshops around the turn of the fourteenth century is considerable.¹ Production was primarily concentrated in Paris and Arras, with the significance of Paris sharply declining after the English occupation of the city in 1420,² and by 1422 only two Parisian workshops survived.³ While the Duke of Burgundy was an active patron in both Arras and Paris, his affiliations were with Artois and Flanders, so he was particularly predisposed to support these northern centres of production. The chief patrons in Paris were the other Dukes and the Kings of France.⁴

1. For a summary of theories postulated by historians see S. Schneebalg-Perelman, " 'La Dame à la Licorne' a été tissée à Bruxelles", Gaz BA, ser 6, vol 70, 1967, p253-278. For a broader perspective of medieval ateliers see R. Randall, "The Medieval Artist and Industrialised Art", Apollo, vol 84, nos. 53-58, July-Dec. 1966, p434-441.

2. See J. Calmette, "France: The Reign of Charles VII and the End of the Hundred Years' War", Ch. VII in Vol 8, Cambridge Medieval History, ed. C. Previté-Orton and Z. Brooke, Cambridge, 1936, p232.

3. For reference to Parisian ateliers see W. Thomson. "French Tapestries", Apollo vol 1, 1925, p226. For the role of Philippe le Hardi in Arras see F. Salet, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Tapisserie du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle, Catalogue by G. Souchal, Paris, 1973, p14. For Charles VI's tapestries as booty for the English see J. Guiffrey "Inventaire des Tapisseries du Roi Charles VI Vendues par Les Anglais en 1422", Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, vol 48, 1887, [hereafter referred to as Guiffrey, Charles VI], p67. Guiffrey noted that these did not benefit, in the long term, the houses of the royalty or the aristocracy, as none survive today.

4. The patrons of the Parisian ateliers were Charles V, the Dukes Anjou, Berry and Orléans, as well as Burgundy according to Thomson, Tapestry, p68. See also F. Joubert, "La Tapisserie au XIV^e Siècle", Les Fastes du Gothique, le Siècle de Charles V, Paris, 1981, p388-389. For the period January 1393 to July 1399 the amounts due to Nicholas Bataille were: from the King, Charles VI, and the Queen: 3,132 l.p.; from Louis and Valentine: 3307 l.p.; from the Duke of Burgundy: 880 l.p., see Shultz, op. cit., p161-162.

Commercial pressures became the dominant criteria for viability and survival of the centres and their production capacity depended upon a certain degree of stability in the demand for tapestries.¹ It has been proposed that there existed nomadic workshops that can be identified through an analysis of style and imagery and which used the low-warp technique and plied their trade in the Loire valley.² Documentary evidence and logistic difficulties do not support this theory. There were some physical constraints which might preclude a large tapestry workshop becoming itinerant.³ There is however documentary evidence of tapestry workshops being located in the residences of the patron, although this appears to be the exception rather than the rule.⁴

Evidence of direct commissions for tapestries is scarce and it has been suggested that these were rare.⁵ It seems that patrons may have had only a minor part to play in the choice of the specific subjects and the

1. For a commercial basis of ateliers see R. Randall, *op. cit.*, p434. For Arras at the commercial crossroads see *ibid.*, p435. See *ibid.*, p436, for a reference to manuscript production.

2. For this theory as the interpretation of *à la marche* and for a reference to Marquet de Vasselot's theory see Schneebalg-Perelman *op. cit.*, p254. For variations in style due to the 'journeymen' who fluctuated between workshops, see Randall, *op. cit.*, p435-6.

3. For the size of workshops and the number of tapissiers required to weave a piece, see R. d'Hulst, *Tapisseries Flamandes*, Brussels, 1972, p xi

4. For the use of the Duke of Berry's *grand'salle* as an atelier see P. Verdier, "Le Duc de Berry et ses Artistes", *L'Oeil*, no 164-165, Aug-Sept 1968, p47. Also see Verlet *op. cit.*, p32 for his weavers at Bourges in 1385 weaving the *Heroes*, and possibility of the Duke of Anjou's *Apocalypse* being woven at Angers. For a further documentary reference to Bourges see J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, New York, 1963, p80.

5. See Joubert, *op. cit.*, p389 for examples. For the Joustes of St. Denis see Guiffrey, *Charles VI*, p88.

design of tapestries and they bought directly from available stock.¹ Their continued patronage was the significant factor behind the economic survival of the workshops.² The prevailing fashion or *mode* was influential in the production not only of tapestries, but of other goods. Louis' documents record his houppelandes being in the latest style, with *colet assis*, or rolled-down collars.³ Repetition of certain subjects and themes in tapestries was the response and general trend of the market place to all patrons, rather than the impact of one patron in particular.

Tapestries were functional as well as aesthetic objects.⁴ Primarily they were designed to give homogeneity to the decoration of a room and to provide a degree of insulation. They were also practical; being easy to roll up and fold, they could be taken from one residence to the next. While they played this functional role, the number of tapestries which each household possessed, far exceeded the number which might have been required for the purpose of protection against the cold. Whole sets with a coherent decorative programme were designed and introduced a consistent theme to one room. Although some were made for a specific location, following a direct commission, there are, however, sufficient instances of tapestries being cut to fit a certain position⁵, or simply being folded over to hide the excess material, to suggest that precise fit was not an important requirement.⁶

1. In spite of this De Winter, p746 (vol 3) attributes the leading role for the development of the pastoral theme to Marguerite de Flandres.

2. For the princes as "*le principal moteur de la fabrication de la tapisserie*" see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p88

3. Roman, *253.

4. For uses of tapestries see Verlet, op. cit., p10-16. See also, R. d'Hulst, op. cit., p xiii-xiv.

5. See Verlet, op. cit., p14 for the cutting of the Roosebecke Tapestry.

6. See the January miniature in Jean de Berry's *Très Riches Heures*, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.

The luxury goods manufactured in Louis' time were marketed principally through three methods. Firstly, from the atelier itself, secondly, through merchants operating in the local region of the patron, and thirdly through the sale by "itinerant merchants".¹ Examples of all three methods can be found in Louis inventories.²

Had Louis' tapestries survived, a stylistic analysis would have been possible through which workshop origins could have been determined. The substantial losses from tapestry collections have resulted from pilfering and subsequent negligence of the treasures, and the fragility of the tapestries themselves.³ A comparison of Louis' tapestries, recorded

1. Randall *op. cit.*, p438.

2. See W. Thomson, *Tapestry*, p62-69, 74-76 for extracts from: BL Add. Ch. 2696, purchase from Jehan de Croisettes, *tapicier sarrazinois*, of Arras; BL Add. Ch. 2726 for purchase from Jaquet Dordin, merchant and bourgeois; BL Add. Ch. 2719 for purchase of tapestry from Genoese merchants. See also *Roman*, *632-658, includes items which Valentine bought at Reims.

3. The question of fragility of tapestries was the solution proposed by Guiffrey, *Charles VI*, p64-65, for the disappearance of Charles V's collection of tapestries. He also noted pilfering was a possibility. For some of the tapestries of the Capetian Dukes of Burgundy in Charles VI's inventory [via King Jean le Bon] see *De Winter*, p138. For tapestries as booty see Verlet, *op. cit.*, p12. There is a question of loss or destruction over centuries not over decades. This sort of problem of fragility is not advanced in the same way to explain loss of sculpture at that time, see *De Winter*, p686 (vol 3). Ease of transportability of tapestries led to wide dispersion and now renders subsequent restoration of the whole tapestry difficult, for example the *Nine Heroes* in the Cloisters, see Verlet *op. cit.*, p51. It is too easy to explain losses as simply due to rats and mice, although these contributed; for references to damage see Guiffrey, *Charles VI*, p68. For some of Louis damaged tapestries see *Graves*, *1007, 1020 etc. For reference to harsh conditions to which the Angers *Apocalypse* was exposed and survived see Verlet, *op. cit.*, p46; see also Letter to the Editor, Morris & Co., "Tapestry as Decoration for the Houses of Parliament", *Burl. Mag.*, vol12-13 (1907-1908) p255-256. For references to destruction of tapestries during the Revolution, to extract precious metals as well as destroy the materials, see d'Hulst, *op. cit.*, p17.

in his households' inventories and documents, with tapestries in inventories of the King and the other French Dukes does enable one to establish the artistic significance of Louis' collection. We can also assess his role as patron of tapestry compared with the patronage of others, and determine the extent to which he may have aided the commercial stability of the industry. Louis' patronage will be analysed on the basis of his economic participation rather than artistic influence.¹

1. See the approach of A. Hauser, The Philosophy of Art History, London, 1959, p254 that "history only begins when we have got an ordered inventory of the extant works." A analysis of Louis of Orléans and his tapestries cannot proceed along this line.

ii. PRIMARY SOURCES.

Our main information for the patronage of tapestry is to be found in the primary sources. We will consider in detail three of the inventories which mention tapestries namely, the Blois Inventory of Louis in 1408, Charles VI inventory of tapestries sold by the English in 1422 and Jean de Berry's 1416 inventory.¹ Other comparative inventories which will be assessed include the document recording the tapestries which Valentine brought with her from Milan, the Trousseau Inventory, the Paris Inventory listing Louis' tapestry collection in Paris after his assassination and an extract from Louis' earliest inventory of 1403, [1403 Inventory].² Further scattered sources, such as accounts or receipts for payment, or various lists of items will be evaluated as appropriate.³

Turning to the documentation of the household of Orléans, we see that Valentine's Trousseau Inventory is limited in its scope. There is no mention of the type of historiated tapestries which were so popular with the French Dukes and the King. Listed in this inventory are six chambres, a quilt and seven banquiers, with the insignia of M. de Vertus.⁴ This inventory does not represent the sum total of Valentine's possessions, only those she brought with her, to France, on her marriage. The contemporary inventory compiled in her family's château at Pavia may include further tapestries. It is not clear, either from the reference made to the Pavia inventory⁵ or in descriptions given of Valentine's arrival in

1. For Charles VI's tapestries see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p59-110, 396-444; for Jean de Berry's tapestries see Prost, Tapisseries, p385-392; and Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, p193-281.

2. For an extract of the 1403 Inventory see Champollion-Figeac, p247-251.

3. The Orléans inventories and documents to be considered are listed in Appendices VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X.]

4. For this hereditary title see Pellegrin op. cit., p3 and Roman, p265 n.1, *843.

5. Graves, p1.

France and the treck she and her entourage made across France to the wedding at Melun, whether these goods at Pavia were eventually also sent to France. Only a comparison between the Pavia document and the later Orléans documents could help to clarify this.

Louis and Valentine were married in August 1389. The Trousseau Inventory was compiled a month later in Paris, before two of Louis' chamberlains, and included a list of the dishes which the town of Paris offered to the newly-wedded couple. The document has either not survived in its entirety, or else Graves has not fully published it, as only a single entry recording the gift of a goblet and pitcher is listed in the inventory.¹

When we compare the Trousseau Inventory with the Blois Inventory, it is clear that there are two different modes of description employed in the two inventories and this makes positive identification of individual items difficult.² The Trousseau Inventory's concern is a more quantitative analysis of the objects, giving total numbers of each precious stone, whether set in a crown, or on the cover of a manuscript, and the precise weight of each precious item of jewellery, gold and silver.³ The

1. For the note about the gift from the town of Paris see ibid., p2. For the abbreviated reference to the goblet and pitcher see ibid., p80 #213 under the heading Gold Dish. The entry commences: "Firstly..." suggesting that a list was to follow. Although discussion on whether Graves has or has not abbreviated this section is conjectural, for his usual method of indicating obliterations in the manuscript itself see ibid., p83 and p84 #229.

2. For example, amongst the other items included in this inventory are two crowns, one of which may be the same as one of the two crowns mentioned in the Blois Inventory. See ibid., #1, #2, #229, #230.

3. ibid., #72. It should be noted that a quantitative approach is appropriate for recording a trousseau.

items of cloth, the chappelles¹, curtains, various separate pieces, banquiers, and chambres were not accorded this same exactitude in measurement, nor was any reference made to the type of loom which may have been employed to weave the materials. It seems the same importance was not attached to these details.

Valentine's wardrobe appears a little scant with only five short coats and two houppelandes being listed. The Blois Inventory included twenty six houppelandes. This would suggest that the Trousseau Inventory accounted only for a portion of Valentine's goods and those enumerated at Pavia arrived in France at a date after the compilation of the Trousseau Inventory. Therefore, her collection of goods listed in this inventory which included twelve manuscripts, seven chappelles, one hundred and fifty nine gold, gilded or silver plates, thirty rings, five chambres and seven banquiers, and no individual tapis may give some indication of the relative preference she had for some of the personal items she brought initially with her, to France.²

Valentine's manuscripts seem to be more stimulating than her collection of tapestries.³ Although not numerous, her manuscripts showed the erudition which might be expected from a member of the Visconti family. Little variety and inspiration was apparent in the choice of chambres. They fall into the broad category of heraldic designs, with

1. For chappelles, the cloth items required by the priest for himself, the oratory, altar and lecturn see ibid., *115-119.

2. The Blois Inventory included 38 manuscripts, 22 chappelles, 77 rings, 30 chambres, and 2 banquiers (which are identified by Valentine's arms. See ibid., *1093) and 238 tapis and 30 chambres.

3. For a comparison of Valentine's and the other Visconti manuscripts see Pellegrin passim, but particularly p45, p52-70. Also see Shultz op. cit., p3, p402.

fleurs de lis, coats of arms and, in one chambre, the Visconti motto *a bon droit*,¹ while another was embroidered with rays of the sun.² One chambre, however, shows that the Visconti were cognisant of the latest trends in design.³ This chambre, made of gold and red cloth, was worked with images of leopards, stags and flowers, and may have been a verdure.⁴ This chambre and the others listed here, were more likely to be of a stuff other than tapestry.

The two principal inventories listing the Orléans tapestries, the Paris and Blois Inventories, can be considered together.⁵ The Blois Inventory, although compiled more than a year after Louis' death, can be taken as representative of Louis' taste. Valentine would have had little time to make additional purchases or commission works, including tapestries, following the assassination of her husband since she was, for the first time, involved in the management of the Orléans estate, centred at Blois, and defending, or arranging the defence of, her husband's name at the court and tribunal hearings which took place that year. Rather than

1. For the motto *a bon droit* see A. Lecoy de la Marche, "Les Anciens Collections de Manuscrits. Leur Formation et Leur Installation." Part III, Gaz BA, series 2, vol 36, 1887, p233. See also Pellegrin, op. cit., p43, p367, p489.

2. For the emblem of sun rays see ibid., p43, p367, p492.

3. Graves, *133.

4. For verdures see Thomson, Tapestry, p522. See also Guiffrey, Charles VI, p107.n.1 and Hunter, op. cit., p48ff. For the Duke of Burgundy's verdures see De Winter, p141-142; for Louis' see Roman, *680, *683, *684 etc; for Charles VI's see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p107.

5. Included in the 1403 Inventory is a list of tapestries, which, with the exception of one chambre, are all repeated in the Paris Inventory. The 1403 document cannot, therefore, add significantly to our general knowledge of tapestries more than the Paris and Blois Inventories so will not be considered in this section of the thesis.

adding to the collection, documents show that Valentine was forced to sell some of the treasures of the estate to remain solvent. The Paris Inventory was compiled for this very reason.

Although neither inventory consistently recorded the weight or value of each item, the Paris Inventory was, in this regard, more comprehensive than the Blois Inventory, and placed a similar emphasis on the value of goods as noticed in the Trousseau Inventory. This was to be expected as the Paris Inventory was concerned with goods which were to be sold. Valentine's preferences for certain possessions can be gauged from those goods she sold. Not one manuscript was to be offered for sale. The first one hundred and seventy nine entries included various rings, trinkets and small objects, some of which, such as his rosary beads and a "tree of coral",¹ probably had sentimental value to Louis, but little intrinsic value. Louis' interest in astrology was revealed, with the listing of two instruments for pursuing this field of endeavour.² Avid collectors, such as Jean de Berry had already surveyed the offerings and it is noted that he had acquired a gold ring, with a stone which was like a cat's eye.³ A selection from the remaining precious stones, which were removed from the items melted down, in order to raise funds for Louis' trip to Lombardy in 1403, was included.⁴ Small trinkets were merely noted. Larger, more expensive items, such as chains of gold and the precious stones were qualified by weight.⁵ The one hundred and sixty three entries which referred to tapestries, chambres and various items of cloth were written

1. Roman #671. This was marked (+), to be retained.

2. Ibid., #581,582. These were marked (+), to be retained.

3. Ibid., #555. This was marked(+), to be retained.

4. Ibid., included in#633-650, in the keeping of Jehan Poulain, the treasurer general.

5. Ibid., #572, 573, 633.

in a more cursory fashion, giving the impression that a "head-count" of the number of pieces was of more importance than a connoisseur's description. Amongst these last entries was reference to thirty five chambres, one hundred and forty six tapis, and three pavillons as well as various other small pieces.

The Blois Inventory is two and a half times the size of the Paris Inventory.¹ Now it was Charles d'Orléans turn to enumerate the Orléans possessions. The element of choice was removed however as this was the inventory of Valentine's estate, not selected items to be brought to a new life in France, nor the selection of goods to be sold. Comments were appended in parentheses, which may be Charles' instructions or the directions of his treasurer being expressed.² Nowhere in this inventory were the items of gold, silver and precious stones denoted by weight or value. Some cloths, including those which Valentine had brought with her from Paris, and others bought in Reims were specified by length and some, amongst these, were valued.³ Five baldachins and three pieces of cloth, of satin and gold, were priced.⁴ Elements of precision in measurement were not included in the entries referring to the chambres or tapis. Valentine's clothes that were mentioned were largely given away and there was a

1. There are 342 entries in the Paris Inventory, compared with 884 in the Blois Inventory.

2. See Graves, *231: a hat which Monsieur gave to Madame on the 27th March, 1409; *260: a gold chain, with a cross, five small cameos and four small pears which Monsieur kept for himself; *268: a tableau with a Crucifixion and Our Lord at the Sepulchre which was taken to Paris for sale ("Portés à Paris pour vendre")

3. Ibid., *601-660. It is interesting to note that *660 refers to serviettes which were brought from Coucy. Other references to items at Coucy will be found in a document BL Eg.Ms.1639, which will be considered in detail.

4. Ibid., *495, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 504, 509.

listing of her various pieces of jewellery, some inscribed with her initials. Thirty tableaux were noted, including one which could possibly be identified with the tableau in the Paris Inventory, although the description in the Paris Inventory is not totally adequate to enable a positive identification to be made.¹ Among the thirty eight manuscripts were Valentine's Hours and Breviaries, an Apocalypse, books in German and a selection of the popular literature of the day. Christine de Pisan and Eustace Deschamps were represented, as well as the favourite Roman de la Rose, with illuminations and a book of the "Epistles" of the debate about this book. An historical element was present in a Chronicle of the Kings of France.² Once again, the last entries were tapestries. There were thirty chambres and two hundred and thirty eight tapis mentioned, plus the usual range of small items such as curtains, canopies and quilts.

The Paris Inventory included five chambres more than the Blois Inventory, but significantly less tapis than at Blois. This is not meant to compare one document against the other, since the Paris Inventory does not purport to be a complete inventory of the goods which were in Paris, rather a catalogue of goods which were to be sold. However, after its compilation a change of heart was expressed by placing crosses against those items which were not to be sold.³ These goods were also written down on a roll of paper. The items of jewellery, some scarves and vases, so retained could have been returned to Blois and may be mentioned in the Blois Inventory. Parallels between the joyaux in the two inventories would

1. Only one tableau was in the Paris inventory, see Roman, *502.

2. See Delisle, Cabinet, vol I p105.n1.

3. The crosses are only marked in the Paris Inventory published in Graves, Pièces, p225-237.

appear to substantiate this. But since all the tapestries were to be sold, parallels between the Blois tapestries and the Paris tapestries were not duplications, but reflect the popularity of certain themes and styles in the Gothic environment.¹

Apart from the inventories, some light on the possession of chambres and tapis by the Orléans household is cast by miscellaneous documents. Some of the references to tapestries are vague and do not suit our purpose.² The British Library is the repository for a number of Orléans documents. One of these, an Egerton Manuscript, Eg. Ms. 1639, includes tapestries which belonged to Valentine Visconti.³ A second document, the Additional Manuscript, BL Add. Ms. 11542,⁴ is more complex and requires an analysis to determine its relationship to the other Orléans inventories. The other inventory is the 1403 Inventory.⁵

1. For repetitions of popular themes see Guiffrey, Charles VI, #183, 195, 196, 198, 199, 213, 215, 216, 231 etc. for tapestries with the following themes: persons playing chess, depictions of a chase, persons and fountains, and *l'amour*, variously described as the God or Goddess of Love, or of plaisance. For tapestries like these in the Blois Inventory see Graves, #1032 (a goddess), 1091 (Battle of The Thirty) 1021 (Story of Theseus) 1082 (called the chambre au parc). For similar tapestries in the Paris Inventory see Roman, #690 (God of Love), 691 (two persons playing chess), 698 (two tapis of the story of Theseus). Roman, #577, 578 and Graves #402 appear to refer to the same golden cages.

2. See Graves, Pièces, p45 for reference to a room hung with tapestries in the Hôtel de Behaigne and ibid., p65, for payment to an un-named merchant for a high warp cloth.

3. For a reference to this manuscript see Wood, "Credo" Tapestries, p248.

4. See Thomson, Tapestry, p117-118 for BL Add. Ms. 11542.

5. See Champollion-Figeac p247-251 for the 1403 Inventory and Appendix VI.

Tapestries described as belonging to Valentine are noted in the "inventory of tapestry" in the Egerton manuscript.¹ In a paper about Credo tapestries,² D. Wood, referring to this manuscript, remarked on two pieces. These were a tapis of the Credo and a grand tapis of the Grand Credo. Unfortunately, adhering to the limits of his topic, the author did not indicate the subject of any other pieces, nor, indeed, if there were any further tapestries. These Credo tapis he believed, were owned by the Duchess in addition to the two tapestries of the Credo, mentioned in the other document in the British Library, Add. Ms. 11542.³

Quite apart from the similarity within tapestry themes, a more important correlation may exist between these two documents. The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts mentions the locations of the tapestries described in the document, as the "hostel de Behaigne [in the forest of Coucy] and the hostel des Tournelles at Paris". A reference to an *hôtel* with the name of the first mentioned is contained in the Additional Manuscript 11542, viz. cy hostel de beshaigne.⁴ The themes of

1. See Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1875. vol II, London, 1877, p835 for Eg. Ms.1639. 1408 ff 31, 33. French, Paper, XIVth and XVth. Folio.

2. D. Wood, "Credo" Tapestries, p248.

3. See ibid., for reference to BL Add. Ms. 11542, p15.

4. The differences in orthography may be due to misinterpretation by Thomson, if he were transcribing from the original document. Since he mentioned a "brief reference on the margin" [Thomson, Tapestry, p67] of another document, there is no reason to suppose that he was not looking at the original documents. Explanation of the location, "the forest of Coucy", is a little more difficult to account for. The only references I have to the *hôtel de Behaigne* locate it in Paris. See for example, Champollion-Figeac p82 and Graves, Pièces, p16, for the document recording the King's gift of the Parisian *hôtel*. I have not been able to ascertain whether a forest or *bois* of Coucy close to Paris may have existed, in addition to a forest in the County of Coucy.

the fourteen tapestries listed in this document do not include the Credo. Seven were of The Seven Vices and Seven Virtues and seven of The Tree of Life. The Paris Inventory of Louis' goods from various Parisian *hôtels*, notes each custodian of the property but does not specify the location of the goods noted therein, beyond mentioning that they were in Paris. The Egerton manuscript of 1408 may well be another catalogue of yet more tapestries from the Orléans collection and found in two other *hôtels*, at least one of which, if not both, was in the capital. It seems likely to me that the Egerton Manuscript, 1639, is a missing part of the Paris Inventory.¹

Likewise I suggest that the British Library Additional Manuscript, 11542, relates directly to the Paris Inventory. The entry in the British Library catalogue describes the Add. Ms. 11542 as a collection of documents, including an inventory of tapestries found in various residences of the Duke of Orléans.² A comparison of the tapestries in this document³ with those in the Paris Inventory of 1408 shows that every chambre and tapis in the British manuscript has a counterpart in the Paris Inventory. Mention has already be made of the "roll of paper" on which were marked selected goods that it was decided would not be sold from the

1. The sectional arrangement of the Paris Inventory has been mentioned. Goods were catalogued as they were found in each separate location. The Paris Inventory is a compilation of these various lists and included some small goods which were brought from Coucy [Roman *687]. Eg. Ms. 1639 lists additional tapestries which were catalogued most probably in the hostel de Behaigne, Paris, having been brought there from an hostel in the forest of Coucy.

2. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1836-1840, London, 1843, p2, p104, p77.

3. The record of BL Add. Ms. 11542 available to me was transcribed in Thomson, Tapestry, p117-118. This may not be a complete transcription, although in all likelihood it could be as Thomson was quoting the document as an example of the scope of Parisian workshops at the turn of the century.

Paris collection. All the tapestries were to be sold. The Additional Manuscript, I suggest, may therefore be the catalogue for the sale of some of the Parisian tapestries. Few of the tapestries cited in the Paris Inventory were those with Louis' devices,¹ although emblems which related to the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy were noted. From a sense of loyalty to the Duke she fought so hard to defend during 1408, Valentine may have preferred to keep the heraldic tapestries which were closely connected with the Orléans family. Not one of Louis' emblematic tapestries is included in the catalogue in the BL Add. Ms. 11542. To support my suggestion that the Additional Manuscript relates to the Paris Inventory, the lack of correlation in the themes of the tapestries in the British Add. Ms. 11542 with those in the Blois Inventory would also indicate that the tapestries in the first document were not amongst the tapestries at Blois. Equally apparent is a dissimilarity between the Paris and the Blois tapestries, confirming that the Blois Inventory was a catalogue of a second tapestry collection, not including any tapestries catalogued in Paris.²

An extract of the earlier 1403 Inventory was transcribed by Champollion-Figeac.² If the various goods in this inventory, dated 25th

1. Only one heraldic tapestry can be positively identified, for the Orléans knotty baton, see Roman, *724.

2. See Champollion-Figeac p247-251. For the two other citations of this inventory see Prost, Tapisseries, p386 n2, and E. Müntz, La Tapissérie, Paris, 1884, p115.n.1, who both refer to Champollion-Figeac as their source for the 1403 Inventory. Müntz describes the inventory as a list of tapestries in the apartments which the Duke occupied in Paris. The existence of this inventory was not noted by Shultz.

September 1403, are compared to those in the Paris Inventory, it is clear that not only is almost every item in the 1403 Inventory repeated in the Paris Inventory of 1408, but the order of the entries is identical. The jewel, which was like a cat's eye, that finally became Jean de Berry's possession, was the first entry in Champollion-Figeac's extract.¹ The astrology equipment, followed by a reliquary with very distinctive cameos were also mentioned.² It can be seen that the 1408 Paris Inventory is based on the earlier 1403 Inventory, and acquisitions to the estate were inserted as required within the framework of the earlier document, a clerical procedure which can be identified in other documents.³ Every tapestry in the earlier document was mentioned five years later,⁴ with the exception of a second example, which Louis owned in 1403, of a chambre depicting shepherds in a trellised garden. The first break in the consecutive sequence which was repeated in the 1408 Paris Inventory marked the inclusion of certain small items which had come from Coucy.⁵ From these two documents the extent of Louis' acquisitions of tapestry can be estimated. The 1408 Paris Inventory included thirty five chambres, of which nineteen were owned by him in 1403. Evidently, Louis bought and retained in Paris at least sixteen chambres in the intervening five years. The Blois Inventory contained record of thirty other chambres, suggesting a total of sixty five chambres at the time of Louis' assassination. These

1. It is most unfortunate that Champollion-Figeac did not include a list of the manuscripts which, it could be assumed, would have found mention in this inventory.

2. The corresponding entries in the Paris Inventory are Roman, #555, 581, 582, 599.

3. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p61.

4. The corresponding entries in the Paris Inventory are Roman, #678, 676, 688-691, 696-698, 702-704, 707, 710-715 and 724. The tapestries in Roman, number from #678 to 741 inclusive.

5. Ibid., #687.

figures may be increased by the number of chambres included in the Egerton Manuscript, the details of which have yet to be assessed by scholars.

Only Champollion-Figeac has quoted the 1403 Inventory.¹ Writing in 1844, before the fire at the Louvre in 1871, Champollion-Figeac's transcription apparently remains the only extant version of Louis' first inventory. However, as shown above, some details of this document are now interspersed within the Paris Inventory of 1408.

In spite of the similarities, the British Library Additional Manuscript cannot be a part of the earlier 1403 Inventory. The order in which the tapestries were compiled is not consistent with the 1403 Inventory. It is therefore also not consistent with the Paris Inventory. However, certain later acquisitions, included in the 1408 Paris Inventory are also found in the British Library Additional Manuscript 11542.²

1. Champollion-Figeac, p253. The 1403 Inventory was signed the same day as the document listing the jewels etc. which were to be melted in order to procure funds for the proposed excursion to Lombardy. [See Roman, p192-198.] It seems probable that an inventory of the household was taken, in order that certain of the items could be selected as being suitable for melting down or selling. This would apparently contradict claims such as that made by Meiss, Late XIV Century, p40, that only the exceptional connoisseurs, the Dukes of Berry and Anjou, had inventories drawn up during their lifetime. Louis' 1403 Inventory may not have been the inventory of a connoisseur wishing to catalogue his collection, since it appears to have been compiled in response to a fiscal requirement. Nevertheless, it is an additional documentary source of the Orléans' household, which we should not ignore. See ibid., the only documents Meiss considered as Louis' inventories were the Trousseau Inventory and the Blois Inventory, published by Graves.

2. See Roman, #716, 723, 731, 735 repeated in BL Add. Ms. 11542.

The method of chronological book-keeping used in Jean de Berry's inventories is not followed in any of Louis' inventories or documents. The Blois Inventory was begun on Valentine's death and appears to register objects as they were returned to the *château de Blois* although fortunately objects are recorded according to category.¹ In this inventory the tapestries are grouped together in three sections.²

In another inventory of tapestries, that of Charles VI, there is a confusion when items for various uses, such as velours, cloths, serges, are not separated from the tapestries. This inventory was commenced eight months before the King's death and according to Guiffrey, systematically records the items from room to room in the Louvre and Hôtel St-Pol, although previous inventories may have been used as a reference for this compilation. Charles VI's inventory was compiled by his clerk of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and a notary, in the presence of the officer in charge of the royal tapestries.³ It was not a testamentary inventory, although Charles died soon after.

The record of the tapestries of the Duc de Berry was compiled following the death of the Duke in 1416.⁴ This inventory began with tapis and tapisseries which were located in Bourges and Mehun-sur-Evre.⁵ Small

1. For example see Graves, p84 for chapeaux, p87 for "gold belts", etc.

2. See ibid., p161 for "Another inventory of tapestry", p165 for "Other tapestry", p166 for "Other tapestry, squares and other things".

3. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p59-110, 396-444.

4. Prost, Tapisseries, p385-392 is a misleading source for Jean de Berry's tapestries. This was the source used by De Winter. The more complete reference is Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, p193-281.

5. Ibid., *1-142.

items are mentioned first, followed by larger sets, so an order is suggested in the compilation. Although the tapestries were largely listed and extensively described in the first section, a number of tapis and a chambre of tapisserie can be found in the last part of the document,¹ which was apparently appended to the inventory.²

Both the inventories of Jean de Berry and Charles VI record the details of the size and value of the tapestries. All the tapis and tapisseries belonging to Jean de Berry and almost all of those belonging to Charles VI are priced. In comparison, the Orléans inventories do not mention the value of any items of tapis or tapisserie. In Valentine's Trousseau Inventory, the 1403 Inventory, the inventory of the Parisian collection and the Blois Inventory there are no monetary equivalents given for any items, with the exception of eight pieces of gold and silk cloth.³ Amongst the documents available to me, the values of the Orléans tapestries can only be determined from the manuscripts in the British Library, or the record of payment to Jaquet Dourdin for a chambre of tapestry.⁴

Although the Orléans documents seem to be less adequate than the inventories of Jean de Berry and Charles VI, the discrepancies

1. Ibid., #774-1167.

2. For an explanation of the lacuna in the document see ibid., p256.

3. Graves, #495, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 504, 509.

4. For the manuscripts in the British Library, see Thomson, Tapestry, p62-69,74-76, 87ff, 117-118; transcribed in Appendix IX. For the payment to Dourdin, see Roman, p202-203; transcribed in Appendix VIII.

which appear in all the documents would confirm the existence of a variety of methods in book-keeping, rather than a single standardised norm. This lack of standardisation, together with the political turmoil surrounding the compilation of the two final Orléans documents in 1408-1409, may have led to the omission of certain details about Louis' tapestries.

iii. TAPESTRY TERMINOLOGY.

The ambiguity in terminology makes it difficult to assess the exact extent of each collection. By simply adding the number of entries in each inventory you do not arrive at a total number of tapestries as each entry can include more than one item.¹ For instance similar tapestries seem to be occasionally, although not always, grouped together for the scribe's convenience.² Just as there was no consistency in the overall composition of the various inventories, there was similarly no standard classification of the individual items of tapestry. Terms such as tapis (tappis, tapiz) and tapisserie (tapicerie, tappicerie) are used apparently interchangeably.³ Chambres are mentioned sometimes as one entry, which includes all the related items of the one chambre, and sometimes each type of item which together forms the chambre is mentioned as a separate entry.⁴ Due to this vagueness in terminology the meaning of certain entries is not always precisely clear and then interpretation is occasionally difficult. For the discussion of the tapestries terms need to be given some consistent definition and the system to be used for comparison of the inventories established.

1. The number of entries in each inventory which are of tapestries are as follows:

Louis: Paris Inventory Roman, *678-741=63 entries+ Blois Inventory Graves, *1002-1115=113 entries, total = 176 entries;

Charles VI:[Source Guiffrey, Charles VI] (1422) * 1-325= 325 entries;

Jean de Berry: [Source Guiffrey, Jean de Berry]: *1-142 = 142 entries + *774-1167 = 393 entries, total = 435 entries.

2. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, *67 sixty four tapis; Roman *727: six tapis, white with Parisian thread ... worked with roses.

3. I shall standardise my terminology and use the spelling tapis and tapisserie, irrespective of the orthography of the document from which I quote. For the ambiguity in terms see Verlet, op.cit., p37.

4. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, *1-6 relate to one chambre.

The main category which will be considered in this thesis is the chambre. This term applied to a suite of tapestries designed to decorate a particular room.¹ We can also define a chambre as a garniture de lit, which could include "eight curtains, two covers, a ceiling, a dossier, [or back drape to hide the bolsters], and four tapis de pied."² However, this was not a prescribed formula and many variations are encountered. The document authorising payment to Jacques Dourdin was for a "chambre de tapisserie" which consisted of a ceiling and dossier, two covers and six tapis to hang on the walls.³ The various items of the chambre were not only woven tapestry ie. tapisserie or tapis. References can be cited in the documents to an embroidered chambre of blue satin, chambres of gold, silk and wool, of serge or damask, or brief entries described as "another chambre."⁴ The terms tapisserie or tapis do not appear to specify different types of weaving. In an inventory a chambre may be described as being a tapisserie and be immediately followed by another reference to tapis, described as "the same".⁵ Nor does the term tapis apply only to carpets for the floor, as frequent reference is made to tapis for the walls, or for hanging.⁶ Entries of pavillon, daiz, or banquier are interspersed

1. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p88, Thomson, Tapestry, p515.

2. Roman, p.136.n4. For curtains (courtines) which could also be used synonymously with couverture see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p80.n1. For goutières which were the "curtains" hanging around the bed, see Ibid., p.81.n2. See also d'Hulst, op. cit., pxiii for 'portières' and 'entre fenêtres'.

3. See Roman, p202-203, and Appendix VIII.

4. Ibid., * 185, 681, 694, 718.

5. Ibid., *704,705.

6. Ibid., * 714 for the tapis pour muraille, * 710 for reference to à tendre.

amongst the entries of chambres and tapis.¹ Other terms which cause less difficulty in interpretation are boucassin, a type of cloth of cotton or linen, between sackcloth and buckram, serge de Caen, and camelot de Reims.² Small pieces, which may have been individual pieces, or some of the remaining pieces from a chambre are also documented. These include carreaux, alèze and serges.³

Technical terms such as haute lisse, or high warp weaving, and à la marche, or low warp looms are encountered in inventories.⁴ The failure in most instances to use the qualifying term high warp, cannot be construed to mean that the tapestry so described is not a high warp weaving.⁵ There are many inadequacies in the terminology used in these inventories which lead to a certain lack of precision in the documents.

1. Ibid., * 738; Graves, * 1014, 137. For an idea of the size of a banquier, which could apparently be considerable see Roman, * 188. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p.77 for a banquier being a cover for a seat or bench. He notes however, that it is a synonym for a dossier. For dossier or dossieret see Ibid., p75.n4

2. See ibid., p.78.n5. For the fame of the cloths from these two towns see ibid., p82.n1 and n.2

3. For an example of these squares and serges see Graves, * 1099, 1056. Also see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p98.n.4. Reference to this type of small article [alèze] was not found in the Orléans inventories.

4. For the terminology applied to low warp looms see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p96. In the Orléans inventories the only loom specified is high warp. For the development of these looms and techniques see Thomson, Tapestry, p53ff, Hunter, op. cit., p238ff.

5. A comparison of BL Add. Ms. 11542 and the Paris inventory shows that the qualifying terms are sometimes omitted; eg. Roman, *719 is listed as "another chambre of tapisserie" while the entry in BL Add. Ms. 11542 describes this as "another chambre of tapisserie of haute lisse". [Thomson, Tapestry, p118].

A valid system of comparison for the inventories must take into account the variability of these terms, as well as the undisciplined nature of the documenting procedure and the probable loss or deterioration of certain pieces over a period of time. It is not accurate, therefore, to count the total numbers of tapis, chambres, and serges and to denote some meaning to the figure thus obtained. Tapis or serges may belong to a chambre which is also cited in the inventory, or they may have always been separate pieces. There is no possible manner in which this information can be correlated now from the penury of detail in the Orléans inventories.

Despite a certain imprecision in the term chambres, a consideration of them, whether recorded in whole or in part will, at least, give an indication of the holdings of one tapestry type in its entirety, rather than a sum of fragmented pieces. For this purpose both entries which are designated chambre and those which recognisably are derived from a chambre will be counted.¹ A numerical comparison of the inventories reveals that Charles VI's inventory includes twenty chambres, sixteen other possible chambres and six further entries being described as de chambre or de salle. Allowing for all of these to be associated with different chambres the total number referred to in Charles VI's inventory is forty two. The Jean de Berry inventory mentions eighteen chambres. A document relating to Jean sans Peur's collection includes four chambres, although this transcription may not be complete.² The details given of Burgundy's collection are not sufficiently exact to be

1. Guiffrey, Charles VI, # 181 (refers to a "ciel, dossier, couverture"); # 196 (refers to a "ciel").

2. See Thomson, Tapestry, p92-3 and p93 n.1 where he notes additional tapestries not published by Pinchart. This document is dated 1420, some years after the Duke of Burgundy's death.

analysed in this way, nor is the mention of the Duke of Anjou's collection of seventy six historiated tapestries adequate for our purposes.¹ The Orléans documents record in Valentine's Trousseau Inventory six chambres, in the Paris Inventory thirty five chambres, and the Blois Inventory thirty chambres. The total number of tapis and chambres may indicate the role of the patron as collector and the chambres provide a basis on which to compare the different patrons. When compared with those of Charles VI and Jean de Berry, Louis of Orléans must emerge as having a major collection of tapestries and consequently be considered as an important patron of tapestry.²

The inventories themselves draw a distinction as to the relative importance of chambre and tapis and tapisserie. We encounter an entry in Charles VI's inventory to "sixty-four tapis," which are not differentiated and other instances of tapis and tapisserie being brought together for the convenience of the inventory.³ However, chambre are always individually enumerated, suggesting that they were considered as objects of considerable value. Some are, for the purposes of a more

1. For Philippe le Hardi's collection of "some 100 [weavings] often sets rather than single hangings" see De Winter, p136. See Salet, op. cit., p18, for an estimation of Philippe's collection as 75. See Joubert, op. cit., p388, for the Duke of Anjou's collection in 1364.

2. If every tapis mentioned is counted [noting that not all tapis are identified as such in the inventories] the following figures are obtained: The Blois Inventory included 238 tapis and the Paris Inventory 146 tapis. See Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, for Jean's 184 tapis, [note Salet, op. cit., p18, noted he had 28, the probable source for which was Prost, op. cit.]; and Guiffrey, Charles VI, for Charles' 186 tapis.

3. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, # 87. Similar evidence is found in the Orléans documents: in the Paris Inventory see Roman, # 698, for two tapis of the Story of Theseus; in the Blois Inventory, see Graves, # 1021 for a similar entry, two tapis of the Story of Theseus, qualified in this reference by "high warp".

concise description, broken into the different elements, each of which is separately entered. In some cases, even the fragmentary remains of a chambre are carefully recorded.

Inventories and documents were usually compiled in reponse to a fiscal requirement: either during the owner's lifetime or on death, for the purpose of evaluating the worth of the estate.¹ It is because of this that chambres are described in more detail than tapis, since the former would usually be worth considerably more.²

Care must be exercised when interpreting the documents as some of the possible variables are not immediately apparent in the inventories. The measurements of the tapestries were, at this time, stated sometimes in Parisian aulnes, sometimes the aulnes of Flanders, which

1. See Verdier, op. cit., p19 for inventories as measures for control and safekeeping.

2. For a document authorising payment to Jacques Dourdin for a "chambre de tapisserie" of 454 aulnes (which are not defined as Parisian, but might be presumed to be since Dourdin lived in Paris), costing 1100 l.t. see Appendix VIII. The BL Add. Ms. 11542 records values of various chambres as 1500 francs, 500 francs, 1100 and 1600 francs. (See Thomson Tapestry, p117). Other information concerning Louis' tapis is in the British Library: eg. Add. Ch. 2775: 200 l.t., Add. Ch. 2735 1400 francs for three tapis, Add. Ch. 2734 1700 francs for three tapis of high warp, 15 x 4 1/4 aulnes, 20 x 3 1/2 aulnes and 20 x 3 1/4 aulnes; for all these see Ibid., p62ff. In Charles VI's inventory, a chambre of 229 1/2 aulnes was valued at 688 l. 10 s.p. (see Guiffrey, Charles VI, * 1-6) and a silk chambre (Ibid., * 7) at 20 l.p. Amongst Jean de Berry's tapis one which was 15 aulnes by 4 aulnes was valued at 300 francs or five francs per aulne while others ranged from two to six francs per aulne, depending on the richness of the materials used and complexity of the design (see Prost, Tapisseries, p390-391). Charles VI's sixty four tapis (Guiffrey, Charles VI, * 87) were worth a little less than 4 1/2 livres each while two large tapis of the Old and New Testament were valued together at 208 l.p., ie 104 l.p. each.

were approximately half the length.¹ The term aulne, used alone, is therefore ambiguous. The value of the tapestries is given in a variety of coinage: livres tournois, livres parisis, francs and in some translations these are reduced to simply livres, sous and deniers, their provenance being ignored.² The final variable is the quality of the tapestry itself. This can depend on the quality of the materials used, whether gold thread was incorporated in the tapestry, or whether finer threads of silk were employed. The degree of difficulty of the design ranged from repetitions of heraldic designs to complicated multi-figured compositions. The implication of the complexity of the design is indicated by Guiffrey, who estimated in a study based on the work of Nicholas Bataille, that the value ranged from 18 to 24 sous per square Parisian aulne for common hangings to up to 10 francs per square Parisian aulne for the most complex tapestries.³ The uncertainties concerning the relative significance of items could be eliminated if extant works could be matched up with the documentation.

1. See Schneebalg-Perelman, *op. cit.*, p259. This qualifier if noted denotes the location of the workshop, as either Paris or Flanders.

2. R. Vaughan, Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, p5 n1 and p18 n4 equates the franc with the livre tournois; also see McLeod, *op. cit.*, pxiv-xv. For the relative value of the denier parisis with the denier tournois as 5:4 see M. Postan, E. Rich, E. Miller, editors, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe "Economic Organisation and Policies in the Middle Ages", vol III, Cambridge, 1963, see Table on p595, also see p583-584 and p 591. See also Graves, page preceding preface; Thomson, Tapestries, p553, for tapestry as "one of Europe's costliest industries" and G. Van Ysselsteyn, Tapestry. The Most Expensive Industry of the XV and XVI Centuries. A Renewed Research into Technic, Origin and Iconography, Brussels, 1969, *passim*.

3. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p66. Shultz, *op. cit.*, p159 quotes this as "16-24 s.p. per square aune".

Despite the lack of precision in the documents, a brief survey of values of other various items which Louis purchased can still be attempted. This helps to place the tapestries within the context of the market as a whole. As with tapestries, within each category of goods there was considerable range of values. Three examples of houppelandes can be cited to show this.¹ Placed within the context of other goods, tapestries stand out as very expensive items in the luxury goods market.²

1. The following examples are drawn from the Roman documents and are identified by the entry number:

All three houppelandes are simply cited as such in the inventory although their values range from 4 to 276 francs:

#165	<u>longue houppelande</u>	276 francs 6 s.t.
#181	<u>longue houppelande</u>	18 francs
#226	<u>longue houppelande</u>	4 francs

2. The following examples are drawn from the Roman documents and are identified by the entry number:

#3:	a large diamond for the Queen	140 francs
#35:	a large diamond for the King	220 francs
#13:	two pairs of harnesses	32 sols
#12:	covered goblet&gilded silver pitcher	130 francs
#111	gold collar, circular, decorated	21 l. 18 s. 4 d.p.
#255	satin jacket for the King	8 l.p.
#398	a dozen kerchiefs	5 francs

These values can be compared with the values for tapestries [see above p.57] which ranged from 200 livres tournois to 1700 francs.

So far the documents have been used to suggest the comparative market values of the tapestries in the context of other luxury items belonging to Charles VI, Louis and the other Dukes and also as a guide to the extent of their patronage. In addition the documents can yield information concerning the iconographic programmes of the tapestries and the identity of the artisans and merchants employed by these patrons.

iv. THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMMES OF THE TAPESTRIES.

When considering the iconography of the tapestries, broad categories of subject matter appear to be repeated in all the inventories and documents of this period.¹ While religious subjects are included, most tapestries have secular themes. These can be divided into "representational" and "non-representational and emblematic" subject matter. "Representational" scenes included mythological and historical events, verdures of pastoral and chivalrous themes and scenes of hunting and daily life. "Non-representational and emblematic" patterns were decorative and could feature heraldic designs, incorporating emblems, mottos or escutcheons. Some tapestries are inadequately described in the documents and are difficult to accurately categorise, although they appear to fall into the "non-representational and emblematic" category.² The similarities which exist between the inventories of tapestries of the King and the Dukes may in part reflect the inadequacies in the descriptive terminology available, but also show the preference within Court circles

1. For extant examples of tapestries with various themes see Verlet, *op. cit.*, p40-76 and Digby, *V&A*, plates 1-17.

2. A tapestry described in the *Paris Inventory, Roman*, #697, as the Destruction of Troy may be the same as a tapestry in the BL Add. Ms. 11542 see Thomson, *Tapestry*, p117-118, where the arms of the Dauphin are noted.

for the style founded on the elegance and refined conservatism of Parisian tradition. Nevertheless, the inventories of patrons show a degree of individuality and emphasise different aspects of the available iconographic programmes. Commissions for popular themes were apparently rare,¹ yet specific commissions must have been placed for those tapestries which incorporated the patron's own coat of arms, emblems and mottos.

Although an analysis of the range of imagery in Louis' tapestries reveals a standard mixture of themes common at the time, some peculiarities need to be noted. The Blois Inventory lists initially items which came from Lombardy and then proceeds to those not from Lombardy. However, in this latter category under the heading "Cloths of Gold and Silk"² there are included five cloths with the Visconti heraldic devices, four with lions, one of which has a gold baton, and a fifth with a falcon and sun. On other cloths, other emblems are encountered like feathers, violets and thistles which have no relationship to the Visconti.³ Some of the cloths contain stags, squirrels and rabbits which probably, but not invariably, relate to pastoral and hunting scenes.⁴

Apart from the cloths mentioned above, the bulk of the tapestries is listed at the end of both the Paris and Blois Inventories.⁵ Of

1. Outstanding commissions include Jean de Berry's Nine Heroes, now in the Cloisters, see Rorimer, op. cit., p80; and the Duke of Anjou's Apocalypse now at Angers, see Souchal, op. cit., no.1.

2. Graves, #495-516.

3. See Pellegrin, op. cit., p42-43, 367, 491. This analysis suggests that at least five of these cloths were from Lombardy or made specifically for Valentine.

4. For a chambre with the devise of stags see Graves, #1012.

5. For a summary of the subject matter in the tapestries see Appendix X.

these, one hundred and thirty six can be identified thematically. Within the broad categories noted above, only five percent of the tapestries in the Paris Inventory have religious scenes, the remainder can be classed as secular. If these are further divided into two groups, there are approximately equal numbers of tapestries with "representational" scenes and "non-representational and emblematic" themes. A similar analysis shows the Blois Inventory had a different emphasis. A slightly higher percentage, eight percent, of religious scenes can be identified. There is, however, a marked preference for "non-representational and emblematic" themes instead of "representational" subjects.¹ It is reasonable to suppose that Valentine brought, from Paris, many of the heraldic tapestries which were in Louis' collection, rather than attempt to sell them in the capital. The greater emphasis on "non-representational and emblematic" themes could reflect that there was not an extensive market for tapestries which showed escutcheons and devices relating to another family.² A comparison with the inventory of King Charles VI shows similar

1. The Paris Inventory has 57 identifiable themes. Of these, 3 are religious, 29 "representational" and 25 "non-representational and emblematic". The Blois Inventory has 79 identifiable themes. Of these, 6 are religious, 18 "representational" and 55 "non-representational and emblematic" [i.e. three times as many]. If added together to give a more complete picture, there are still twice as many tapestries with "non-representational and emblematic" themes as there are tapestries with "representational" subject matter. [80 against 47]. Shultz, op.cit., p141-148, analysed the Orléans tapestry themes as follows: 24 millefleurs or pastoral, 18 complete or partial chambres with motifs, about a dozen with chivalric themes and very few with religious or moralistic subjects.

2. Inheritances and gifts were two ways in which tapestries with heraldic devices could pass from one collection to another: for the Burgundian arms and nettle emblems in Louis' collections Roman, #689, 725; for Jean de Berry's coat of arms in Charles VI's inventory, Guiffrey, Charles VI, #151. For inherited tapestries see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p90.n6 for Berry's tapestries in the collection of Charles VI; see De Winter, p138 for the

broad trends.¹

Within the group of tapestries with "representational" subjects, recurring themes can be isolated. Scenes of naturalism extended into pastoral themes and rustic images which were juxtaposed with scenes of courtly ceremonies. This differentiation of social class was a characteristic of the International Style. Pastoral subjects and verdure tapestries are cited in Louis' collection.² Shepherds, shepherdesses and woodcutters are repeated in a number of pieces, as well as scenes of ladies playing with children or harps, or near fountains or rivers, or collecting cherries. Cherries featured in two of the tapestries of the King and in two of Louis' tapestries.³ Decorative works with orange trees, of which Louis had at least two, can also be seen in Jean de Berry's inventory.⁴ Both Louis and Charles VI had games of chess shown in their tapestries.⁵ Neither hunting subjects, nor the fanciful hunts with unicorns appear in the Blois or Paris Inventories. This does not indicate, however, that Louis never possessed tapestries with such themes. as both are mentioned in accounts and receipts held in the British Library.⁶ This

Duke of Anjou's in Philippe le Hardi's collection and Ibid., p138.n8 for some belonging to the Capetian Dukes of Burgundy, which reverted to Jean le Bon, and finally appeared in Charles VI's inventory. For Bourbon's tapestries among Jean de Berry's see Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, #16-25 (p209 n.1)

1. The analysis of Charles VI's inventory shows: 120 identifiable themes: including 8 religious and 112 secular subjects. [62 "representational" and 50 "non-representational and emblematic"].

2. See De Winter, p746 (vol 3), who claims the pastoral theme "to all appearances....(was) developed by Marguerite of Flanders".

3. For Charles VI see Guiffrey, Charles VI, #318, 283. For Louis see Roman, #681, 685.

4. For Louis, see Ibid., #722, 728; and Graves, #1034, 1035. For Jean de Berry, see Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, #72.

5. For Louis see Roman #691. For Charles VI see Guiffrey, Charles VI, #198.

6. For hunting themes see G. Digby, The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries, London, 1971, passim. For Louis' see Thomson, Tapestry, p117-118, BL Add. Ms. 11542. For unicorns see Ibid., p63, BL Add. Ch. 2778.

only serves to highlight how incomplete these two inventories of Louis' collection are and the problems of an analysis of the subject matter, in more than general terms, unless the French and English collections of documents are considered together.

Chivalric themes of knights and courtly love are drawn from Romances and lyric poetry. Gods and goddesses of love adorned the baldachins and angels were represented on the ciel, (or canopy).¹ Ideals of chivalrous behaviour did not exclude such elements of gothic naturalism as Charles VI's tapestry showing two people, one of whom was urinating.² One of Louis' tapestries contained the "savage man" theme, which is not mentioned in the Blois or Paris Inventories, but is found in one of the documents in the British Library.³

Literary sources such as epic poetry were represented in the Battle of The Thirty, and various scenes of jousts.⁴ Charles VI's tapestry of a contemporary topic, The Joust of St. Denis,⁵ had no counterpart

1. For example see Roman #680, 690. For reference to the Roman de la Rose as one source of this theme, see L. Fourez, "Le Roman de la Rose de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Tournai", Scriptorium, vol 1, 1946, p217ff; R. Koechlin, "Quelques groupes d'Ivoires Français Le Dieu d'Amour et la Château d'Amour sur les Valves de Boîtes à Miroirs", Gaz BA, Ser-5, vol 4, 1921, p279-297 and D. Ross, "Allegory and Romance on a Medieval French Marriage Casket", JWCI, vol 11-13, 1948-1950, p112-142.

2. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, #223 and p62.

3. See Thomson, Tapestry, p66, BL Add. Ch. 2764. For this theme in the collection of Charles V see Verlet op. cit., p22. For another in this style, referred to as The Savages Ball tapestry, see ibid., p53. For the derivation of the Savages Ball theme from stories of chivalry, see M. Crick-Kuntziger, "L'Exposition de Tapisseries Gothiques au Musée des Gobelins", La Revue D'Art, n.s.v29, July-Dec, 1928, p212.

4. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, #686 and Graves, #1091.

5. For the Joust of St. Denis see Guiffrey, Charles VI, p88.

amongst Louis' tapestries, although Louis did have a tapestry of the Duke of Aquitaine.¹ This aspect of subject matter epitomised the artificiality of the court. Subjects such as Charlemagne, Theseus, The Destruction of Troy² and the contemporary tenth hero who was added to the other Nine Heroes, Bertrand du Guesclin, were popular. Louis and Charles VI had a special affection for du Guesclin. He was not solely their hero and his name can be found in inventories of the Duke of Burgundy's tapestries.³ Moralistic ideas, which were intertwined with Christian ideals, were popularly shown in subjects such as The Seven Vices and Seven Virtues, The Fountain of Youth and The Path of Life.⁴ However tapestry themes derived from Petrarch's Triumphs, which are described in both Burgundy's and Berry's inventories as Fama, do not occur in Louis' collection.⁵

Religious subjects were least popular. Of these themes, tapestries of The Coronation and Judgement, [a Last Judgement ?] attracted considerable patronage.⁶ Cults of popular or

1. See Thomson, Tapestry, p65.

2. See Ibid., p74, for BL Add. Ch. 2696 (Charlemagne), see also Roman, *686, 697.

3. The Nine Heroes were Hector, Caesar, Alexander, Josuah, David, Judas Maccabaeus, Arthur, Charlemagne to whom Godfrey of Bouillon was added. See H. Marillier, "The Nine Worthies", Burl. Mag., vol 61-2, 1932, p13-19. Deschamps added Bertrand du Guesclin as the tenth hero, see Shultz, op. cit., p336-337. For the statue of Bertrand du Guesclin in the château of Coucy see Ibid., p27. For mention of the heroes in other inventories see for Berry, Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, *17; for Burgundy see De Winter, p149 and Hunter, op. cit., p297; for Charles VI see Guiffrey, Charles VI, *165, 171 and p94.n1. For Louis and this theme see Meiss, Late XIV Century, p374.n249 and Graves, p25ff.

4. See Roman, *686, 702, 735.

5. For Fama tapestries see for Berry, Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, p386 and for Burgundy see De Winter, p151. For the relationship of this theme to the glorification of Charlemagne, see Van Ysselsteyn, op. cit., p68.

6. See Graves, *1017, 1018.

personal saints were also expressed in tapestry. The Duke of Berry favoured Saints Andrew and John, while Louis had St. Louis.¹ Parallel scenes of the Old and New Testament were shown. The Credo was also popular and Louis had a room which featured this as its theme.²

The heraldic tapestries were the most significant group found in the analyses of Louis and Charles VI' inventories. The Duke of Berry also had his emblems woven into fabric and had a chambre which was based on his emblem of the swan and another with mottos.³ Preoccupation with heraldry was, as Panofsky noted, not a new obsession.⁴ Emblematic devices were close to the hearts of the Dukes, who were playing psychological games based on ancient epics, medieval romances and tales of heroism. Louis' knotty baton was accompanied by the motto 'I challenge' [*"Je l'envie"*] to which Jean sans Peur replied with a carpenter's plane and the motto 'Accepted' [*"Ic Houd"*]. Louis' chivalrous order of The Porcupine had a counterpart in Burgundy's Knights of the Golden Fleece.⁵ Thistles and marguerites, a reference to his wife's name, were Philippe le Hardi's emblems, although not exclusively his; pods of genista flowers had a similar value for Charles VI, while his motto was 'Never' [*"Jamais"*].⁶

1. For Berry's saints see Meiss, Late XIV Century, p59; for Burgundy's saints see De Winter, p144. For St Louis see Graves, #1024.

2. See Ibid., #1025, 1060, 1061. For the "Credo" theme see D. Wood, "Credo" Tapestries, p247-254, 309-316.

3. See Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, #27 and 781.

4. Panofsky, ENP, p60.

5. For example: the knotty baton see Roman, #724 and the porcupine see Graves, #1039.

6. For the Duke of Burgundy see De Winter, p134. For the nettle as Louis' emblem see Graves, p27 and #1045. For Charles' motto Jamais and emblem see Guiffrey, Charles VI, #1.

The range of iconographic programmes in tapestries which were available to each patron must have been wide enough to allow for individual taste. Louis would seem to have had less interest in religious subjects than Jean de Berry. Louis' collection of historical and literary scenes seems to have been less extensive than Philippe le Hardi's. Certainly, from the extant documents, he did not have the same compulsion to retain for posterity contemporary historical events as apparently did the King or the Duke of Burgundy.¹ From the available inventories and documents, the King, Charles VI, and Louis appear to have had similar preferences within the range of tapestry themes. These parallel interests could be explained by the close proximity of their lives in the court and the employment of the same artists and ateliers to service their needs. Louis' collection may have included more "non-representational and emblematic" themes, however this trend may be due to the chance survival of some documentary information and the loss of other sources.

1. See for example, the King's Jousts of St. Denis and the Duke of Burgundy's Roosebeke tapestry, *De Winter* p151-153. As has been considered above, this trend may reflect political rather than private taste, see Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, p441-458.

v. THE TAPESTRY MAKERS.

The names of the artists employed to produce the tapestries, or, as is more frequently the case, those of the merchants who marketed them, are scattered through the primary sources. Discerning the provenance of the tapestries themselves is more difficult. In some of the inventories the phrase ouvrages d'Arras can be noted. The more usual phrase cited is fil d'Arras. These difficult terms, along with the associated expressions fil de Paris and soye d'Arras, have vexed many scholars.¹ It is generally agreed that these latter terms may indicate the provenance of the materials which were used in a tapestry, but not necessarily the location of the atelier itself. Terms such as this which occur in Louis' inventories do not lead us any closer to the problem of clarifying the locations of tapestry workshops of the time. The provenance of only one work is indicated in the Orléans inventories and that was a dias, or canopy, of gold and velvet, described as "made in Avignon".²

Information which identifies the craftsmen and merchants is not readily available from the inventories themselves. One mention is found in Louis' Paris Inventory for red satin covers, which had been previously bought from Perrin Pilot.³ The facts concerning artisans and merchants are to be found in the documents, the invoices and receipts of the Orléans household.

1. For fil de Paris in Louis' tapestries see Graves, #1069, Roman, #718, 727; for soye d'Arras, the silk from Arras see ibid., #738. Roman interpreted this as Parisian and Arras' manufacture, however ouvrage d'Arras or the unit of measurement, the aulne of Paris or Flanders, are terms which indicate the centre for the production, see above p57. Also see Meiss, Late XIV Century, p42; D'Hulst, op. cit., pxiv-xvi; Hunter, op. cit., p242, 42 and Verlet op. cit., p30.

2. Graves, #1010. [cf. ibid., #1096: en facon d'Almaigne: after the German style.

3. Roman, #729.

The inventories and documents published by Roman, which include the Paris Inventory, comprise a selection of these manuscripts, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, which cover many aspects of the day-to-day running of the household and give an insight into the life of the Orléans-Valois princes. Unfortunately, Roman's process of selection has possibly resulted in some documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which would have added to our sources of information, being not published.¹ Graves' later publication of documents held in Paris adds to this source, although she did not confine her selection to documents relating to only jewellery and tapestry.² Champollion-Figeac, who was employed by the Bibliothèque Nationale, did not footnote the sources of his information. In spite of this, Roman noted both he and Champollion-Figeac used the same documents as sources. The selection of manuscripts from which the latter extracted information does not seem to be based on diversity, but those documents which supported the eulogy he was writing of the two Dukes of Orléans, Louis and Charles.³

Apart from the Paris Inventory, the only document which Roman published concerning tapestry was an authorisation of payment, in 1403, to Jaquet Dourdin, [sic], a merchant living in Paris, for a chambre of tapestry for the *Château de Coucy*, showing the Dieu d'Amour.

1. Roman's documents cover the period 1389-1481, and the Dukes of Orléans Louis I, Charles and Louis II, who, when on the throne of France, was known as Louis XII. For the discussion and rationalisation of his choice and publication of one document of each type see ibid., p83ff.

2. See Graves, Pièces, for various documents, such as Louis' purchases of cheese and spices see ibid., p118-119 and for galenicals ordered by Louis' apothecary, Godeffroy Lefevre, see ibid., p58-61.

3. See Champollion-Figeac, preface- iii, stating his monograph was compiled in response to the "constant and enlightened protection which the Royal household had shown towards the Arts".

The Additional Manuscripts and Charters in the British Library provide the greatest source of information about Louis' purchases of tapestry. They are quoted by Thomson, in his book A History of Tapestry.¹ Although first published eighty years ago, my research has not found any other publication of these documents.² Tapestry themes and scenes referred to in these documents did not, in every case, reappear in either the Paris or Blois Inventories. The tapestries may have been damaged and discarded, lost or pillaged from the estate, or they may be cited in other inventories, such as the British Library Egerton Manuscript, which still remain as unidentified sources of the Orléans estate.

The two names thus far encountered in the inventories, Perrin Pilot (or Pillot) and Jacques Dourdin (or Dordin, Deurdin, Dourdain), are again mentioned. Pilot was designated as "tailleur et varlet de chambre" of

1. See Thomson, Tapestry, p62-69, 74-76, 117-118. 1. [See Appendix IX.]
2. McLeod, passim, has included footnotes to both BN and BL archival material, but, as noted, she did not use the original documents, see ibid p.xvi. and may have referred to the J.J. Champolion-Figeac compilation cited in her bibliography: Lettres de rois... tirées des archives de Londres. [1866], see ibid., p395. Meiss, Late XIV Century, whose study on Berry includes documents from both archives, lists Graves as the only source for Orléans inventories. (ibid., p353). Various papers published in journals have mentioned one or more Orléans documents which relate directly to one specific aspect, not the Orléans collection in total [eg. Wood, "Credo" Tapestries] In the bibliography in Thomson, Tapestry, updated before publication in 1973, no other published work on these particular documents in the BL is noted. See ibid., p65.n.3 for Thomson's source, for the tapestries of the Fountain of Youth, Duke of Aquitaine from Dourdin. Shultz, op. cit., p152 notes that for Dourdin in particular, Thomson remains the best source. His claim concerning Louis' patronage of Bataille [ibid., p266] is taken from, although not attributed to, Thomson [Tapestry p62].

Louis¹ and his name was noted three times.² Thomson found one other mention to Pilot, a marginal reference in the British Library document Add. Ms. 11542, where the delivery of a chambre to Pilot was noted. Pilot was not included in the records of tapestry makers.³ Amongst the documents in Paris are records of payment and gifts to Pilot, and his invoice seeking payment for various robes and houppelandes, made for the Orléans household between 1393-1395.⁴

The name Dourdin appeared more frequently in the British Library documents.⁵ He was described as a merchant and bourgeois of Paris. He served Louis and also supplied the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen, as well as being designated varlet de chambre to the King.⁶ In two cases, both the invoice and receipt of one transaction have been quoted. One of the tapestries which was purchased from him, the Savage Man, was described as a piece *from* Arras in the invoice from Dourdin. The document recording the presentation of this tapestry as a gift noted that it was made of wool *of* Arras. Considering the lack of standardisation in terminology which has already been remarked, it could be assumed that the invoice from the tapestry maker was more likely to be the accurate description.⁷ The subjects of other tapestries were mentioned in two further documents. Dourdin supplied two tapestries of the Credo and one of

1. For those craftsmen designated varlet de chambre of Louis, see Appendix IV. For other craftsmen in the employ of Louis see Appendix V.

2. See Thomson, Tapestry, p67 for BL Add. Ch. 2770, 2779, 2781.

3. Ibid., p68. See also Salet, op. cit., p17.

4. See Graves, Pièces, p125-129, 135.

5. See Thomson, Tapestry, p66-67 for BL Add. Ch. 2721, 2726, 2727, 2735, 2764, 2777, 2786. Note that Champollion-Figeac, Third Part, p29, #34, also published BL Add. Ch. 2726.

6. See Salet, op. cit., p17 and Thomson, Tapestry, p64-66.

7. Ibid., p66 for BL Add. Ch. 2764. Shultz op. cit., p162 n.5 has misquoted the number of the charter as BL Add. Ch. 2777 (the receipt).

the Coronation of Our Lady to Louis in 1395 and tapestry for the chambre de boucheron in 1400.¹

Other names are recorded less frequently, at least in the documents which Thomson chose to cite. A merchant of Genoa, Levan de la Mer, supplied six pieces to Louis, and Pierre Labourebien was paid for a silk tapestry chambre.² Also included was Jehan de Croisete, a "tapissier sarrazinois", living in Arras.³ This is, with the sources available to me, the only occasion where written evidence could be found that Louis traded directly with a tapestry maker, resident in Arras. The archival documents concerning Philippe le Hardi show that he traded with merchants in both Paris and Arras.⁴ Considering his close connections with Flanders and France, his patronage would be expected to encompass both towns. His important contribution was to the tapestry industry in Arras. Both the King, Charles VI, and Jean de Berry had tapestries which were made in Arras listed in their inventories, however whether these were purchased through Arras ateliers or a Parisian merchant is not documented.⁵ Charles VI also had a chambre à facon sarrazinoise.⁶ It has been considered that the Arras pieces which Louis possessed, mainly came through merchants

1. See Thomson, Tapestry, p65 [BL Add. Ch. 2726] and p66 [BL Add. Ch.2786].

2. Ibid., p76, 67 for BL Add. Ch. 2719, 2733. For Philippe le Hardi's purchase from the Genoese merchant Pierre Labourebien see De Winter, p150.

3. See Thomson, Tapestry, p74 for BL Add. Ch. 2696. For definition of the term tapissier sarrazinois see Hunter, op. cit., p242.

4. See De Winter, p134-159.

5. For the Duke of Berry, see for example Guiffrey, Jean de Berry, *1-4 etc.

For Charles VI, see for example Guiffrey, Charles VI, *189, 194, 195 etc.

6. Ibid., *10.

such as Dourdin, and more frequently, from Bataille.¹ Jehan de Croisete provided another avenue.

In the British Library documents, the name of Bataille was the most frequently mentioned of all the tapissiers and merchants. Thomson cited seventeen different documents concerning him, and three of these were duplicated in the extracts of Champollion-Figeac. A further two references to Bataille were published by Graves.² Patrons of Bataille included the King and the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy,³ however Thomson accorded to Louis the position of "perhaps [Bataille's] most generous patron".⁴ These documents are particularly interesting because Bataille is styled as tapissier and merchant or bourgeois of Paris as well as varlet de chambre of the Duke of Orléans.⁵ Systems of credit payment were also noted in two manuscripts.⁶ Eighteen pieces with Louis' escutcheons were

1. Shultz, op. cit., p162, claimed another piece from Arras for Louis, however he has mistakenly interpreted the expression "of Arras wool" as an indication of the provenance of the tapestry itself, rather than the materials used in the work. See Thomson, Tapestry, p67 [BL Add. Ch. 2779.] The piece acquired through the Arras tapissier is mentioned by Shultz, op. cit., p156, yet he fails to note its provenance. Hence, Shultz's claims that Louis gave away his two tapestries from Arras, ibid., p163, thereby indicating his preference for 'the artistic formulations shaped in the reigns of John the Good and Charles V', is based on erroneous attributions. Shultz appears unaware of the Arras piece Louis did retain.

2. See Thomson, Tapestry, p62-3, for BL Add. Ch. 2702, 2706, 2709, 2713, 2714, 2717, 2722, 2729, 2734, 2737, 2741, 2743, 2752, 2757, 2762, 2772, 2778. Champollion-Figeac, Third part p28-31, duplicated BL Add. Ch. 2722, 2734, 2772. Graves, Pièces, p68, 262.

3. See Thomson, Tapestry, p60-62, 87.

4. Ibid., p62. See Müntz, op. cit., p114-115, who noted that between 1387-1400 Charles VI acquired more than 250 tapestries from Bataille and that Louis emulated his brother in this passion for tapestry.

5. Thomson, Tapestry, p62-4 [BL Add. Ch. 2734]. For Bataille as varlet de chambre of Louis d'Anjou see R.-A. Weigert, La Tapisserie et Le Tapis en France, Paris, 1964, p16.

6. Thomson, Tapestry, p62 [BL Add. Ch. 2702]. See Graves, Pièces, p68 for certain high warp pieces valued at 1200F, to be paid at 100F/month. 73

commissioned. One entry, duplicated by both Thomson and Champollion-Figeac is recorded differently by each author.¹ Thomson's transcription of the document noted there were many chambres as well as a Tree of Life, while Champollion-Figeac's entry added that the chambres included Louis' green chambre with beasts and unicorns from the tapissiers of Paris. Champollion-Figeac's other details, of date and price and description of the Tree of Life, concur in all respects with Thomson's confirming that they were referring to the same document. This example serves to highlight the difficulties in determining the content of the documents, when a secondary source has to be consulted. A number of tapissiers were associated with Bataille however none appears in this selection of documents.² Bataille's name is also noted, twice, on the margin of the British Library manuscript, Add. Ms. 11542. Two of these tapestries are thus linked to his name. One had an emblematic arrangement of stags, a large stag being placed in the centre of the tapestry and, according to the value of this tapestry, apparently used expensive materials and probably was large. The other tapestry was more sombre in its use of precious materials. This piece was woven without gold and showed a lion in the centre and a beast in each of the four corners.³ Bataille died around the end of the fourteenth century. A quittance from his widow for chambres which Bataille had made for Valentine in 1396, is dated 5th August 1401.⁴ The British Library Manuscript, Add. Ms. 11542, it has been shown, can be related to the Paris Inventory, of 1408 and post-dates Bataille's death. It seems likely, therefore, that the marginal

1. For BL Add. Ch. 2772 see Thomson, Tapestry, p63, Champollion-Figeac Third part, p30.

2. See Thomson, Tapestry, p67. For Bataille (known as Nicholas or Colin) see ibid., p64.

3. For the details mentioned here see ibid., p118.

4. See Graves, Pièces, p262 and Weigert, op. cit., p22 for Bataille's "disappearance".

references to Nicholas Bataille are an indication, not that the tapestries were given to Bataille, but that they were woven in his atelier.

Colin Symon's name is appended to three tapestries in the British Library Manuscript, Add. Ms. 11542. It would be highly unlikely that his name would be associated with this document if he had no affiliations with tapestry making, in general, and the Orléans household, in particular. A reference, about 1425, can be found to a Symon, an illuminator, who was engaged in the preparation of cartoons for tapestries.¹ The mention of his name on the Orléans' document is the earliest record of his activity in tapestry production. This allows us to identify, for the first time, one of the possible designers associated with Louis' tapestries.²

Champollion-Figeac contributed an identity not noted by Thomson. This was Jehan de Jodoigne, also described as a "tapissier sarazinois", who repaired a chambre aux épis, a small Charlemagne and other tapestries.³ Alain Diennys was mentioned in two Orléans manuscripts.⁴ His name was associated with Charles VI. Following charges for high treason, tapestries which he and Jacques Lempereur had in their possession were seized by Charles' officers. These tapestries are included in the inventory of Charles VI.⁵

1. For Symon, the illuminator and the cartoons for the tapestries for the Church of St. Magdalen in Troyes, see Thomson, Tapestry, p114-115.

2. If this were so, then a new name could be added to the list of tapestry designers, see P. Ackerman, "Recently Identified Designers of Gothic Tapestries", AB, vol19, 1926-1927, p142-160. The name Symon is not included amongst 18 of Paris' painters in 1391, see Henwood, Colart de Laon, p95, 100.

3. Champollion-Figeac third part p29.

4. See Thomson, Tapestry, p 67 for BL Add Ch 2725, 2731.

5. See Guiffrey, Charles VI, p62. The date given as 1408, is not corroborated in the document. Ibid., p94.n.3 refers to 1418. Shultz, op. cit., p156 quoted 1408. Two tapestries of chess are listed Guiffrey, Charles VI, *183, 198, however no other details allow any relationship to be drawn between these two men, their confiscated tapestries and Louis.

vi. EXTANT FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURY TAPESTRIES.

The destruction and dispersion which befell the documents was also to be the fate of the tapestries. A tapestry, formerly described as showing "Louis d'Orléans et Valentine de Milan", has now been reattributed.¹ At best, we can use the documents and inventories as primary sources which permit later extant tapestries to be placed within their context. A few surviving tapestries and fragments have themes which can be found amongst the tapestries in Louis' inventories. Others have no counterparts cited in the sources which currently form our basis for assessing Louis' collections.

Themes which are duplicated include fragments of tapestry from the History of Charlemagne, The War of Troy, New Testament scenes, The Seven Vices and Seven Virtues, and tapestries showing the Credo.² Parallels can be drawn with Louis' inventories and surviving pieces, such as a verdure, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing a rabbit

1. See F. Mazerolle, "L'Exposition d'Art Rétrospectif de Madrid", Gaz BA, ser 3, vol 9, 1893, p148-163; plate p156; Shultz, op.cit., p27.

2. For extant tapestries showing the History of Charlemagne see Lejeune and Stiennon, op.cit., vol II, plates 454-460. Louis' inventories frequently mention tapestries with Old and New Testaments subjects, but fail to further define the theme. On occasions the subject is described, for example, see Champollion-Figeac, Third Part, p29 for a Coronation of Our Lady. For New Testament scenes, see Digby, V&A, plates 1A and 1B for a Descent From the Cross; for The Presentation of Christ in the Temple see Joubert, op.cit., plate 334; for a tapestry of The Passion, see D'Hulst, op.cit., p33-40. For the Angers tapestry of The Apocalypse see ibid., p1-6. For The War of Troy, see Digby, V&A, plate 12. For tapestries of The Seven Vices and Seven Virtues see D. Wood, "Tapestries of the Seven Deadly Sins", Burl. Mag., vol 20-21, 1911-1912, p210-222, p277-289. For the Credo theme, see Wood, "Credo" Tapestries, passim.

warren, surrounded by stags, or tapestries with unicorns, of which two important series survive.¹ However, beyond noting that these were popular themes found in the inventories of the King and the Dukes, they cannot be more closely correlated.

Several examples of the Credo theme are found in the Orléans documents. Louis ordered a fine high warp piece, to be worked with gold, from Jacques Dourdin in 1395.² The 1403 Inventory lists a tapis of the Grand Credo and both the Paris and Blois Inventories include references to tapis with this theme.³ The citation in the Blois Inventory is for a tapis from the room with the Credo theme, suggesting that this may be another Credo tapestry. Two "old" Credo tapestries, one small and one large, were amongst those to be sold, following Louis' assassination.⁴ The tapestries at Coucy included two Credo tapestries, one at least being a Grand Credo.⁵ However, the path we are following halts at the mention in the inventory of Charles of Orléans, in 1427, of a Grand Credo and a Petit Credo.⁶ Tapestries showing The Seven Vices and The Seven Virtues and The War of Troy can also be traced through some of Louis' inventories.⁷

1. For the verdure, which is dated early fifteenth century, see Digby, V&A, plate 17. For tapestries of unicorns see M. Freeman, The Unicorn Tapestries, New York, (1976), 1983, passim. and A. Erlande-Brandenburg, La Dame à la Licorne, Paris, 1978, passim.

2. See Thomson, Tapestry, p65, BL Add. Ch. 2726 and Appendix IX.

3. See Roman, *686 and Graves, *1060.

4. See Thomson, Tapestry, p117-118, BL Add. Ms. 11542.

5. See Wood, "Credo" Tapestries, p248, BL Eg. Ms. 1639.

6. Ibid.

7. For The Seven Vices and Seven Virtues see Roman, *686, 734, Graves, *1023, Champollion-Figeac, p248 [1403 Inventory]. For The War of Troy see Roman, *697, Champollion-Figeac, p249, Thomson, Tapestry, p118.

The theme which can be best related to extant works and which is consistently mentioned in the primary material of Louis' collections is the History of Charlemagne. In 1389, a receipt records the payment of Jehan de Croisettes, an Arras tapissier sarrazinois, for a Charlemagne tapis, worked with gold.¹ A later document, dated 1395 registers the payment made to Jehan de Jodoigne, another tapissier sarrazinois, for repairs which he made to a number of tapestries, including a Petit Charlemagne.² It seems strange that the 1403 Inventory does not mention a Charlemagne tapestry. The omission suggests that the 1403 Inventory cannot be regarded as an exhaustive catalogue of all the tapestries which Louis owned at the time, but listed only those in Paris at the time of compilation of the inventory. A Grand Charlemagne is included in Valentine's Blois Inventory,³ but not either Louis' Paris Inventory or the catalogue of tapestries to be sold in 1408. The later entries would support this proposal and confirm that Valentine had a separate tapestry collection.

There are some extant fragments of a History of Charlemagne tapestry, relating to the incident called The Battle of Roncevaux. They depict the defeat of Roland, Charlemagne's paladin, at the pass of Roncevaux. The source for the theme is pseudo Turpin's account of the Chanson de Roland.⁴ The fragments with this theme probably have their

1. See Thomson, Tapestry, p74 for BL Add. Ch. 2696.[14th August, 1389.]

2. Champollion-Figeac, Third Part, p29 #34 for a document dated 3rd February, 1395.

3. Graves, #1022

4. For the Chanson de Roland see B. Woledge et. al., The Penguin Book of French Verse, Harmondsworth, (1961) 1974, p17-25. For the derivation this theme and the History of Charlemagne see Lejeune and Stiennon, passim. For the theme of the History of Charlemagne in tapestry see ibid., p370-377, Asselberghs, op. cit., p25, and Van Ysselsteyn, op. cit., p67.

provenance in two distinct sets.¹ Analysis of the style and iconography of the two sets has not conclusively identified the Florence-Brussels fragments as being earlier than the Dijon-London-Tournai fragments. The latter fragments include details of drawing which do not figure in the Florence-Brussels fragments. This, Assleberghs noted would be consistent with the Dijon series of fragments being the earlier work, as the weavers could possibly suppress some design from the cartoon for the tapestry, but were unlikely to invent new details. He also based his dating on the more subdued use of colour and greater emphasis on perspective. However, because of the use of more sophisticated perspectival devices in the Dijon-London-Tournai fragments, Van Ysselsteyn placed the

1. Two fragments, one in the Cinquantenaire Museum in Brussels, and the other in Florence, were identified by Madame Crick-Kuntziger as belonging to the one set. See Verlet *op. cit.*, p20, where it is claimed that she attributed these tapestries to Louis of Orléans and linked them with the document BL Add. Ch. 2696. If this were so, then examination of the pieces would elucidate details of the technique implied behind the term tapis sarrazinois, and an extant work could be identified with a known tapestry-maker from Arras. However, another source, referring to the same attribution by Crick-Kuntziger, contradicts the first reference. The tapissiers of Arras supplied many of the tapestries documented in the inventories. For the single extant work which can be identified with the Arras workshops, the Story of St. Piat and St. Eleuthère, see Weigert, *op. cit.*, p27. The attribution of the Florence-Brussels Charlemagne tapestries to an Arras tapestry maker would, therefore, have substantially increased our knowledge in this field. Assleberghs has added another panel with this theme to this set and noted the third piece, from the Lelong collection, which was sold by Christies in 1963: see Assleberghs, *op. cit.*, p25. The second set of Charlemagne, whose fragments survive, has been identified to include the Charlemagne tapestry in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon, and two Bataille de Roncevaux fragments, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the other in the Museum of History and Archeology in Tournai. For a fourth piece from this later series which was sold by Sothebys in 1962 and its present whereabouts is unknown see *ibid.*, p25. But see Digby, V&A, p19, for identification of a fourth piece in the National Museum, Stockholm.

Florence-Brussels fragments as the earlier of the two.¹

There is agreement that both sets can be classed as Franco-Flemish tapestries.² Elements of the design, such as a *horror vacui*, the "Flemish" horses, with their small heads and heavy rumps and the dialect of the inscriptions help to establish the origin of the tapestries. Tapestries from Tournai, it has been noted, often identify the characters in a scene by inscribing their names, in gothic letters, on their garments.³ The *personnae* are identified in this way in all of these tapestries. Careful analysis of the style of the fragments cannot, therefore, support the tenuous link proposed between Louis of Orléans and the Florence-Brussels fragments.

The primary sources give an insight into Louis' tapestry collections and a context within which to place the extant works of the same theme. It is only rare cases, such as Louis D'Anjou's Apocalypse tapestry or Jean de Berry's Nine Heroes, where the bridges can be built "from one bank to another". The detailed analysis of tapestries belonging to significant patrons, such as the King, Charles VI, the Dukes, Philippe le Hardi and Louis of Orléans, remains an impossibility.

1. Van Ysselsteyn, op. cit., p66.

2. All the fragments have been attributed to Tournai except Lejeune and Stiennon, op. cit., p375 who note the Dijon fragment could come from Arras or Tournai. For a reference to Migeon's definition that Arras and Tournai tapestries were "specifically Flemish, Burgundian by their geographical location and Franco-Flemish by their adherence to a style which was common to both France and Flanders" see Weigert, op. cit., p26-7. For "Flemish" horses see Van Ysselsteyn, op. cit., p66.

3. Weigert, op. cit., p27.

CONCLUSION.

The survey of the Orléans documents and inventories undertaken in this thesis has identified the problems associated with any attempt made to assess the patronage of Louis of Orléans which does not take into account all the documents. Because of the terminology of the documentation used in the inventories and the penury of descriptive detail, particularly in Louis' inventories, the additional primary sources, such as receipts and invoices, yield most of the significant details of Louis' patronage. Previous estimates of his patronage had suffered because they were based on selected Orléans sources. They have, in general, failed to consider the loss and sale of goods which took place during 1408, the scattering of goods in three repositories, Paris, Blois and Coucy, and with trusted friends, and the various documents, now housed both in France and abroad.

The inconsistencies in the documenting procedures render direct comparisons between inventories difficult. In this thesis a means has been established whereby comparisons are drawn between the inventories and documents of contemporary patrons. De Winter has analysed patronage and Nicholas Bataille based on payments of his accounts and placed Louis ahead of the others, including the King, as Bataille's most generous patron. A count of the number of entries in the inventories which relate to tapis and tapisserie put Jean de Berry in front of Charles VI, while Louis' inventories actually recorded more separate pieces of tapis. An analysis of the number of chambres cited in the inventories, showed that Louis played a more significant role than the King. These comparisons establish a relative framework into which to

place the patrons, rather than absolute criteria from which irrefutable conclusions could be drawn. Thus, Louis of Orléans, who retained Paris' most renowned tapestry maker as a member of his household, emerges as one of the important patrons of tapissiers.

The examination of the documents of the Duke of Orléans considered in this thesis has shown that a hitherto neglected inventory of Louis' tapestries at Coucy, the British Library Egerton Manuscript 1639, increases our estimate of the number of tapestries in Louis' collection. Another neglected and apparently lost document, the 1403 Inventory, can be usefully compared with the Paris Inventory and thereby enable an estimate to be made of Louis' purchases over the intervening five years. The list of tapestries in the British Library Additional Manuscript, 11542, has been placed in its context as a catalogue of tapestries which were to be sold in 1408, after Louis' death. A close comparison of all the documents and inventories confirms that the Blois Inventory catalogued a further collection of tapestries, some of which were possibly from Paris and not included in the Paris Inventory, while the remainder belonged to Valentine. When these sources are considered together, Louis' tapestry collection appears much more extensive than was previously considered.

The British Library sources are rich in details which expand our knowledge of the tapestry industry towards the close of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Some information can be added to assist in unravelling the vexing question of anonymity associated with gothic tapestries. Although Perrin Pilot was not included amongst known tapestry makers, a number of references to his name in

connection with Louis' tapestries, shows he had an influence in the tapestry market and references to his name may have been lost. Louis' direct trading link with Arras through a tapissier sarrazinois is demonstrated and this avenue is shown to supplement his other main supply through the Parisian merchants, such as Bataille and Dourdin. Colin Symon, possibly Symon the illuminator, was involved with Louis' tapestry collection. A proposal can be tentatively advanced that he may have been the designer of some of the tapestry cartoons.

The dispersal, firstly of Louis' possessions and secondly of the Orléans documents has significantly hampered the assessment of Louis' patronage. These difficulties are exacerbated by the general lack of extant art objects attributable to Louis of Orléans. This thesis undertakes the most detail examination of archival material relating to the Duke of Orléans as yet attempted.

In the years following Louis death, the importance of Paris as a centre for tapestry production declined. In response to the changing commercial and political climate, the allegiances of the patrons and the tapissiers moved to Arras and Tournai. The influence of the Burgundian court and the Northern artistic style became dominant and the position of prestige which Paris had held in the tapestry market could not be maintained.

However, for the preceding period, this study has shown Louis' patronage was significant in its support of the Parisian tapestry ateliers. Studies on the patronage of this time have tended to concentrate on

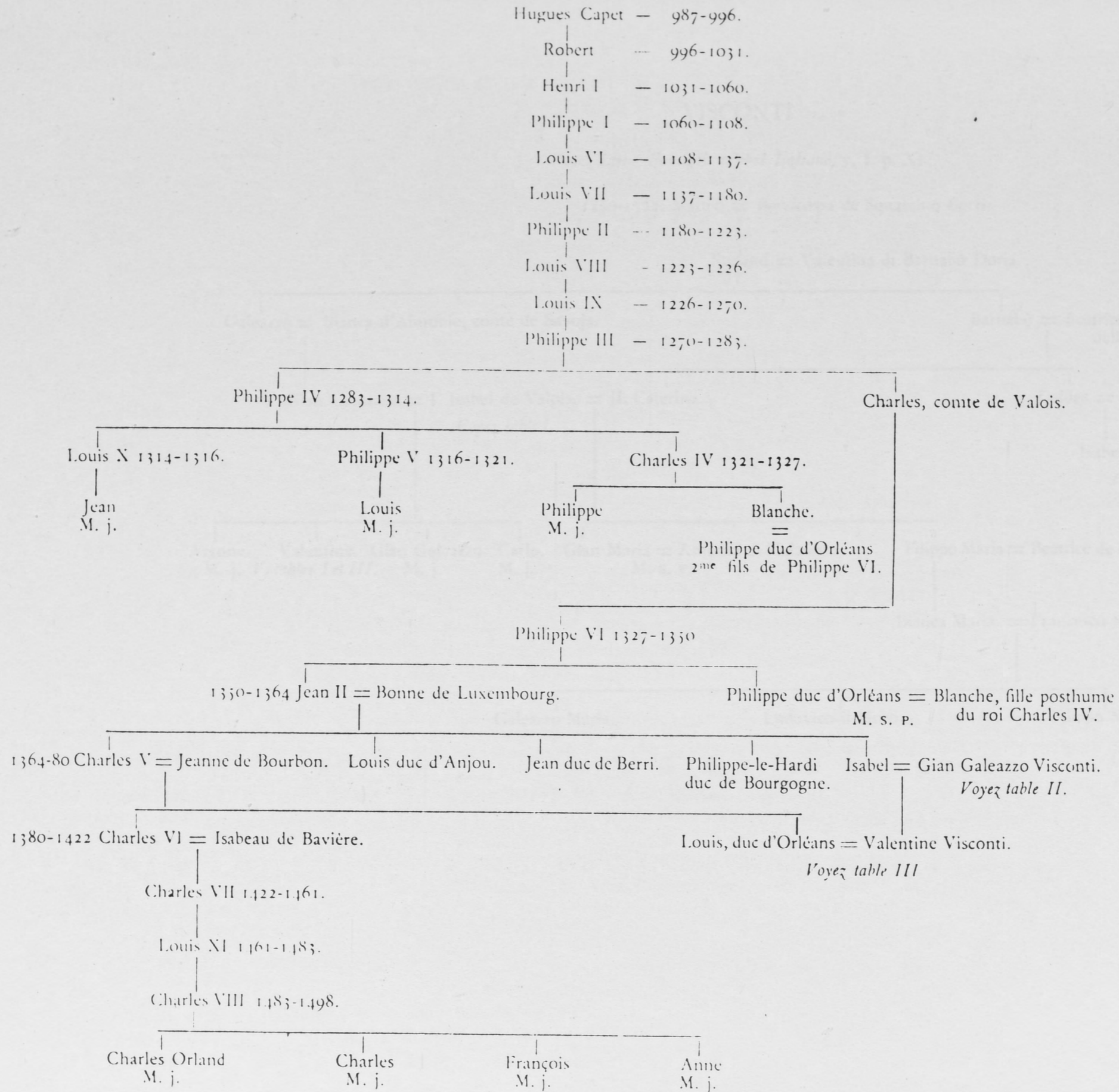
others amongst the "princely Dukes". Louis has been relegated to the role of the father of the poet, Charles d'Orléans or protagonist to the Duke of Burgundy. Yet, his patronage of the various arts associated with the luxury goods market was substantial. As the Duke of Burgundy's patronage played a pivotal role in ensuring the stability of the tapestry ateliers in Arras, so Louis may similarly have contributed to those of Paris. He had, after all, one of the capital's most prestigious tapissiers and merchants, Nicholas Bataille, as his varlet de chambre. This study of the various Orléans documents has enriched significantly our current knowledge of the tapestry workshops during this era of princely patronage.

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

Source: F.M.Graves, Quelques Pièces Relatives à la Vie de Louis I, Duc D'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, Sa Femme, Paris, 1913.

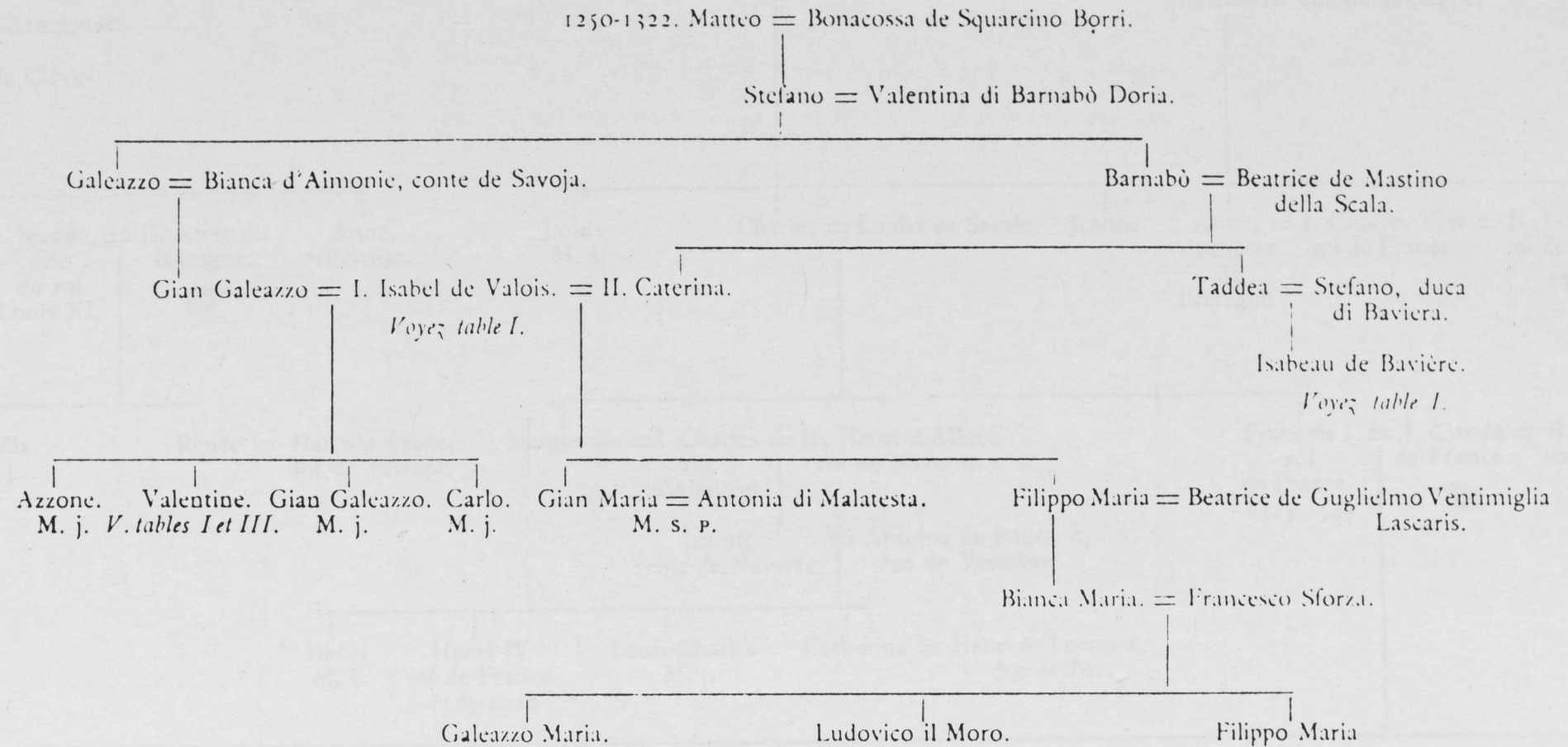
<u>Table I:</u>	Capet-Valois	page 86
<u>Table II:</u>	Visconti	page 87
<u>Table III:</u>	Valois-Orléans--Valois-Angoulême	page 88



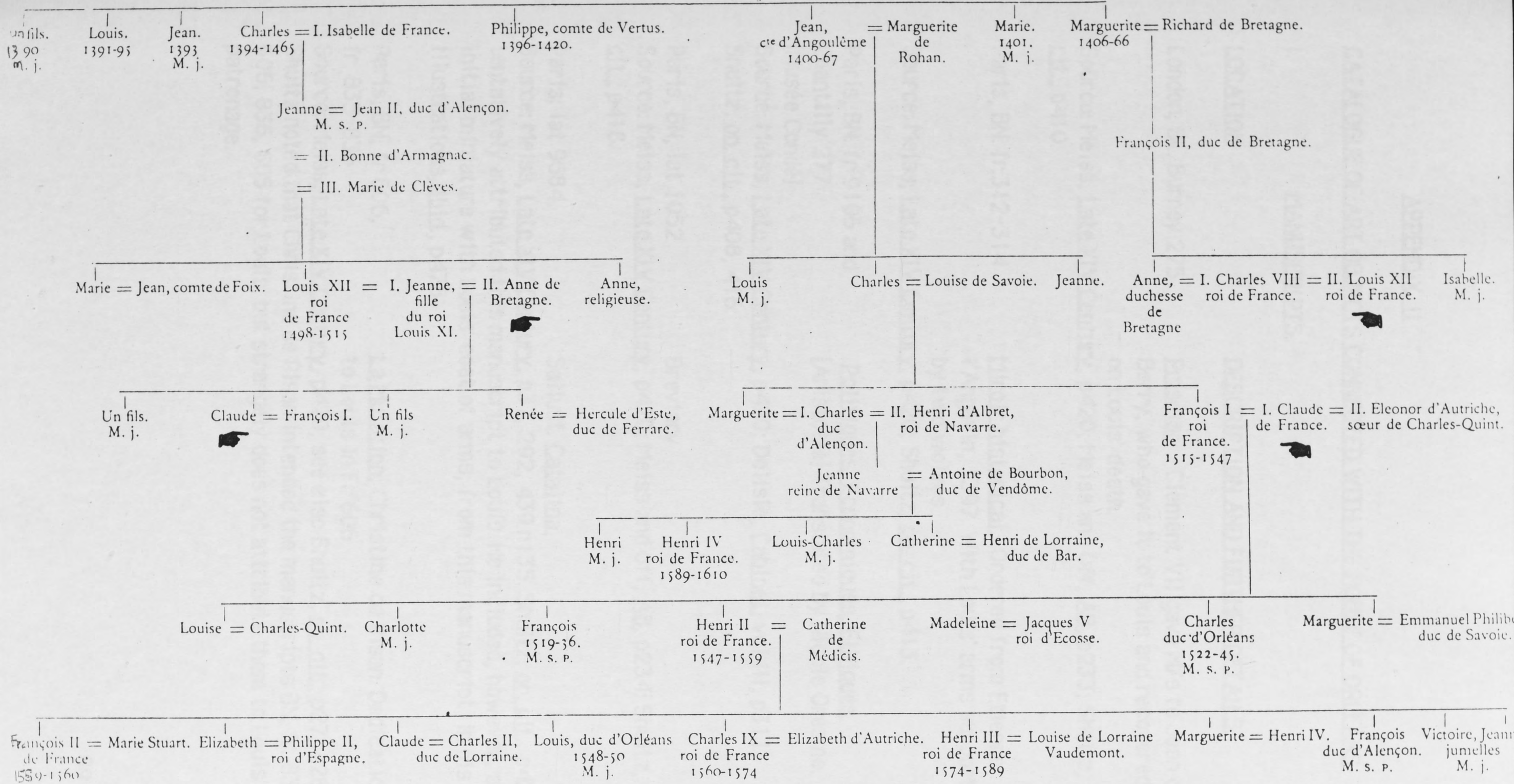
VISCONTI

Table II.

Voyez Litta, Famiglie celebri Italiane, v. I, p. XI.



Louis de Valois, duc d'Orléans = Valentine Visconti.
 Voyez Table I. Voyez Table II.



APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF ART OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE HOUSE OF ORLEANS.

I. MANUSCRIPTS.

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION AND FURTHER DETAILS.</u>
London, BL. Burney 275	<u>Priscian</u> . Clement VII gave M/s to Jean de Berry, who gave it to Louis and recovered it on Louis' death. Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p420; Meiss and Off, <u>AB</u> , p233; Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p410.
Paris, BN. fr.312-314	<u>Miroir historical</u> . Ordered from Etienne l'Angevin, 1397. With Louis' arms supported by two wolves. Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p420; Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p413.
Paris, BN. fr 9106 and Chantilly 277 [Musée Condé]	<u>Politiques, Economiques, Ethiques</u> . [Aristotle] Translated by Nicole Oresme. Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p420; Delisle, <u>Cabinet</u> , vol III, p311, Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p408, 416.
Paris, BN, lat 1052	Breviary Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p420; Meiss and Off, <u>AB</u> , p234; Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p418.
Paris, lat 9684	Sallust. <u>Catalina</u> . Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p37, 292, 439.n135. Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p424, tentatively attributed this manuscript to Louis. He included, however, an initial miniature with Louis' coat of arms, from this manuscript, in his illustrations, <u>ibid.</u> , p476.
Paris, BN, fr 606, fr. 835-836	<u>La Mutation</u> , Christine de Pisan. Dedication to Louis in Fr 606 Source: Meiss, <u>Late XIV Century</u> , p420; see also Shultz, <u>op. cit.</u> , p27, 428. Shultz noted that Christine de Pisan intended the manuscripts BN. fr. 835, 606, 836, 605 for Louis, but strangely does not attribute them to Louis' patronage.

Turin
Bibliotheca Reale
Varia 85

Livre d'Heures , according to Paris custom
copied for Louis of Orléans

Source: R. Amiet, "Inventaire des Manuscrits liturgiques Conservés dans les Bibliothèques et les Archives de Turin", Scriptorium 33 (1979) p88. Shultz did not note this manuscript.

Paris, BN, fr 811

Apparition de J de Meung, Honoré Bonet

Source: Graves, p39 and frontispiece; Shultz, op. cit., p414.

Paris, Bibl Arsenal 590
Ms des Célestins

Bible, given to Louis by Charles VI, then by him to the Convent of the Célestins.

Source: Delisle, Cabinet, vol 1 p99; Shultz, op. cit., p 412.

See ibid., vol II, p249, for a note concerning a bible in St. Petersburg, with inscription of donation by Louis to the Convent. Delisle now does not include this as one of Louis' manuscripts, Delisle, Recherches., vol II, p143-144 and plate XII.

See Shultz, op. cit., p409, 411 for the following manuscripts which he classes as positive attributions. The reference he cites, Delisle, Cabinet, vol I, p99 incl footnote 6, (1868-1881) was corrected in the later volume by Delisle, Recherches, (1907). Shultz may be unaware of Delisle's change in attribution.

Leningrad. M.E. Saltokov-Shchedrin State Public Library, mss. lat. Fv. I 24/1-3. Bible in Latin, Vols II-IV
and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, mss 578 and 579. Bible in Latin, Vols I and V.

Paris, bibl nat

L'Information des Princes

fonds fr 1213

Source: Delisle, Recherches, vol I p101; Shultz, op. cit., p 415; for the arms of Louis of Orléans see Champollion-Figeac plate IV.

Bibl Sainte-Geneviève
Ms 1028

Livre des Propriétés des Choses acquired in 1396. (Possibility that this is the same, but not demonstrable according to Byrne.)

Source: D. Byrne "Two Hitherto Unidentified Copies of the 'Livre des Propriétés des Choses'...", Scriptorium, 31 (1977) p97; see Shultz, op. cit., p434, who classifies this as a doubtful or erroneous attribution.

The following manuscript is also attributed to Louis of Orléans by Shultz, *op. cit.*, p471.

Paris, BN, fr. 15397. Bible glosée de Jean Sy.

This manuscript was commenced by the King Jean le Bon. Through the agency of Etienne L'Angevin, Louis recommenced the project of translation and copying.

II. SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE.

For details concerning sculpture and architecture attributed to Louis' patronage see Shultz, *op. cit.*, p27 and 31-138 and Mesqui and Ribera-Pervillé, *passim*. For the Heroes and Heroines (*les Preux et Les Preuses*) in the *château de Coucy*, see *ibid.*, fig. 6 and 7, p314.

DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS.

DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	LOCATION	SOURCE
I. <u>TAPESTRIES.</u>		
<u>Battle of Roncevaux</u> (<u>History of Charlemagne</u>) [See Illustrations]	Brussels, Cinquantenaire	G. Digby, <u>V&A</u> , p18-19
<u>Battle of Roncevaux</u> <u>Battle of Roncevaux</u>	Florence, Bargello Collection Hon J.J. Astor (lent to V&A 1921 exhibition no.59)	Verlet, <i>op.cit.</i> , p20 Asselberghs, <i>op.cit.</i> , p25. Lejeune and Stiennon, <i>op.cit.</i> , p370-377.

2. CHAPELLES.

A <u>pectoral</u> of gilded silver, enamelled with the arms of France and Milan. (originally a mystical jewel, covering the chest of the bishop. <u>Graves</u> suggested from the XIV Century this was a clasp for a cape)	Metropolitan Museum, New York. Collection Pierpont Morgan.n ^o .17-190:793	<u>Graves</u> p29 and, *989.
The reference in <u>Graves</u> does not clearly indicate if the entire <u>chapelle</u> is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, or only the <u>pectoral</u> . The <u>chapelle</u> included a <u>frontal</u> , <u>dossier</u> , and <u>parement</u> of cloth, as three capes with the		

arms of France and Milan. Buttons were gilded silver and the seams were edged in gold from Cyprus. Included in the chappelle for the priest was an alb, amit, stole, manipule, belt and chasuble and a similar range for the deacon and under-deacon. Altar cloths and covers for the texts used were also included.

3. JEWELLERY, ORNAMENTS.

Reliquary of the Holy Thorn	London, British Museum Waddesdon Bequest	J. Evans, <u>Life in Medieval France.</u> London (1925)1957. plate 25
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For attribution of this reliquary to Jean de Berry's estate see Meiss, Late XIV Century p51. He notes the arms of Jean de Berry are on the reliquary "though it was oddly connected until recently with Louis d'Orléans". See his plates 571 and 842. See also P. Verdier, "Le Duc de Berry et ses Artistes", L'Oeil no164-165 (1968) p15 who agrees with Meiss.

The following items may be similar to but not necessarily those owned by Louis. References in Graves do not adequately identify the items cited.

Briefly, they are as follows:

Gold basin,	London, V&A	<u>Graves</u> p37,*539
enamel plaque.	Loan Hall *383	
Chaffing-ball	London, British Museum Table- Case, Bay XV.	<u>Graves</u> p76,*177

APPENDIX III

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

REPRESENTATIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS.¹

LOCATION

DESCRIPTION AND FURTHER DETAILS

Source: Delisle, Recherches, vol I p156

Paris, Bibl nat
fonds fr 437

Frontispiece of the Bible shows the translator Jean Golein offering the manuscript to the King Charles V and his Queen. His sons Charles and Louis are shown on the left. See ibid., plate VIII.

Source: Delisle, Recherches, vol II p302.

Paris, Bibl nat
fonds fr 9141

Manuscript illumination with portraits of Jean sans Peur, Jean de Berry and Louis d'Orléans.

Source: Graves p39-40 and frontispiece. [See Illustrations.]

Paris, bibl nat fr 811
fol 1 v

Honoré Bonet offering his manuscript to Valentine. Valentine is wearing a low-cut ceremonial sur-coat. The lady immediately behind her is wearing a cotte hardie or corset.

Source: D. Byrne "The Boucicaut Master and the Iconographical Tradition of the "Livre des Propriétés des Choses", Gaz BA, Ser 6 vol 92 (1978) p149-164, including fig I.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam
Musuem Ms 251

Jean Corbechon presenting his book to Charles VI. According to Byrne it is not the Duke of Orléans leaning on the throne. Meiss, The Boucicaut Master, p58f, 79f, figs 452-457 thought the figures other than the King were the Dukes of Burgundy or Berry.

Source: Champollion-Figeac, plate IV: [See Illustrations.]

Manuscript not identified
Possibly Paris, bibl nat
312-314, see Appendix II.

Louis enthroned. Below his coat of arms, supported by two wolves. According to Darwin, op. cit., p ix, the manuscript was decorated by Colart de Laon.

See Shultz, op. cit., p415, BN fr. 1213, L'Information des Princes, for his note of a picture of Charles V, surrounded by courtiers, with the arms of Louis supported by two wolves underneath. His identification of the enthroned person is questionable, as this is obviously a young boy. 93

Source: Meiss, Boucicaut Master p10, 131-132, plate 33. [See Illustrations.]

Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André The youngest magus is wearing a collar
ms 2, fol 83v identified with Louis' baton noueux

Source: Meiss, Boucicaut Master, p25, plate 72

Geneva, Bibl publique et Charles VI, Salmon and Princes (Burdundy,
universitaire, ms fr 165, fol Berry and Orléans or Anjou)
4. 1412

Source: Meiss, Boucicaut Master, p144.n32

Meiss refers to a miniature by the Epître Master in fr 606 fol 1. Louis is wearing the porcupine emblem, the badge of the order he created in 1391.

REPRESENTATIONS IN SCULPTURE.

Source: P.Pradel, "Le visage inconnu de Louis d'Orléans. Frère de Charles VI", Revue des Arts, vol 2, 1952, p93-98, figs 1, 3

Avignon,
Musée Calvert

Sculpture of Louis, kneeling, presented by an apostle. Louis is wearing a royal crown. Pradel dated this sculpture 1389 (Louis was eighteen years old)

Pradel also referred to a XVII^e century design (ibid., fig 2) of the Cardinal Jean de la Grange's tomb, which included a representation of the Duke. Fragments of the tomb are in the Calvert Museum.

REPRESENTATIONS IN TAPESTRY.

NOW CONSIDERED ERRONEOUS IDENTIFICATION. [See Shultz, op. cit. p27].

Source: F. Mazerolle, "L'Exposition d'Art Retrospectif de Madrid", Gaz BA, Ser 3, vol 9, 1893, p157

Tapestry, then belonging to the Count of Valencia, "Louis Of Orléans and Valentine Of Milan."

Footnote: Of the above representations of the Duke and Duchess, the only example noted by Shultz, op. cit., is the grisaille of Honoré Bonet presenting his manuscript Apparicion de Jean de Meun, 1398, Paris, to Valentine, [Paris, BN fr. 811, fol 1v.]

APPENDIX IV

THE "VARLET DE CHAMBRE" OF LOUIS OF ORLEANS.

1. TAPESTRY MAKERS

Nicholas Bataille: see Thomson Tapestry, p62-3 and Appendix IX for documents in the British Library.

2. DRAPERS, CLOTH MERCHANTS ETC.

Perrin Pillot: Tailor, see Roman Document XII *57, 73, ibid., p108.n.2. See ibid., Document XV p150 for robes etc made for the Orléans household from 1 February 1395 (n.st.) to 31 January 1396 (n.st.).

Jehan de Clarey Embroiderer, see Roman document XV p131, ibid., Documents XVII, XXIX

Thomassin Potier Furrier, bourgeois of Paris, see Roman Document XVI

3. PAINTERS, ILLUMINATORS, WRITERS, TRANSLATORS

Colard de Laon: For harnesses, a litière, chariot and dais in accounts from 1391-1404, and another of 1399 see L. Dimier "Les Primitifs Français" Gaz BA, ser 6, vol 16, 1936, p220. See frontispiece of Champollion-Figeac, attributed to Colard by Darwin op. cit., p ix. For a cierge (throne?) for Louis see Dimier op. cit., p219. For representation of the late Duke of Burgundy in the Célestins Chapel see ibid., p221. For a reference to Colard (Colart) de Laon and cartoons for tapestry see P. Henwood, Colart de Laon, p97. He does not cite an example, however see P. Ackerman, op. cit., p142 and Shultz, op. cit., p286, for Colard's design of cartoons for Isabeau de Bavière. See Henwood, Colart de Laon, passim, for additional works to those recorded above; viz. 1395: painting in the hôtel de Behaigne; 1396: an altar and 1399: funerary decorations for the Célestins Chapel; 1398: work in the library, rue de la Poterne; 1402 & 1403: for decorating pavillions with the Duke's devise; 1408: letters of remission for services rendered to the King and Louis after Colard was accused of financial frauds; 1411: the last mention of Colard de Laon refers to him as Varlet de chambre of Charles of Orléans. See also reference to Colard in Champollion-Figeac Section 3, *2.

Eustache Deschamps: Given the title and position of Maître d'Hotel in the Orléans household. See Roman p177, *373 and Shultz, op. cit., p307, 325-346.

4. LIBRARIANS

Giles Malet: Chancellor of M. d'Orléans (see Delisle Recherches vol I p356. for an advice of 1393). For the titles of books sold by Giles Malet to Louis see ibid., p 15, 362-364.

Guillaume de Tigonville: chambellan . For a book sold by him to Louis see D. Byrne, "Two Hitherto Unidentified Copies of the 'Livre des Propriétés des Choses' from the Royal Library of the Louvre and the Library of Jean de Berry", Scriptorium , 31, 1977, p95.

5. JEWELLERS

Hance Kroist: For decoration of the covers of books given to the Duke of Berry see Delisle Recherches vol II p302. See also Roman Documents XIV, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXIV

Denis Mariette: See Roman p85

Jehan du Vivier See Roman document XII, one of Paris' most renowned jewellers

6. OTHER "VARLETS DE CHAMBRE"

Jehan Poulain Treasurer to the Duke

Godeffroy le Fevre Apothecary, see Roman Document XII. See also reference to Godeffroy in ibid., *160

Hue le Plastrier Varlet de garde robe see Roman *163

Jehan de Billy First varlet de chambre of the Duke. See Roman Document XX

Jehan Macé Varlet de Chambre for Louis, then controller for the King of La Rochelle

APPENDIX V

OTHER CRAFTSMEN IN THE EMPLOY OF LOUIS OF ORLEANS or FROM WHOM PURCHASES WERE MADE.¹

1. TAPESTRY MAKERS²

See Champollion-Figeac (Appendix VI) for-

Colin Bataille
Jacques Dourdin
Jehan de Jodoigne

See Thomson, Tapestry, (Appendix IX) for-

Jehan de Croisettes
Levan de la Mer
Jacques Dourdin
Alain Diennys
Pierre Labourebain
Nicholas Bataille (also referred to as varlet de chambre, see Appendix IV)
Perrin Pillot
Colin Symon (illuminator ? see Appendix IX BL Add. Ms. 11542.)

See Roman Document XXVI for Jaquet Dourdin, merchant of tapestry, living in Paris. See ibid., p225,n.5 for mention of Colin Bataille as supplier to the Duke.

2. DRAPERS, CLOTH MERCHANTS ETC.

C. Marc: merchant of cloth, see Champollion-Figeac section 3 #37
Jean Leconte: glove maker, see Champollion-Figeac section 3 #37
Jehan Vorin furrier, see Roman Document VI
Jehan de Clarey embroiderer, see Roman document XII #75, ibid., #159
Thomassin Pottier furrier, see Roman document XII #75
Jehan Maudit tailor, also to the King. Varlet de chambre of Charles of Orléans in 1409. See Roman p.180
Jehennin Seugnin Mercier, see Roman Document XXIV
Bernart Bousdrat Merchant of silk cloth, see Roman Document XXIV
Nicolas Alixandre Draper, see Roman Document XXIV
Thevenin de Bonpuis Furrier, living in Paris, see Roman Document XXIV
Jacob de Marueil Furrier, living in Paris, see Roman Document XXIV

For the following persons from whom purchases were made see Roman Document XX:

Merchants of cloth: Marguerite de Roquignis, Marie de Gueux, Alis Dame de l'Ostel Dieu, Beauduet le Sauvage, Thiébaud de Barzieux (for beds), Agnès femme Révaut le Cuer (for pillows), Thiébaud le Camus, (carpenter), Poncelot Lorsigmo (for transport of above from Reims to Laon)

3. PAINTERS, "TAILLEURS D'IMAGES", ILLUMINATORS, WRITERS, TRANSLATORS³

Girard de Beaumeteau: For painting a chair for the Duchess see P. Henwood, Colart de Laon, p97

Honoré Bonnet: Writer, for his works refer to Appendix IV. See Shultz, op. cit., p347-353.

Huguelin de Champdivers: illuminator see Delisle Cabinet vol III p344

Jean Colin: Writer, see Delisle Cabinet vol I p99

Eustache des Champs: Writer, known as maître d'hôtel see Appendix IV. See Shultz p325-346.

Jean Golein: See Delisle Recherches vol I p102 for Croniques de Burgues which he copied and illuminated for the Duke. See ibid., p101 for a copy which belonged to Louis of Golein's translation of L'Information des Princes.

Guillaume Hervi: See Delisle Cabinet vol I p100

Robert Loizel: For a piece of marble for the altar in the chapel of the Duchess see P. Henwood Colart de Laon, p96

Guillaume Loyseau: For painting the shield and arms of the Duke in the Célestins Chapel, see P. Henwood Colart de Laon, p96

Malouel: For painting jousting harnesses for the marriage jousts of Louis of Orléans see Dimier, op. cit., p208

Nicole Oresme: For a translation of Aristotle's Economics see Delisle Cabinet vol III, p311

Jean d'Orléans: 1390 16 March, for tableau of Our Lady, "re-doing" images of Our Lady, Saints Denis, Louis of Marseille, Louis of France, and for two histoires in a gold tableau with many relics, see Dimier, op. cit., p218 and P. Henwood, "Jean d'Orléans, Peintre des Rois Jean II, Charles V and Charles VI. 1361-1407", Gaz BA, ser 6, vol 95, 1980, p137-140. [Hereafter referred to as Jean d'Orleans.]

Raoulet d'Orléans See Delisle Recherches, vol 1 p77 for a Miroir historical, of 1396, in four volumes, three of which are in Paris bibl nat fr 312-314. See also Delisle Cabinet vol 1 p100

Christine de Pisan: For her works for Louis of Orléans see Appendix III. See Shultz, op. cit., p364-382.

Thomas Privé: 1407, 24 May for small works, see P. Henwood Colart de Laon, p96

Jean de Thory: In 1409 by Charles of Orléans for the sepulchre of Louis and Valentine see P. Henwood, Colart de Laon, p96.

Pierre de Vérone For a Livy and a Boethius ordered in 1397 see Meiss Late XIV Century p64.

For mention of the following see Delisle Cabinet vol 1 p102-104: Raoulet le Gay, Olivier de l'Empire, Guillaume des Champs, Etienne l'Angevin, Henri de Trévou, Jean Goulain, Gillet Prevost, Guillaume de Tigonville, Jacques Johan, Jean de Bevaigne (referred to as his secretary), Gilles Malet, Robert l'Escuier, Pierre de Vérone, Jacques Bauchant, Jean de Marson, Guillaume Daniel, Eustache des Champs, Jean Doche, André Dessous l'Orme, Simonnet Milon, Jean de Tournes, Jeannin Rouget, Huguet Foubert (illuminator), Nicolas le Besc, Nicolas Garbet (secretary to the Duke), Guillaume de Villiers (book binder).

For persons associated with the library of Valentine see ibid., p104-105 for: Jean d'Arras (restorer), Jacques Richier (book binder).

Additional names referred to in documents cited by Champollion-Figeac section 3 are:

Jehan Costey, Pierre Remiot (illuminator), Jehan de Saint Eloy (painter), Perreïs de Dijon (painter), Colin de Lafontaine (painter), Copin de Gant (painter), Adam Chatelain (for stained glass), Claux de Loup (glazier), Jean Cachelart, N. Giffart (jeweller), Jaquemet (jeweller), Gance (jeweller), Manuel de Lamer (Genoese merchant, jeweller), Jehanm de Troies (saddler), Phillippot de Hautfort (for falcons)

4. LIBRARIANS

Etienne l'Angevin: According to Delisle Cabinet vol 1 p99, Louis usually did not deal with copiests, but addressed his requirements to this librarian.

Henri du Trevou: For receipt for books sold to Louis see Delisle Recherches vol I p100

5. JEWELLERS.

Pierre Lequeu: For clocks see Champollion-Figeac section 3 #36
Th. Rogeret: For clocks see Champollion-Figeac section 3 #36
Jean Leconte: For garters see Champollion-Figeac section 3 #38

Jehan de Rone See Roman Document II, living in Toulouse
Manuel de la Mer See Roman Document IV, merchant of Jennes
Richart le Breton See Roman Document V, living in Paris
Guillemin Arrode See Roman Document VII, living in Paris
Jehan Tarenne See Roman Document IX, for New Years gifts
Hance Karast See Roman Document XII, of German origin
Harmen (Hermann) See Roman #161
Herman Ruissel See Roman Document XIX

6. MAITRES DES OEUVRES (ARCHITECTS).

Raimond de Temple: For his work in Louis' library see Delisle Cabinet vol 1 p99. For a more complete list of architects see Mesqui and Ribera-Pervillé, op. cit., p300-304 and fig. 4 p299.

7. OTHER

<u>Robert le Seneschal</u> of the Duke, see <u>Roman</u> document XI.	Squire and singer
<u>Godefroy Le Fèvre</u> <u>Roman</u> Document XII #90	Apothecary, see
<u>Claux de Loup</u> <u>Champollion-Figeac</u> Third Section, #13.	Glazer, see

Footnotes:

1. See Shultz, op. cit., p456-462 for his Appendix III: "List of persons involved in the artistic and literary patronage of Louis of Orléans and Valentine Visconti."

The following names are missing from Shultz's text:

Section I. Mariète- also a jeweller

Missing are Jehan de Billy, Jehan Macé, Guillaume de Tigonville

Section VI. Missing-Adam Chatelain

Section VII-Missing-Jaques Dourdin

Section VIII-Missing-Nicolas Alixandre, Thevenin de Bonpuis, Jacob Maudit, Jehan Seugnin, Jehan Vorin

Section IX-Missing-Huguelin de Champdivers, Jehan Costey, Jean Golin, Robert Loizel, Malouel, Thomas Privé, Colin Symon

Section XI-Missing-Gance

Other missing identities:

Writers: Eustache Deschamps, Honoré Bonet, Christine de Pisan and Nicole Oresme etc.

Saddler: Jehan de Troies

Falconer: Philipot de Hantfort.

2. B. Prost, "Une nouvelle source de documents sur les artistes Dijonnais du xv siècle", Gaz BA, ser 3, vol 5, 1891, p174 noted that there was no mention either in Dijon or any other town in Burgundy or Franche-Comté of a tapestry atelier.

3. For a grande Bible, translated by nine persons, and Louis continuing the work commenced by Jean de Sy, under Charles V, see Delisle, Cabinet, vol 1, p101.

APPENDIX VI

SUMMARY OF THE 1403 INVENTORY AND OTHER DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC

SOURCE: A. Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles Ducs d'Orléans. Leur Influence sur les Arts, La Littérature et L'Esprit de Leur Siècle. Paris 1844.

In his "methodical analysis of various documents" Champollion-Figeac has "touched on the intimate life" of Louis and Charles of Orléans. Within the text of his book, Champollion-Figeac published an extract of the 1403 inventory. In the third section of his book he cited sixty documents to show the influence of the dukes on the arts. These were arranged in sections and a summary of each is quoted below.

1403 INVENTORY, 25 th September. See ibid., p247-251.

- ring of gold, with a stone in manner of cat's eye
- cross of gold, engraved, hanging on chain of gold
- a ring of gold engraved with a wreathed basket
- a cage of gold, for birds from Cyprus
- a cadren(instrument for astrology) round of gold
- an astralabe (similar to previous instrument) of gilded silver
- a crossbow à cheval and a gold box
- a reliquary of gold with a cameo with head of Sarasin on one side, on other side a cameo decorated with 10 pearls and 2 rubies
- a salt cellar of gold, with four bears, 4 pearls and a ruby
- a ven(fan?) of gold with a lady enamelled, holding a small bird
- a scarf of gold with blazons of white and green, with hanging bells, on end a cornet of gold enamelled in black besanté, on shoulders clasp of gold 5 pearls, in middle a ruby with two white tourterelles
- a tree of coral with many tongues of serpents
- chambre, gold silk pleasure (angels in heaven)
- tapis, 6 same for above
- chambre, green ceiling angels, dossier shepherds nuts & cherries cover with shepherds in park gold and wool. Tapis for couch, six tapis for walls
- chambre, gold silk wool children in river, ceiling birds with 3 tapis
- tapis, 3 of cherries lady squire collecting in basket
- chambre, brown green lady harp without gold
- chambre, green shepherds latticed garden with gold and silk
- tapis, lady collecting cherries fountain
- chambre, green shepherds latticed garden with 6 tapis same
- tapis, 7 as follows:

7 Vices 7 Virtues

Joust Lancelot
Joust Regnault Montauban
Grand Creed
2 of Old Testament & New Testament
Joust Beuvon D'Hantonne

- tapis, one old
- tapis, 2 old as follows:
 - Logic
 - Arms Burgundy
- chambre, vermeillon God of Love with 6 tapis and 3 custodes(curtains)
- chambre, green knight lady playing chess in pavillion
- tapis, arms M. Dauphin
- tapis, large Destruction of Troy
- tapis, 2, Story of Theseus
- chambre, white sewn with glay
- chambre, high warp Fountain of Youth with many people
- chambre, high warp Tournement
- chambre, high warp children lady dog
- chambre, red with branches arms falcons
- chambre, vermeillon broom flowers large people one in tree
- chambre, vermeillon lady clothed in white with squirrel
- chambre, green bastherons shepherds
- chambre, green brown roses children holding scroll words
- chambre, red with many trees centre lion, corners 4 beasts
- chambre, lady fountain
- one (chambre) stags, does (animals), leopards, other beasts
- goblet and pitcher of gold, with images of high quality 23 rubies, 23 sapphires, 48 pearls
- a tableau of gold, Crucifixion of Our Lord, with many images & persons
- a tableau of gold of Our Lord Washing the Feet of His Disciples
- a tableau of gold of an image of Our Lady
- two of An Annunciation
- a folding tableau with 5 pearls and a ruby
- a reliquary of gold with engraved image of Our Lady Holding Her Child
- another of Our Lady Holding her Child on a sun
- a reliquary of gold of a coronation
- a jewel of gold of the Nativity and three Kings of Cologne with many persons and horses and goats
- an image of gold of St. John
- one of St. Denis
- one of a Magdelaine
- one of St. Andrew
- one of St. George

- one of St. Paul
 - one of St. Peter
 - one of St. Louis
 - one of St. Anthony, which M de Berry gave to M. d'Orléans, last New Year
 - an image of St. Etienne (Stephen), which M.de Burgundy gave to M. last New Year
 - a jewel of gold of the sepulchre of Our Lord and of His Crucifixion etc. etc. [see below]
- Signed: Louis, son of the King of France, duke of Orléans, at Paris, 25th day of September 1403.

[Champollion-Figeac noted that the inventory continued. His footnote P.251 n.1. reads as follows:

"One could continue to cite from this inventory the following objects of less importance; that is; gold grasshopper; scarf of black with many small hanging bells of gold; 65 leaves of gold fashioned like a nettle (for crown or robe ornament); chain of gilded silver; musk apple, of silver, with pearl; small box of gold with arms of Queen of Bourbon; a 'globule' of gold, of fleur-de-lis of Queen of Bourbon; reliquary decorated with two amethysts (white & blue); a dagger of white ivory with arms in gold; portrait of gold decorated with nettle leaves and chickens, in front a chicken, white, enamelled, on back a fine ruby; gold torch with 4 pearls; 6 sapphires from goblet & ewer in shape of flower of bouresches and marguerites; an image of gold of emperor; balas rubies, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, diamonds, pearls and cameos taken from: -image of Our Lady, -a salt cellar, -images of St. Denis, -one in gold, -Our Lady holding Her Child, -St. Etienne in gold, -St. Paul in gold, -goblet in gold in shape of eclipse, -image of St. Anthony in gold, -St. Louis, -St. George, -a Magdelaine, -a cameo from the Nativity of Our Lady, -St. John Evangelist in gold; two old gilded plates, signed on edges with three shields of arms of our Lord; old vase of gilded silver shape of pear with gilded silver arms of our Lord on lid."

SIXTY DOCUMENTS CITED BY CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC.(Part Three)

Each document is noted; if the document concerned was written after Louis' death, the date is noted, but the document not further considered.

SECTION ONE: PAINTINGS FOR CHATEAUX, CHAPELS, HARNESSSES, WINDOWS.

1. Payment to Jehan Costey, painter, for the works of painting at Chateau of Val de Rueil.

Louvre, Paris. 4 October 1355

2. 19 October, 1395. Colart de Laon, painter and varlet de chambre, receipt for painting done in the Hotel de Brehaigne

3. 15 April 1396. Colart de Laon, painter, receipt for moneys for works in the chapel alongside the Eglise des Celestins, Paris; having richly painted a tableau de bois for the altar; on the back, a Crucifixion with Our Lady and St. John, with fine azur; the other with fine purple, with a Trinity in the sky on a field of gold, the richest and most notable that could be done.
4. 4 May 1396. Pierre Remiot, illuminator, receipt for moneys for illumination and framing an image of gold of fine colours, the tableau being a transcript of a Bull of the Pope, pardons and indulgences according to the Mass in the chapel.
5. September 1396. Jehan de Saint Eloy, painter, receipt of payment for works in the chapel of the Celestins; four shields of gold, painted at entry with fleur de lis a lambeaux, the arms of M. and two angels holding shield.
6. 17 November 1397. Colart de Laon, painter, for coats of arms for the chapel
7. 24 February 1397. Colart de Laon, Jehan de Saint-Eloy, Perreis de Dijon, Colin de Lafontaine, Copin de Gant, painters, for many works done in the new library of the Hotel, rue de la Poterne.
8. 24 April 1398. Colart de Laon, painter, receipt for decoration of jousting harnesses (for jousts at St. Pol.); for the squires houppelande , with wolves of gold lacquer. Eigeac notes that the "following document" states the six colours of Louis: red, white, grey, blue, green and black.
9. 1464
10. 1490
11. 6 November 1397. Payment to Adam Chatelain for glass in the chapel founded by Louis in Abbey of Cluny.
12. 1397. The prieurs of Celestins of Paris receipt of money for glass to put in said church, presently being made in Amiens.
13. 1399. Claux de Loup, glazier. For delivery of glass for the Hotel in rue de la Poterne, Saint-Pol, Paris, with:
 wolf, porcupine, an Annunciation of Our Lady, the devise of Monsieur, and his arms, arms of the King, arms of Mssrs de Flourigny, de Rouzay and de Nantouillet

SECTION TWO: BOOKS.

14. 26 March 1395. Receipt from G. de Tigonville payment for Passionnaire in five volumes.
- 14 February 1396. Jehan Cachelart , bachelor of decrees, for two books of Golden Legend.
- 8 October 1397. Guillaume de Villiers, bookbinder, for 62 Volumes
- 18 March 1398. Simonnet Milon, library, for Bref en francois, Vigilles des Morts, Catolicon abrege.

The remainder of the document postdates Louis d'Orleans.

SECTION THREE; TABLEAUX, ENAMELS, IMAGES IN GOLD AND SILVER, JEWELS,
DECORATION WITH PRECIOUS STONES.

15. 12 April 1396. Payment by Louis to his jeweller for an image of St. John which the Duchess gave to the Queen for New Year and for a tableau of un Dieu de pitie for the Duchess of Luxembourg.

12 April 1396. Payment to a changer for a Crucifixion, with Mary and St. John

12 April 1396. Tableau with a mirror.

16. Jean, Duke de Berry, that consellor Jehan de Veauce pay Jehan Dagart, embroiderer of Paris. Paris. Hotel de Nelle. 7 February 1397.

17. 1470.

18. 7 February 1395. Image of Charlemagne

20 February 1397. Image of St. John evangelist, holding a palm

13 September 1398. Enamel with arms of Duke, in image of Charlemagne, given by Duke to Roi des Rommains, in town of Mouson.

19. 1410

20. 4 June 1395. Receipt by N. Giffart, jeweller for St. Catherine, held by two angels, given to the Pope.

12 April 1396. Payment to Jaquemet, jeweller, for flask with rosewater, with two tigers and two damoiselles

21. NO DATE CITED; NOT CONSIDERED

SECTION FOUR; FLASKS, NAVES, GOBLETS, BASINS, DRAGEOIRS, CUPS,
PRECIOUS JEWELS.

22. NO DATE CITED.

23. NO DATE CITED: includes description of rouleau with Charles va delivrer Espagne.

24. NO DATE CITED.

25. NO DATE CITED.

26. NO DATE CITED.

12 April 1396. Louis, payment to his jeweller for salt cruet like a porcupine; a drageoir with a tree in middle and terrace; a rosary given to the Dame de Maucouvent, who looks after Charles.

5 February 1397. Purchase of gilded silver vases, collar of gold, goblets, collar with pearls.

27. NO DATE CITED.

28. 1476.

29. NO DATE CITED (includes vases inscribed S.S.)

30....(no date cited)

5 June 1395. Receipt from Gance, jeweller, for gold collars, with bells, quills of porcupines, two gold chains with tigers.

31. 1473

32. NO DATE CITED

33. 12 April 1490. Purchase of a gold crown from Manuel de Lamer, merchant of Gennes(Genoa), for a gold crown.

1464.

1474

SECTION FIVE: TAPESTRIES, CLOTHES, GLASSES, CLOCKS.

34. 25 June 1395. Colin Bataille, tapestry merchant, receipt for a tapestry of Story of Theseus, with eagle in gold.

24 November, 1395. Payment to Jacques Dourdin for three high warp tapestries, of thred of Arras worked with gold from Cyprus, two being Story of Credo (with twelve prophets and twelve apostles), other Coronation of Our Lady.

3 February 1395. Jehan de Jodoigne, tapicier sarazinois for repair to chambre aux epis and the tapis called petit Charlemagne

35. 3 May 1396. Payment to N. Bataille for three tapis of high warp, with Story of Pantesilee, Beuve de Hantone, l'Histoire des enfants Regnault de Montaubon et des Enfants Riseus de Ripemont.

20 August 1396. payment for "perfection" of a chambre for Valentine's confinement.

8 February 1398. Payment to N. Bataille for many chambres of tapestry including: (Louis') green chambre with beasts and unicorns, (tapestry from Paris), The Tree of Life, A crucifixion with Prophets in the branches of the Tree, Paradis Terrestre, Our Lady, St. John and other Saints and Saintes.

36. 22 December 1396. Pierre Lequeu, receipt for clocks

13 March 1396. Th. Rogeret, for repair to clock of Chateauneuf.

6 January 1397. Payment for two clocks.

37. 28 February 1397. C. Marc merchant of cloth, receipt for cloth from Hainaut, cloth from Reims.

following entry: no date cited.

38. 13 September 1397. For a belt.

4 August 1400. Jean Leconte jeweller, receipt for two pairs of garters.

1464.

2 December 1397. Jean Sarre, glove maker, for seven pairs of fine gloves of chamois.

SECTION SIX: TOURNAMENTS, ARMS, SADDLES, VEHICLES.

39. 30 July 1397. Louis gave to his herault Valois money, as a days wage for travelling between Bourg and Bresse, with Master Oth de Gransson and a chevalier from Savoye.

1474.

40. 1 August 1395. Purchase of arms, arrows, iron given to archers of Monsieur, from time when Master Anthony Adorne, Duke of Genoa, to hold the seige in front of the town of Savonne.

41. 23 March 1395. Payment for stuffs used to recover a tapis of wool, with arms of the Duchess.

2 February 1396. Valentine payment for a rich embroidered saddle.

At Baubigny, payment for two charriots with four wheels and for the ferrure of the chariots.

4 May 1397. Jean de Troies saddler, for a rich saddle with embroidery for Madame.

SECTION SEVEN; DEDUITS, PARC AUX DAIMS.

42. 21 May 1395. Louis payment to Jacquemart de Listumbart, Jean de Fontenay, Jean de Lion, Baudet de Lastre, his falconers.

23 December 1397. Master Jehan de Billy is the master of deduits.

22 December 1395. Jean de Billy capitain and concierge of Castle of Villiers-Cotterets for the governing of doe in the parks during a year

7 August 1397 Louis for payment for two falcons, bought from Philippot de Hautfort

September 1398. Aug. Dappo payment for pairs of bells, made in fashion of Milan.

43. 1484

44. 1474.

SECTION EIGHT; GAMES, PLAYERS, SINGERS.

45. 5 February 1397. Wooden table for chess
1470.

1496.

46. 17 April 1396. Payment to Louis' joueurs, who give him great pleasure: Jean Lefevre, Jeannin Esturjon, Gillet Villain, Jaquemin Lefevre.

47. 5 June 1397. Payment by Louis to a joueur d'eepe to help him with a horse; to a bateleux de Chauny, joueur de souplesse (acrobat?); to a woman who played with the beasts; to tambourins.

1496.

48. 1494.

49. 1464.

50. 1475.

51. NO DATE CITED.

52. 1493.

53. 1493.

54. 1495.

SECTION NINE; EVEQUE DES FOUS; ROI DES RIBAUDS.

55. 1463.

56. 14 December 1396. Julien le Viezmaire, king of the ribaux of Monseigneur d'Orleans, receipt for vuider plusieurs gravois in the court of the Duke's hotel.

SECTION TEN; AMBASSADORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, HUNGARY, KING OF THE
ROMAINS, BISHOP OF COLOGNE.

57. 11 May 1395. Payment by Louis to a messenger of the emperor of Constantinople, because his secretary did not take quittance, because he only spoke Greek, and there was no-one there (Lyon) who understood his language.

13 December 1396. Louis sent Pierre, hermite of his uncle, Duke of Berry, to Turkey for news of the Counts of Nevers, Henry and Philippe de Bar, sire of Coucy and others.

18 January 1396. Money given by Louis to Jean Wilay for costs for voyage to Germany; for deliverance of the bodies of Henri de Bar and sire of Coucy, prisoners in Turkish hands.

20 February 1397. Goblet, given to a chevalier from Greece, come as ambassadeur to the King, accompanied by the uncle of emperor of Constantinople.

58. 12 May 1393. Daily payment made by Louis to his chambellan, accompanying his uncle of Burgundy, with Hungarian ambassadeurs, to his cousin in Lancaster, for certain needs, "very dear to his heart".

7 June 1395. Payment by Louis for certain jewellery given to Bishop, Count and chevalier, being three ambassadeurs from Hungary.

6 November 1395. Payment to Colard Blancpain, king of the heraux of Artois, for carrying letters of Louis and Duke of Burgundy to Hungary.

4 November 1393. Louis de Buno, Secretary of Louis, receipt for account for voyage to Hungary.

1470.

59. 9 December 1397. Payment by Louis to Jaquet de Blaru, Jean de Fontaine, Pierre Bauble, for voyage to King of the Romains, to Frankfurt in Germany, as his ambassadeurs.

15 January 1397. Gifts, being jewels, to consellers of King of Romains.

20 February 1397. Payment by Louis to Seneschal of Luxembourg and Jean Desconniflet who went as ambassadeurs for him to King of Romains.

21 February 1397. Receipt by G. de Miramont for above voyage.

25 April 1398. Receipt by Hubert, sire d'Auteuil, for sum sent in connection with negociations for marriage of Charles with niece of King of Romains.

60. 13 May 1393. Receipt by Guillaume Duchesne, changer, for gilded silver goblets, given to ambassadeurs of the archbishop of Cologne, the day they dined in his hotel.

APPENDIX VII

SUMMARY OF INVENTORIES PUBLISHED BY GRAVES .

SOURCE: F. Graves, Deux Inventaires de la Maison d'Orléans (1389 et 1408), Paris 1926.

TROUSSEAU INVENTORY .

Inventory I - Graves. M/s Paris AN KK264.

8 and 9 Sept 1389

In presence of Philippe de Florigny, Jehan de Garencières.

Written in large cursive script, in French. Is list of goods, jewels and dishes, linen and clothes brought by Valentine from her homeland.

Also includes list of dishes offered to her on her marriage, by the city of Paris.

Not to be confused with contemporary inventory of wedding presents M/s AN KK 268 b.

Written in Latin, Lombard hand, compiled at Pavia before her departure.

Not brought to France before Louis XII . (b. 1462, reigned 1498-1515). A copy in French is in the Cartulary of the County of Blois, XV^e and XVI^e centuries AN KK896 f^o 36.

TOTAL NUMBERS OF EACH ITEM MENTIONED IN THE TROUSSEAU INVENTORY

altar, portable 1
basins 24
belts, gold 5
belt, silver 1
chalices 2
chambres 5
chandeliers (pairs) 13
chapel(consisting of the cloth items required for the priest, oratory, altar and lecturn) 7
chappel of gold(headgear) 4
chappel of precious stones 1
cloth (various separate pieces of cloth not identified as clothing,curtains etc.) 5
chauffete (chauffe-mains) 1
coats of arms (not usually specified) 200
coats-cotte hardie 5
 - houppelande 2
cords (for curtains) 1
crosses (gold, silver, jasper) 7
crown 2
cruets, salt and pepper 5
cutlery (not individual pieces number of times itemised:) 3

cups 118
 curtains (of chambre) 18
dragouerz 5
 ewers, goblets 93
 flasks 4
garde mengiers 2
 images 5
 invention 1 (item 185)
 manuscripts 12
 mirror 1
naves 4
 necklaces 7
 plates (of gold, gilded or with silver) 159
 purse 1
 quilts, bedcovers 9
 reliquaries 2
 rings 30
 rosaries 5
 stones (separate or collections) 8
 squares (of chambre) 32
tabernacle 1
 tableau 2
 tables, games 2
 tapestry (listed as banquiers de tappicerie
 et heaumes de monsieur de Vertuz) 7
 trenchers (tranchouerz) 36
 trinkets (incl broaches, clasps) 29
 vases 13

Transcriptions from Trousseau Inventory of Identifying Marks or Inscriptions.

<u>Entry Number (*)</u>	<u>Description of Item</u>	<u>Particulars of Marks, Inscriptions or Identifying Characteristics.</u>
24	gold clasp	inscription: <u>qui dient plus haut</u>
29	gold clasp	pelican
34	gold reliquary	St. George
36	rosary	made in fashion of damask
44	ring	L and V
71	cross	crucifix and Agnus Dei
72	small Hours	with Annunciation and Nativity
73	large Hours	with Annunciation, St. Louis of France and St. Louis of Marseilles
86	image	in amber, of St. Marguerite with a serpent
95	large book	in German, covered in red velvet, with two silver clasps
96	another book	with service of St. Ambrose
99	small book	of St. Cyprian
100	book	in German
101	another book	in German and <u>un Mandeville</u>
102	chandelier	arms of monsieur and madame
103	chandelier	arms of Count of Vertuz
104	chandelier	arms of madame
107	image	of Our Lady, with three lions for feet and a crown of pearls on the head.
109	chalice	arms of Madame
110	cross	with crucifix and two images and arms of M. of Touraine and Count of Vertuz
122	clasps(for capes)	with arms of M. of Touraine and of Vertuz
124	coats of arms	of Monsieur and Madame
129	missal	usage of Rome
130	<u>chambre</u>	decorated with stags, gold thread of Cyprus, a <u>turterelle</u> holding a banner <u>a bon droit</u>
132	<u>chambre</u>	with lozenges in gold thread, within lozenges white <u>liz</u> (fleur de lis?) and in middle a large park with four embroidered images
133	<u>chambre</u>	cloth of gold and red with leopards,

		stags, flowers, with <u>fleurs de liz</u> , and <u>heaumes</u> of many lords including the arms of the Emperor and the King of France in the middle
135	<u>chambre</u>	with rays of sun
137	tapestry	seven <u>banquiers</u> with arms of M. of Vertuz
138	robe	with gold thread from Cyprus
140	<u>cotte hardie</u>	with gold thread from Cyprus
141	<u>houppelande</u>	embroidered with roses and green leaves
142	as 140	
144	as 141	
149	mirror	enamel of St. Catherine and an image of Our Lady in relief
150	reliquary	image of Our Lady with <u>liz</u> and two trees
152	quart	arms of Count of Vertuz on lid
153	ewer	arms of Count of Vertuz on lid
154	basins	with crowns and <u>liz</u>
155	basins	with <u>heaume</u> and arms of Count of Vertuz
157	goblets	marked with Z
159	goblets	with arms of Madame of Touraine
161	basins	with arms of Madame of Touraine
162	ewers	with arms of Count of Vertuz
163	goblet	with image of stag and horse
168	basins	with arms of Madame
169	basins	with arms of Madame, inscription in Greek letters on edge
171	basin	with arms of Count of Vertuz
172	ewer	with arms of Count of Vertuz
173	flasks	with four lions with arms of Madame of Touraine; each flask with two serpents
175	wash basin	with arms of Madame
176	basins	with arms of Madame
177	<u>chauffete</u>	with arms and <u>heaume</u> of Count of Vertuz
183	<u>dragouerz</u>	with arms of Madame
184	chandeliers	with arms of Monsieur and Madame
187	chandeliers	with arms of Count of Vertuz
188	<u>nave</u>	with <u>chateaux</u> at each end and on each

		two banners with arms of M. of Touraine and Count of Vertuz
189	as 188	
193	coats of arms	with arms of Madame Blanche of Savoie(wife of Galeazzo Visconti, grandmother of Valentine)
198	<u>tabernacle</u>	with arms of Madame
199	goblets	with C
201	plates	without arms, with small head of St. Ambroise
202	plates	with G and Z.

TOTAL NUMBERS OF EACH ITEM MENTIONED IN THE ABOVE INVENTORY

- aspergillum 4
- baldaquin, for chambre 2
- baldaquin, other 3
- barrels 29
- basins 22
- bed, gold 3
- bell, material 3
- bell, silver 2
- blouses 17
- book covers 3
- bowl, peacock, for bread 1
- canopy 1
- caps 7
- casquette, ermine 1
- case, derelict 1
- chairs 2
- chaises 4
- chambres 30
- chandeliers 7
- chapel (church vestments) 22
- chapel, of goldthread gear 1
- chapel of precious stones 3
- chiffoniers 1
- cloth, hales of 5
- cloths, various pieces 271
- coats 12
- coats, hards, collar 3
- coats, household 26
- coffers 22
- coffers 3
- coffers 6
- crosses, of gold silver etc 12

BLOIS INVENTORY

Inventory 2- Graves Ms Paris AN KK 268 a

Inventory of seventy pages, half parchment, half paper,
"en quelque sorte" enumeration of effects of Duke and Duchess of Orléans
begun the day of Valentina's death, at the château de Blois, 4 December
1408.

By order of Charles , Duke of Orléans, in presence of Pierre de Mornay
(governor of Duchy or Orléans), Abbot of Chesy (Duchesses confessor),
Jehan Mauvoison (her butler) and Pierre Sauvage (her secretary).

TOTAL NUMBERS OF EACH ITEM MENTIONED IN THE BLOIS INVENTORY

aspergillum 4
baldaquin, for chambre 2
baldaquin, other 5
barrels 29
basins 22
belt, gold 3
belt, material 3
belt, silver 2
blouses 17
book covers 3
bowl, eucharistic, for bread 1
cannopy 1
capas 7
cassidoyne creux 1
celle de retrait 1
chairs 2
chalices 4
chambres 30
chandeliers 7
chapel (church vestments) 22
chappel of gold(head gear) 1
chappel of precious stones 3
chauffete mains 1
cloth, bales of 8
cloths, various pieces 231
coats 16
coats, hardie cotte 3
coats, houppelande 26
coffre 22
coiffe 3
corsets 6
crosses, of gold, silver etc. 13

crown 3
 cruets, salt and pepper 9
 cups 125
 cushions and pillows 30
 cuttlery 6
 cups 125
 curtains , for chambre 25
dragourz 5
 egg cup 1
espreuve , of gold, sans li come ? 1
estuy, of ivory 1
 ewers, goblets 50
 flasks 20
 fringes 2
 fur, pieces or pelts 9
 hats 5
 images 4
 incense boats 2
 kerchiefs 122
 leather, pieces 33
loirre (possibly lure for falcons) 1
 manuscripts 38
 mattresses 3
 money, gold , pieces 569
 mosquito net 1
naves 6
 necklaces, chains, of gold 18
 oratory 1
 overcoat 1
 pax 2
 purse 2
 quilts, bedcovers 24
 reliquaries 10
 rings 77
robes 12
 rosaries 6
 serviettes, towels 424
 sleeves (ppairs) 9
 stones 20
tableau 30
 tapestries 252
 thread , (flocars of thread) 8
tiercelet 2
 trenchers 23
 trinkets (incl broaches, clasps) 84
 vases 26

Transcriptions from Blois Inventory of Identifying Marks or Inscriptions.

<u>Entry</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Particulars of</u>
<u>Number (*)</u>	<u>of Item</u>	<u>Marks, Inscriptions</u> <u>or Identifying</u> <u>Characteristics.</u>
231	<u>chapeau</u>	made in latest fashion
233	as 231	
234	as 231	
235	<u>chapel</u>	made in old style
237	necklace, gold	with V.V.S.
238	necklace	addition to inventory, which
Graves believes was added after the inventory was compiled states that this was presented to M. de Vertus on August 8, 1409. On the death of his grandfather, Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1402, Philippe, the second son of Louis d'Orléans, inherited the fief of Vertus.		
242	gold belt	made in English fashion
246	reliquary, gold	seated on six dolphins, with image of St. Denis
247	jewel of gold	being of a <u>preau</u> placed on four chateaux, in centre a <u>liz</u> in which is a seated Our Lady, surrounded by two trees, an Angel crowning Our Lady
249	<u>cassidoyne,</u>	<u>creux</u> (ie. hollow), within which is an image of St. George, surrounded by Our Lady, St. Christopher and St. Catherine
252	reliquary	within St. Anthony
253	reliquary	decorated with Annunciation and Nativity, within St. Martin
254	reliquary	with image of Our Lady
255	reliquary	with image of the Pity of Our Lord
256	reliquary	in shape of an apple, within an Annunciation, outside enamel of the Apostles
262	reliquary	with relics of St. Louis, Crucifixion enamelled on back, on other side a cameo
264	tableau	with St. Marguerite & the dragon 117

265	tableau	half round, with half image of Our Lady
266	tableau	with Our Lady, seated, holding Our Lord, closure with an enamel of St. John Evangelist
267	tableau	with image of St. John Baptist on one half and St. Catherine on other half; outside (wings?) St. John and St. Catherine on a blue field
268	tableau	with two rounds, the Crucifixion and Our Lord at the Sepulchre
269	tableau	<u>a pignon</u> , with Our Lady and St. Catherine
270	<u>pomme</u>	on half St. Catherine, on other half a wheel
271	tableau	in three pieces; centre the Trinity, with Our Lady and St. John Evangelist
272	tableau	large, outside the Baptism of Our Lord by St. John and on other side St. Catherine and St. Marguerite; inside the <u>pitie</u> of Our Lord and on other Our Lady with three sapphires of Puy
273	small Hours	within a Trinity and Our Lady
274	Hours	of Our Lady, on one side the Annunciation and on other St. Louis of France and St. Louis of Marseilles
275	small Hours	with Annunciation and the Nativity
276	book of gold	with <u>chemise</u> (cover) of gold, within a Salutation Elizabeth and the fete of Christmas
277	mirror	with Our Lady and three Kings of Cologne
278	mirror	with Our Lady holding Our Lord, painted
279	mirror	with two crossbows
280	mirror	with St. George and an Annunciation
282	mirror	with St. Catherine one side, St. John Baptist other
287	gold clasp	with phoenix, white and a small ruby on chest
295	gold ring	with large diamond, with which <u>ma dame</u> was married
296	gold ring	with square ruby, with which <u>ma dame</u> was married

309	small ring	with a flat diamond in a V
310	small ring	flat, enamelled with VVS with a small flat diamond
311	gold ring	with a stone said to be effective against venom
328	Christening bonnet	in white silk, embroidered in pearls with the four Evangelists
335	<u>ays</u> of silver	(pages or leaves?) for a gilded Hours, with a Crucifixion and five images in silver
338	tree of coral	with five tongues and six teeth of serpent
339	old Hours	from the country from which <u>ma dame</u> came, covered in white leather, with three gilded silver clasps
350	<u>oreiller</u>	(pillow, for bed; usually long and shaped round) with VVS, twice, made in pearls
351	<u>oreiller</u>	with VVS , twice, in pearls
353	a V	worked in pearls, outside any work (ie loose)
355	coat	to adorn a costume of four pieces, with thorns and VS
365	tableau	with Baptism of Our Lord by St. John
366	tableau	for relics in memory of the Passion of Our Lord, with enamel of the twelve Apostles
367	tableau	with St. Catherine, holding a palm in her hand, a crown on her head, and half of a wheel
368	tableau	with St. Catherine, holding a palm; on back St. John Evangelist
369	tableau	of ivory, with Crucifixion of Our Lord
371	image	of the Trinity , seated on a <u>tarrache</u> in a park, with Annunciation enamelled on back
374	ivory plaque	surrounded by belts of Hope (emblem of the Duke of Burgundy)
381	clasp ,gold	of a park with two doe
382	a sun, in gold	with a <u>tourterelle</u> , white and a scroll of gold, on which is written <u>a bon droit</u> .
383	rosary, gold	work of damask
385	goblet	made of Eastern clay
386	reliquary	round, of crystal; on one side St. 119

391	piece of unicorn	Denis and other St. Louis for testing (for indication of presence of poison in foods or drink)
393	reliquary	worked in fashion of damask
394	tableau	with Annunciation and small angels above
395	cross of <u>Rodes</u>	given to late Monsieur by Madame de Maucouvent
402	cage of gold	for birds from Cyprus and another small cage, gilded silver, for birds from Cyprus
409	cup,	small of wood with arms of France
430	<u>glant</u> ,	small of gold with Crucifixion on one side and Annunciation on other
453	tableau	with a Magdalene
454	tableau	with a St. Christopher on one side and a <u>Veronicle [sic]</u> (image of Christ imprinted on the Holy Shroud) on the other
486	bracelet, gold	with a small <u>tablet</u> of gold, Our Lady on one side and on other the <u>Veronicle</u> .
495	baldaquin, azur	worked with lions, crowns sewn with gold and red silk roses
496	baldaquin, red	worked with lions and <u>espreviere</u> and other foliage in silk
497	baldaquin, azur	embroidered in gold with a lion of gold on a branch of a trunk in gold
499	satin, piece	embroidered with a stag, within a park with a tree of gold
500	baldaquin, blue	embroidered in gold, worked with falcons, two standing together, and another with a sun
501	baldaquin, blue	embroidered with gold with a lion and a gold batton
502-516	cloth, various	most are figured with decoration, such as crowns, trefoils, thistles, violets, feathers
517	<u>corset</u>	of gold cloth, given by late Madame to Our Lady of the Church of Chateau Thierry
518	<u>corset</u>	of new crimson velvet, which was never finished, and which <u>madite dame</u> gave to St. Calays of Blois, to make a chasuble
520	fur, squirrel	14 pieces, with arms of

		monseigneur of Milan, on field on silver
521	belt	with VS
525	robe	embroidered with flowers of <u>bourrages</u>
526	robe	sewn with flowers of <u>ne m'oubliez mie</u>
529	cross, large	gilded silver, with a Crucifixion in gold, the principal (persons) hands and diadems of Our Lady, St. John in gold, God the Father in gold, the bodies of the four angels in gold, not the wings, the tableau in gold; the cross has nineteen sapphires, two rubies and four large pearls. The foot of the said cross had a sepulchre of crystal, with a Crucifixion in gold and the sepulchre has twenty four pearls, six sapphires and four rubies; the said foot of gilded silver with three images thereon
530	jewel, gold	of sepulchre of Our Lord and His Crucifixion
531	a St. George	seated on an <u>entablement</u> of gilded silver
532	cruet, gold	salt cellar, placed on an elephant
533	<u>nave</u>	with two chateaux at the two ends; on one a <u>damoiselle</u> holding a mirror and at other end a tiger
535	goblet and ewer	with images of the Apostles
536	goblet and ewer	made in manner of Venice
538	goblet, gold	enamelled with the Apostles
543	tableau, large	with Crucifixion of Our Lord & many persons
544	tableau	image of Our Lady holding her Infant
545	tableau	image of Our Lady
546	tableau	with an Annunciation to Our Lady
547	tableau	with an Annunciation to Our Lady
548	tableau	with image of <u>St. Andry</u>
549	tableau	with image of St. Catherine
550	tableau	with the Trinity
551	image	of St. Marguerite with a serpent
552	tableau, round	with image of Our Lady holding her Infant
553	pax, of gold	with a <u>fleur de liz</u> and Crucifix
554	image	of St. Michael, holding an <u>espee</u> 121

555	image	of St. John Evangelist, holding a reliquary in his hand, above reliquary a palm; in left hand a chalice, entwined with serpents; enamelled with arms of m. d'Orleans
556	flasks, gold	made like cockle shells (<u>coquille de Saint Jacques</u>); one with an image of St. Jacques, the other with Charlemagne and St. Jacques, with a banner inscribed <u>Charles va delivrer Espagne</u> .
557	basins, gold	with images of Baptism of Our Lord and Holy Thursday
559-563	kerchiefs, chemises	all itemised as from Lombardy
564	chemises	from Chartres
568	<u>la bersce (Graves p.120.n.1.=brisee) du Bausme (?)</u>	
569	gold	Itemised as : item in gold: money, two thousand nine hundred and one <u>escus</u> .
570	linen, piece	work from Paris
572	linen, two pieces	given by M. de Fere
575	linen	given by Madame the Prioress of Poissy
580	linen, towel	work damask
586	linen, piece	from <u>Rains</u> (Reims?), which M. de Fere gave
592	tableau	with Our Lady
599	finery	from Aragon, in a box
600	mirror	inscribed: <u>Vous m'avez</u>
601	cloths	damask
611, 625	cloth, serviette	from Reims
632	cloth	<u>aulnes de Rains</u> , made in Paris (other measurement noted is the Parisian <u>aulne</u>)
646	serviettes	one dozen damask, other dozen from <u>Rains</u>
655-658	cloth, fine	from <u>Rains</u>
659	mosquito net	of green silk, which the said treasurer Jehan Poulain gave, a long time ago to the late monsieur to take to Coucy
660	serviettes, kerchiefs	
661	<u>chapel</u> (consisting of the	cloth items required for the priest, oratory, altar and lecturn) with ribbon of gold from Cyprus
662	<u>paremens</u>	cloth of damask
664	shields	with arms of late M. the Duke and Madame

665	cloths, for altar	damask
667	cloth, altar	given by Jehan Poulain to late Monsieur for New Year's gift
669	coffre	with arms of late Madame
671	missal	covered in cloth damask
673	breviary	with two clasps of gold, on 123 one the Trinity, on the other an image of Our Lady holding her Infant.
674	breviary	in two volumes of the three seasons; clasps with an Annunciation to Our Lady; with arms of France around the <u>pipe</u> ; the clasps with arms of France and Navarre
675	clasps	itemised as: of another time has (had?) two gold clasps, with St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist; arms of France and Evreux
676	Hours	of Our Lady, with images, the first of Annunciation to Our Lady
677	breviary	covered in blue cloth damask, with clasp with arms of France and a small twisted silver <u>pipe</u> with which the late M. d'Orleans said his hours
678	Hour	in German
679	psalter	the first letter is figured with David in battle with a giant
680	<u>the Mirror of the Ladies</u>	with St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, and arms of France, Navarre and Evreux
681	book	large volume, on first page is a lady figured with arms of late Monsieur and Madame; two clasps, inscribed on one <u>ave maria</u>
682	novel	in German
683	book	called the Composition of the Holy Scriptures
684	book	called <u>The Discretion and Deffinition of the <i>Preudommie of Man</i></u> , man of experience, and <u>le fist Crestine</u>
685	book	of <u>Lucan</u>
686	chronicles	<u>The Chronicles of the Kings of France</u>
687	book	<u>The Balads (of) Eustace Morel</u> 123

688	book	of <u>Venerie</u> , made by the Count of Foix, all historiated; clasps with arms of Orléans
689	book	of <u>Canerian</u>
690	roll	of the life of Our Lady and of the New Testament, figured with images
691	book	of the <u>Escheez</u>
692	book	an <u>Apocalypse</u> , figured
693	shields	with arms of Madame
694	covers, for book	in blue satin, lined with blue taffeta, embroidered with woods and marguerites, for the Breviary in two volumes (see item number 674)
711	reliquary, of gold	bordered with pearls, with a chain of gold, which the late Madame carried on her
728	aspergillum	with arms of Madame
730	book	<u>The Story of The Rose</u> , figured
731	book	of the Epistles of the debate on <u>The Story of the Rose</u>
732	knife, for table	sheath with arms of Madame
743	overshoes	made in manner of Lombardy
749	quart (measure)	from Lombardy
751	goblet, gold	with stag and many dogs
752	goblet, gold	with forget me knots and angels
761	cups, gold	with arms of Madame
763	<u>dragouer</u> , of gold	with rosettes, leaves, marguerites
764	goblet, of gold	with jousting persons and trees
766	goblet of gold	with VVV and <u>a tourterelles</u>
769	cups, of gold	with arms of Madame
775	goblet, of gold	with branches and rose leaves
776	porcupine, of gold	large, a cockle shell as salt cruet, with a belt of hope (emblem of Duke of Burgundy)
780-787, 790,798-800, 802-803	various items of crockery	with arms of Monsieur, Madame or both
789	basins of silver	two gilded, one white;(one of the gilded basins given to Philippot du Mesnibrenart for M. de Vertuz, the white for M. d'Angoulesme: ie Jean, third son of Louis and Valentine. On command of Monsieur the 25th January)
801	table	of pearl shell and jasper with 124

- 809-818 various items of crockery with arms of Monsieur, Madame or both. Including a dragouer with arms of France and England (item 811)
- 821 scoops from Germany, for collecting spices
- 841 square of red velvet with two suns, in the middle a liz and arms of madite dame
- 845 table, ivory with a Crucifixion
- 920-956 various items of crockery with arms of Monsieur, Madame or both, and including the following:
- 925 vase for alms with arms of Madame and Paris (refer to Graves Inventory I item 222)
- 930 basins, gilded with arms of France, England and Ireland
- 931 vase, for alms with arms of France and England
- 943 thing of gilded silver, to put Madame's egg
- 952 nave with arms of France and England and two lions
- 957 plates, gilded with arms of England; broken and in pieces, the pieces being with the said Fusee, except a piece of the edge which he says Jehan Lescrivain has.
- 958-969 various items of crockery with arms of Monsieur, Madame or England
- 970 Item which the said Fusee says Tassin, the doyen silversmith must have: one gilded plate with arms of late Madame and two coats of arms, or the pieces were stolen
- 972,973,978,981 various items of crockery with arms of Monsieur, Madame or both
- 983 reliquary or tableau or gold with rubies and pearls, with image of Our Lady and the angel Gabriel, and on the back Our Lord on the Cross, Our Lady and St. John made like a cockle shell with an image of Saint Pol and the letters of the ABC (suggestion by Graves p.156n.3: child's cup)
- 986 goblet, of gold
- 989 chapelle of white silk, including three capes with arms of France and Milan
- 990 -991 chapelle of cloth of gold on a red field, including a breast plate with 125

992	cross, of silver	arms of France and Milan with two angels at foot of cross, in middle of the cross an Agnus Dei
993	image	of Our Lady, of gilded silver, with arms of Monsieur
994	chalice	enamelled in manner of Milan, with arms of Orléans and Milan, and two <u>buretes</u> with arms of late Monsieur and Madame; including also a <u>navette</u> with arms of Monsieur
995	<u>chapelle</u>	of green velvet, with arms of late monsieur and madame
996	chalice	in the manner of Lombardy, with arms of Milan
997	cross	with arms of Milan
998	oratory	of black silk, with arms of late Monsieur and Madame. Including a cloth with arms of late Monsieur and Madame in the four corners; two missals, one of the useage of Rome, the other of the useage of Paris; two <u>tapiz de sommiers</u> with arms of late Monsieur and Madame
999	<u>chapelle</u>	of cloth of gold, on blue field, embroidered with birds, large beasts and big flowers; with arms of Monsieur
1000	<u>chapelle</u>	of cloth of <u>Luques</u> , black and new; with arms of Monsieur
1001	chalice	with Our Lord on the Cross, St. John and Our Lady; including a small missal of the useage of Paris, and one <u>tapiz</u> with arms of Monsieur
1002	<u>chambre</u>	of silk cloth, with arms of Monsieur the Duke
1003	for said <u>chambre</u>	ten large <u>tapiz</u> to hang, and ten other pieces, from small <u>tapiz</u> to <u>bancquiers</u>
1004	foe said <u>chambre</u>	six squares
1005	<u>chambre</u>	of high warp, made in gold and silk, with ladies playing the harp and small infants
1006	for said <u>chambre</u>	six <u>tappiz</u> to hang with the <u>devise</u> of the said <u>chambre</u>
1007	<u>tapiz</u>	small, with chevron of white and blue, which has been used as a floor cloth/ packing cloth

1009	<u>chambre</u>	of cloth of gold with roses
1010	canopy	large, of gold and velvet, to hang , which was made at Avignon
1011	<u>dosseret</u>	(dias or tent) of gold cloth, edged with red velvet, with arms of late Madame of Orléans
1012	<u>chambre</u>	with <u>devise</u> of many stags
1014	tent or dias	large, with arms of Monsieur the Dauphin (Louis, duke of Guyenne, dauphin of Vienna, count of Mortain born in 1396. In 1403, the contract for his marriage with Marguerite of Burgundy , daughter of Jean sans Peur, was passed.)
1016	<u>tapiz</u>	high warp, with <u>Tree of Life</u>
1017	<u>tapis</u>	high warp, of the <u>Judgement</u>
1018	<u>tapiz</u>	high warp, called the <u>Tapiz of the Coronation</u>
1019	<u>tiercellet</u>	high warp, worked in gold and wool, with <u>infants bathing in a river</u>
1020	<u>tapiz</u>	old, with chevron of white and blue, which has been used as packing cloth/ floor rag
1021	<u>tapiz</u>	old, high warp, of <u>Story of Theseus</u>
1022	<u>tapiz</u>	high warp, of <u>Story of Charlemagne</u>
1023	<u>tapiz</u>	large, high warp, of <u>Seven Vices and Seven Virtues</u>
1024	<u>tapiz</u>	of <u>St. Louis</u>
1025	<u>tapiz</u>	of <u>The Credo</u>
1026	<u>chambre</u>	of cloth of damask, with blue and white chevrons
1030	<u>tapiz</u>	ten, high warp, with fleurs de liz, in gold
1032	<u>chambre</u>	of <u>tapisserie</u> of a <u>Goddess</u>
1034, 1035	<u>tapiz</u>	of <u>orange trees</u>
1038	<u>pavillon</u>	of white silk, which Monsieur de Roussay gave to Monsieur
1039	<u>pavillon</u>	of white <u>boucassin</u> , embroidered with <u>needles of porcupine</u>
1040	<u>serges</u>	six, white for said <u>pavillon</u> , embroidered with <u>porcupines</u>
1045	<u>chambre</u>	of serge, green, with nettle leaves
1046	<u>tapis</u>	old, with white vignettes, with arms of Monsieur the Dauphin
1049	<u>chambre</u>	of blue taffeta, with arms of late Madame
1051, 1056-59	serges, pieces of leather	with arms of Monsieur

1060	<u>tapis</u>	large, for the drawingroom, with the <u>Story of the Grant Credo</u>
1061	<u>tapis</u>	two, large, of Old Testament and the New
1065	<u>chambre</u>	of red cloth damask
1069	<u>tappiz</u>	six, white, worked with roses in Parisian thread
1073	<u>tapiz</u>	old, <u>pour faire gite</u> , the said tapestry has been folded and rolled up
1076	<u>chambre</u>	of blue velvet, with arms of Madame
1077	<u>chambre</u>	of gold cloth, with heads of wheat
1078	<u>chambre</u>	of silk, sewn with white leaves (consisting of twelve tapestries)
1080	<u>chambre</u>	of blue velvet, embroidered with <u>fleur de liz</u>
1082	<u>chambre</u>	of red satin, called the <u>chambre of the park</u> , and six squares of the same and eight <u>tapiz</u> worked with woodcutters
1083	<u>chambre</u>	of white satin, workled with orange trees and six <u>tapiz</u> with <u>fleur de lis</u> and orange trees
1085,6	<u>chambre, pavillon</u>	embroidered with V and VV respectively
1088,9	<u>espreviers</u>	with arms of Monsieur or Madame
1091	<u>tapiz</u>	of <u>The Battle of the Thirty</u>
1093	<u>banquiers</u>	two, with arms of Madame
1096	<u>chayere(chair?)</u>	of <u>Sipres</u> (Cyprus), made in the manner of Germany
1098	game, in ivory	consisting of chess and ivory tables
1103	<u>chambre</u>	of red serge, with bands of nettles
1105	<u>chambre of tapisserie</u>	green, with <u>rinceaux</u> of roses and small infants
1106	<u>parement</u> of a bed	with a park with sheep
1107	<u>ciel</u> (canopy)	of <u>tapisserie</u> with angels
1108	<u>chambre</u>	large, white, with green nettles
1115	<u>chambre</u>	of azur velvet, embroidered with <u>fleurs de lis</u> and the arms and <u>devise</u> of the late Monsieur the Duke.

APPENDIX VIII

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY ROMAN INCLUDING PURCHASE OF TAPESTRY FROM DOURDIN (DOCUMENT XXVI) AND THE PARIS INVENTORY (DOCUMENT XXX).

SOURCE : J. Roman, Inventaires et Documents Relatifs aux Joyaux et Tapisseries des Princes d'Orléans-Valois. 1389-1481. Paris 1896.

The documents transcribed here are dated from 1389 to 1409. Of the last four, two were written on order of Valentine and the other two were ordered by her son, Charles. The remaining twenty documents published in Roman are beyond the time frame considered relevant to this thesis. As each document or inventory is a separate entity, the summaries which follow note the general contents of each document and any mention of style, subject or location which could be relevant to the Duke as patron, or any mentioned names.

TOTAL NUMBERS OF EACH ITEM MENTIONED.

aguilletes(for fastening doublet) 653 mentioned separately and 282 1/2 dozen plus "many others"(*163, 164)

armour, comprising:

armguards(pr): 11

armlets: 3

foot guards: 1

hand guards: 4

gauntlets(pr): 6

plaques: 18

astralabe 1

axes 3

banquiers 1

basins 3

belt, gold 14

belt, material 8

belt, silver 5

bookmark (pipe) 1

bowl 1

box 1

bracelet 7

buckles (or part of) 44

buttons, gold 1

cages 2

chain, gold 8

chain, fastening or safety(crampons) 69

chain, silver 3

chambres 35 including in addition

covers: 26 plus 4 dozen others

curtains: 40

pavillions: 3

serges: 44

tapis: 148

cloths, various pieces 7

crossbows (weapons) 1

crosses, of gold silver etc. 6

crown 3

crucibles 1

cruets, salt and pepper 4

cups 19

cushions and pillows 7

daggers 10

dart 1

decoration for epee 4

egg cup 1

emblems: incl-

bells 100

broom (flower)

collars (for decoration; some with wolves some with bells) 167

crossbows-cloth 8

-jewellery 22

porcupines 1

shields 25

'V' 1

viretons 3

wolves 289

epee 24

estamoies (table decoration) plus other sorts of table decoration 7

ewers, goblets 69

fers d'asiquaie 1

flasks 3

hackney (horse) 1

harnesses 8

helmets 3

images 9

lances 9

levrier 1

manuscripts 1

matelas de perles (ie sewn on cloth) 1

mirrors 1

naves 3

necklaces (incl. some with bells) 36

pax 1

plates 4

purse 3

reliquaries 6

rings 87

rosaries 9

scarfs 4

serviettes 4 dozen
 sheets (for bed) 2
soulages 2
 stones, precious 1863
tableau 8
 tooth cleaning devise 1
 torch 1
 tree of coral 1
 tunic 1
 trunk 1
 trinkets (including broaches, clasps) 143
 vases 11
ven (fan) 1
vetements -

bonnets	10
capas, cloaks	44
coats	16
doublets	28
gloves	1
<u>hainselein</u> (clothing for voyages)	1
hoods	4
<u>houppelandes</u>	135
jackets	11
linen, pieces	4
night vest	5
pants(under) (pr)	8
pelts for <u>houppelandes</u>	49
pelts, other	1204
<u>poignets</u> (pairs)	4
<u>robes</u>	212
silk, pieces	8
sleeves (pr)	1

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS I-XXXIII.

References in brackets are to further information which may assist analysis of the document. The date is transcribed as published by Roman. The year in brackets adjusts the date to our calendar.

DOCUMENT I.

From Loys, son of the King of France, Duke of Touraine, Count of Valois and Beaumont

To Jehan Poulain, varlet de chambre. Treasurer general of the Duke in 1382, until August 1408 (See Document XXXI). Died 1420 (Roman p. 84)

To deliver certain sums to Denis Mariette, (money) changer in Paris. Became in 1390 (ibid p.85) varlet de chambre, after being a jeweller in Paris, argentier in 1399 and secretary and auditor of the accounts from 1403. Employed for the negotiations for the purchase of the County of Coucy.

For a goblet and ewer, delivered to Madame Katherine, wife of Robin de Bauchien, (chevalier and chambellan of the King) at Saint Oyn, the day of her wedding, and another goblet and ewer given to the wife of Jehannet d'Estouteville (grand bouteillier of France) for her wedding.

To pay Lonnequin, horse merchant, of Paris

For a hackney

Given to Madame of Boulay (for reference to the name Boulay see ibid p. 85-86; it is suggested this Lady may have been the wife of a Boulay, chevalier and captain of the King's Guards.)

To pay additionally a sum to the varlets of the Lord of the Riviere (Riviere, chambellan of the Duke in 1403?)

Written at PARIS

28th January 1388 (1389)

Signed for M. le Duke Tierry.

DOCUMENT II.

Loys to Jehan Poulain

To pay Jehan de Rone, jeweller, living at Toulouse

For jewellery

Including a large diamond for the Queen, Louis' cousins the Countess of Eu (Isabelle of Melun) and Marguerite of Bourbon, of Dreux, Madame Bauchien, and the Lady of Ferte-Bernart (Jeanne de Chatillon).

Written at Toulouse

29 December 1389

Signed for M. le Duc: Tierry.

DOCUMENT III.

Valentine, duchess of Touraine, countess of Valois and Beaumont

Acknowledging receipt of coats of arms brought from Lombardy, in care of Jehan Poulain

Written at Paris

10 February 1389 (1390)

Signed for Mme le Duchesse, Bontier.

DOCUMENT IV

Loys to Jehan Poulain

For ducal crown

Bought from Manuel de la Mer, merchant of Jennes

Written at Paris

12 April, 1390

For M. le Duc, Bontier.

DOCUMENT V.

Loys to Jehan Poulain

To pay Richard le Breton, jeweller, living in Paris

For goblets and ewers

Given to Aumosnier Raoul de Justines (not identifiable, according to Roman p.90) for his " first and new mass "

Written at Paris

16 May 1390

Signed for M. le Duc, Thierry.

DOCUMENT VI.

Items delivered by the saddler, Jehan Vorin , to Boniface and Enguerrin, squires of the Duke

From 12 July 1390 to(no indication is given here if the manuscript is ruined at this point or Roman has not transcribed the entire heading of the document)

Included in this document is mention of :

Montagu (Jean de Montagu, vidame of Laon, accused of concussions by the Duke of Burgundy and the King of Navarre and beheaded in 1409 or his son, Charles)

Epees from Bordeaux and Boheme, from the time when Monsieur went to Lombardy

Guillame de Namur (Guillame II, count of Namur)

Epee from Passou,(Passau), Germany

Written at ?

4 June, 1391

Certification of receipt by Boniface and Enguerren, squires of the Duke.

DOCUMENT VII.

Loys to Jehan Poulain

To pay Guillemin Arrode, jeweller living in Paris

For goblet and ewer

Given to the wife of Jehan Tarenne (a bourgeois and jeweller, of Paris)

Written at Saint Germain en Laye

21 August 1390

Signed for M. le Duc, Gilet

DOCUMENT VIII.

Valentine to Jehan Poulain

Concerning delivery by him of various dishes and vases

To the Lady of Mauronville (perhaps wife of Simon de Moranvillers squire and panetier of the Duke)

Some identified with the arms of the Duke, some with the arms of Arragon

Written at Paris

6 November 1391

For Madame la Duchesse, Baraut.

DOCUMENT IX.

Various jewels and other things, given by the Duchess of Touraine for New Year's gifts, bought from Jehan Tarenne.

Included in this document is mention of:

various rings given to the King, his daughters, Isabel and Jeanne, his chamber maid, his daughters nannys and chambermaids, and his washerwoman and workman

various goblets

January 1391(1392)

Signed for Madame la Duchesse, Bontier.

DOCUMENT X.

Loys to Jehan Poulain

To pay Jehan de Clarcy, embroiderer and varlet de chambre

For a pavilion in six colours (This was number of colours adopted by Louis for his Jivree and identified by Eigeac as red, blue, white, grey, green and black. Roman has been unable to identify these colours on any item- manuscripts, tent, pavilion, furniture or in any miniature- which pertain to Louis. Eigeac, Roman notes, produced no proof for the above identification.)

Written at Paris

3 February 1391 (1392)

Signed for M. le Duc, H. Guingant.

DOCUMENT XI.

Robert de Seneschal, squire and singer of the Duke OF Orléans

Having received from Jehan Baie, merchant and bourgeois of Paris

Various tankards and cups

Written at ?

4 April 1393

DOCUMENT XII.

Jewellery made for the Duke by Hance Karast (variously referred to as Croist, suggested by Roman that he is of German origin, ibid p.101), jeweller to the Duke

Included in this document is mention of:

the crossbow, emblem adopted by Louis (Charles VI chose a branch of broom, the Duke of Burgundy, a marguerite flower)
Boniface de Mores, squire of the Dukes corps
Perrin Pillot, tailor and varlet de chambre
cosses de genet, emblem adopted by St. Louis, who founded an order of Chevalery, in a gold belt for Monsieur, with the words Monseigneur de Bourbon in pearls

cloth from England and Damascas
Monsieur de Bueil, Lord of Bueil, chambellan of Louis in 1390

Messire Philippe de Florigny, chevalier, chambellan of Louis in 1388 and of King in 1394

Sire de Cousant, singer and grand chambellan of King

Perrin Pillot

Jehan de Clarey, embroiderer
inscription YLET (IL EST)

various collars given to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon

Godeffroy, Godefroy le Fevre, first attached to the apothecary then the treasury of the late Duke of Orléans, uncle of Louis.

emblem of the wolf

emblem of flowers of janettes, narcissus

emblem of vireton, arrows with triangular points

chain with an XYZ (decoration with letters of the

alphabet was fashionable according to Roman)

27 May 1393

Signed Loys

DOCUMENT XIII.

Acknowledgement of receipt of payment

By Jehan de Vivier, jeweller and varlet de chambre of King (one of most renowned jewellers of his day, Roman p. 116)

From Godeffroy le fevre, varlet de chambre and apothicary of Louis

For a collar of gold

24 November, 1393.

DOCUMENT XIV.

Various items of jewellery which Hance Croist, jeweller and varlet de chambre of Louis made and delivered

From 7 February 1393 (1394) to 9 November 1394

Included in this document is mention of:

Gifts to the King, the Duke of Berry, Monsieur de Viezpont, chevalier, baron of Neufbourg and chambellan of Louis emblem of the wolf, with gold collars, with little hanging bells

emblem of small owls in nests
emblem of the porcupine
emblem of beasts called tigers, to be put on collars

emblem of Turkish bells (see Roman p.126)
shield or coat of arms
the six colours of the Duke
one collar with a wolf, which was then delivered to Phelippe de Florigny to put on a jacket

various items delivered to the said Hance by Jehan de Clercy, embroiderer, Godefroy le Fevre (items which were given to Louis by the Duke of Berry), Hue le Plastrier, varlet de garde robe of Louis'

Account compiled by Hance

On order of the Duke

20 December 1394

Signed Guinguant (Hughes de Guinguant, clerk and secretary of King in 1385, then counsellor to King and Louis. Supervised construction of Chapel of Celestins for Louis, in 1394.) and Poulain.

DOCUMENT XV.

NOTE THAT ROMAN HAS NUMBERED TWO DOCUMENTS XV.

DOCUMENT XV Roman p. 131.

Various stuffs and embroidery made by Jehan de Clarey, embroidered and varlet de chambre of Louis

Some for him, his sons Loys and Charles, and others.

Included in this document is mention of:

the emblems: six colours either interwoven or appliqué, crossbow, wolf, IL EST, nest of swallows, tiger (once seated on a rock looking at a fountain), bears(devise of Duke de Berry), marguerites (devise of Duke de Bourgogne)

gifts made to: Phelippe de Florigny, the king, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Berry, the Duke of Burgundy, Messire Regnault de Raye, Jehan Cagent singer of the Duke of Burgundy, monseigneur de Fere (Gaucher de Chatillon), Charles de la Bret (seigneur d'Albret, count of Dreux), mareschal Bouciquaut (Jean le Meingre called Boucicaut, 136

chambellan of the King and marechal of France in 1391), baron of Iviry (Ambroise of Lore), Henry de Bar (son of Duke of Bar), mareschal of Sancerre (lord of Charenton), five chevaliers: M. de la Trimouille (count of Guines), M. de Bueil, Jehan de Croye (lord of Renty and chambellan of Duke of Burgundy), M. Elyon de Nalhac and M. de Grancy (count of Grancey); M. of Coucy (Enguerrand VII), M. the Admiral (grand Admiral of France 1373-1396), M. the seneschal of Eu (see Roman p. 149. This person may have accompanied the Duke of Anjou on his voyage to the Pope.)

cloth from Moustiervillier (wool, see Roman, p.132), camelot cloth made extensively in Brussels (of camel or goat, ibid p.133) and another cloth from Brussels, cloth from England, taffeta from Florence,

the styling of garments: with folded down collars, the latest fashion

receipt of items from Jehan Mauduit, tailor of the King

chambre, (item 185) in blue satin, having a large circle in silver, from Cyprus, with a shield on the arms of Monsieur banquier (item 188) [a tapis placed on the back of benches, for sitting on], for the voyage to Avignon, with twelve large coats of arms in velvet azur, fleurs de lis and the arms of Monsieur mail (for doublet of chain) from Cyprus

ROMAN NOTES THAT THE ACCOUNT IS NOT COMPLETE.

DOCUMENT XV. Roman p. 150.

Various robes made by Perrin Pillot, tailor and varlet de chambre of Louis From 1 February 1395 (1396) to 31 January 1396 (1397)

For Loys, his sons Charles and Philippe, (implies death of his eldest son, Loys) and others.

Included in this document is mention of:

the emblems: six colours of Louis, crossbow, wolf, leaves

gifts made to: the King, Charles and Philippe, the Count of Chaumes (not identifiable according to Roman), Bertrand Boitard (squire of corps, served with Louis until 1403), Monseigneur d'Estouteville (chambellan), Coquinet (Louis' fool; he had two: Hannotin and Coquetin), Pierre de Navarre (count of Mortain), M. de Namur (Guillaume II), Colart Andre (usher of arms of M.le Dauphin), Amaury d'Orgemont, (chancelier), Jehan de Roussay (chambellan), Boniface de Mores (squire of corps), Monseigneur de Pons (count of Montfort), Girard d'Arcy (or Recy, squire and pannetier of Louis)

cloth from: London, damask, linen from Reims, cloth worked with the "gold of Lucques", ie. brass, see Roman p.158

style of garments in the manner of: Germany
other purposes (apart from gifts): for the 137

voyage to Saint Omer, for the livery for Louis' voyage to Saint Omer, his varlets de chambre, butlers, minstrels and other officers (212 robes bastardes: mid length robes)

Received the said sum from Denis Mariete

4 November, 1396

Signed Mariete.

DOCUMENT XVI.

Various robes, trimmed with fur by Thomassin Potier, furrier and varlet de chambre of Louis

For Louis, Charles and Philippe and others

From 1 February 1396 (1397) and 31 January 1397 (1398)

Included in this document is mention of:

emblems: wolf, broom flowers, crossbow, tree
(embroidered)

gifts made to: Charles and Philippe, the King's fool, (Hainse-li-Coq), Louis' four fools, a chevalier and a squire of Boheme (Louis had dealings with the King of Boheme, Wincelas), the senechal of Luxembourg, a squire boutellier of the King of Behaigne, M. de Blarru (chambellan), Jehan de Roussay (chambellan), Jehan Bracque (lord of St. Maurice, counsellor and chancellor of Louis' in 1407), the Chancellor, Jehan le Flament (Louis' counsellor), Boniface de Mores (squire of corps), Regnault d'Angennes (lord of Rambouillet), Oudart de Renty (not identifiable, Roman p.176), the King's squires, Master Gontier Col (the King's secretary), chevalier from Arragon, Eustace Morel (Louis' maitre d'hotel)

pelts: sable, squirrel (some pelts were obtained from old garments, others from the Duke's repository), ermine, grey hare
purchases made from: Guillaume de Bohain (bourgeois of Paris), Philipot du Mont, squirrel pelts bought at the Grand Fair of St. Denis, Hennequin de Garnechines, Berthaut de St Yon

cloth: apart from sources mentioned in previous documents, a houpelande of vermeillon spider's cloth (called such because of its lightness; made at Louviers and Brussels)

Account compiled by Mariete on Louis' instruction

Addendum from Louis to order payment by Denys Mariete

Written at Paris

20 February 1397 (1398)

Signed for M le Duc, Burnon

DOCUMENT XVII.

Various embroidery made by Jehan de Clarey, embroiderer and varlet de chambre of Louis, for various robes and garments

For Louis, Charles and Philippe and various others

From 1 February 1396 (1397) to 31 August 1397

Included in this document is mention of:

emblems: wolf, broom flowers, crossbow
gifts made to: Charles and Philippe, Besgue de
Villaines (the King's chambellan), Regnault de la Mote (singer of the Duke
of Burgundy), the mareschal of Sanceurre, a chevalier and a squire of
Boheme

Account compiled by Mariete on order of Louis

DOCUMENT XVIII.

Loys to Denis Mariete

To pay Hance Croist, jeweller and varlet de chambre

For two cosses, two tigers, crossbows

Written at Paris

16 August 1397

For M. le Duc Des Millez

DOCUMENT XIX.

Various pieces made by Herman Ruissel, jeweller

For Madame the Duchess

Delivered to her by Pierre Poquer (controller of Louis' finances in 1390)

Since 9 October 1401

Included in this document is mention of:

emblems: the devise of Madame (not described)

reliquary: with image of Our Lady seated in a lily

Total value recorded.

Not signed.

DOCUMENT XX.

Various cloths, drapes and sheets made at Reims

5 and 6 April 1402

Purchased by Jehan de Billy, first varlet de chambre of Louis and with him

Person de Faugnon, singer of the King, and Jehan de Jonchery (parisian
clerk, receiver of aides (taxes) in diocese of Reims)

Purchases made from: Drapers:

Marguerite de Roquignis

Marie de Gueux

sister Alis, dame of the Hotel Dieu

Beauduet le Sauvage

Thiebaut de Berzieux

Agnes, wife of Revaut le Cuer

Others:

Thiebaut le Camus, carpenter for a trunk

Poncelet Lorsigmo, for taking items mentioned

from Reims to Laon on two charriots

For driving two charriots from Reims to Laon,

for rent of four baskets, for cords and packaging

Payment made by Jehan de Jonchery to Jehan Tapere, receiver of taxes at
Laon
6 April 1402
Signed Billy

DOCUMENT XXI.

Loys, (now also Seigneur of Coucy) to Jehan le Flament
To pay Hance Croist, jeweller and varlet de chambre
For having remade, completely new, l'esclice of a gold belt (see Roman
p.189)
Given to Guillaume de Nassau, Duke of Guelders (a cousin)
Written at Vannes
7 April 1402, before Easter (1403?)
For M. le Duc, Heron. (Mace Heron, secretary to Louis (1402), in charge of
his coffres (1405))

DOCUMENT XXII.

Loys to Jehan le Flament
To pay Hance Croist, jeweller and varlet de chambre
For various pieces of jewellery, buckles
Written at Paris
22 December 1402
Signed for M le Duc, Heron

DOCUMENT XXIII.

Inventory of jewels and dishes sold, pawned or melted by order of Duke of
Orléans, to procure finances necessary for expedition to Lombardy.

Various items mentioned with the following:

emblems: broom flowers, marguerites, roses,
arms of Monsieur, of France, two ances of two lions, porcupine

made in the manner of: Venice

tableaux with the following images: Crucifixion
of Our Lord

Washing of the Feet

Our Lady

Our Lady holding Her Infant

as above, against a Sun

Coronation (of the Virgin)

Nativity and The Adoration of the Three Kings of

Cologne, with many horses and goats

St. John Evangelist

St. Denis

St. Pol

St. Pere (St. Pierre)

The Crucifixion and Sepulchre of Our Lord 140

St. Louis
St. Anthony (which the Duke of Berry gave to Louis
for New Year)
St Stephen (which the Duke of Burgundy gave to
Louis for New Year)
work in the manner of Venise on an epee covered
in gold
gifts made to Louis by: M. the Chancellor of
Orléans (Jean Davy), Jehan de Brissay (lord of Brissay)
To Jehan le Flament and Jehan Poulain to execute Louis' orders
Written at Paris
25 September 1403

DOCUMENT XXIV.

Loys to Jehan le Flament

To pay Hance Croist, jeweller and varlet de chambre, Jehennin Seugnin,
mercier, Bernart Bousdrat, merchant of silk and cloth, Nicolas Alixandre,
draper, Thevenin de Bonpuis, Jacob de Marueil, furriers, living in Paris
Written at Chateauneuf
24 October 1403
Signed for M le Duc, Heron

DOCUMENT XXV.

Loys to Jehan le Flament consellor, through Jehan Poulain, treasurer
To pay Huchon Douclert, sommellier de corps
For cups given to Bishop of Lerida
Written at Paris
22 February 1403
Signed for M le Duc, Villebresme

DOCUMENT XXVI.

(This document is transcribed in full.)
Loys, son of the King of France, Duke of Orléans, Count of Valois, Blois,
Beaumont, Sire of Coucy, to our friend and loyal counsellor, Jehan le
Flament, salut. We wish and we instruct that of the deniers from our
treasury, by our friend and loyal treasurer general, Jehan Poulain, you pay,
give and deliver these said letters to Jaquet Dourdin, merchant of
tapestries, living in Paris, the sum of eleven hundred livres tournois,
which we owe him for a chambre of tapestry, which we have taken and
bought from him, and at this price, to put in our château at Coucy,
decorated as follows: with a ceiling with a *Dieu d'Amours*, accompanied
by many *amoureux*; item, a dossier for the same chambre with many
images; item, a serge to cover the bed, with a river and a large cloister,
where the lover is asleep, all worked in gold; item, the bed of the same
worked in gold; and six tapis without gold for the same chambre to 141

hang around; which chambre contains together 454 aulnes. The said sum of 1100 livres tournois we wish with agreement of those present and with quittances from the said Jaquet, to be taken from the accounts of our said treasurer and on his receipt by our friends and loyal people, without contradiction from any person, notwithstanding whatever ordonances, instructions or prohibitions to the contrary. Written at Paris the 22nd day of March the year of grace one thousand four hundred and three.

By Monsieur le Duc

Héron.

B.N.Pièces originales, 1024-23422, n^o3.

DOCUMENT XXVII.

Pierre Fatinaut changer, bourgeois of Paris

Received from Jehan Poulain payment for goblets

Given to Alain dee Malestrait, chevalier and Jehan de Malestrait, squire

(see Roman p. 203)

1 December 1402

Signed Porteclef Malebrine

DOCUMENT XXVIII.

Loys listing the precious stones which were on items of jewellery and dishes melted for the funds for the King of France in December, 1403

and held in custody of Jehan Poulain

which with other stones were used to decorate a pourpoint for the marriage of Charles, Duke of Valois, to Isabel, elder daughter of the King

In addition to the images mentioned in Document XXIII:

Magdelaine

an Emperor

To discharge the treasury of the above

Written at Paris

4 August 1406

Signed for M. le Duc, Heron.

DOCUMENT XXIX.

Loys re more precious stones as above, to Jehan Poulain

To be delivered to Jehan de Clarey, embroiderer and varlet de chambre

For decoration of two houppellandes for the wedding of Charles, as above

In addition to the images mentioned in Document XXIII:

Charlemagne

To discharge the treasury of the above

Written at Paris

2 May 1407

Signed for M le Duc, Heron

DOCUMENT XXX.

Of goods belonging to Valentine, Duchess of Orléans, and Charles, Duke of Orléans, being in Paris in the care of the following people:

Hughes de Guingant

Jehan Poulain

Denis Mariete

Jehan Mace

Guillemin Ligier

Collection with Hughes de Guingant:

Included:

- a gold clasp with a rabot, devise of Jean sans
Peur, Duke of Burgundy
- a gold cricket
- a gold grasshopper
- a gold chicken
- another gold bird (loriaut)
- a gold phoenix
- an image of stone from Israel
- a stone like a cat's eye (M. de Berry has it)
- a chain with a 'C'
- emblems : nettle leaves
- cages of gold and gilded, for birds from Cyprus
- astrology instruments: cadren, astralabe
- rosary with an image of St. Christopher
- arms of the King, or Jehanne de Bourbon
- a bullette of Rodes gold, with fleur de lis, of the
Queen, Jehanne de Bourbon

Collection with Jehan Poulain

various precious stones

Collection with Denis Mariete

various vases and goblets including:

- a cross of India
- a tree of coral with serpents tongues
- a goblet with arms of late Madame

Collection with Jehan Mace (varlet de chambre of Louis (1390), then
controleur for the King of the prevote of La Rochelle 1402)

Various chambres of tapestry including:

subjects:

- "pleasure"
- angels
- shepherds
- children bathing in a river
- birds
- a Lady and a Squire collecting cherries in a
basket
- another the same with a fountain

- a Lady holding a harp
- Seven Vices and Seven Virtues
- jousts of Lancelot, Regnault of Montauban, Beuvon d'Hantonne
- images of the Old and New Testament
- grant Credo
- image of Logic (philosophers and mathematicians)
- god of Love (referred to in document XXVI)
- Chevalier and Lady playing chess
- story of the destruction of Troy
- story of Theseus
- Fountain of Youth
- a tournament
- children and a Lady who vest (clads?) a dog
- orange trees
- broom flowers and large figures, one in a tree
- Lady holding a squirrel
- woodcutters and shepherds
- roses and children, each child holding a roulet on which is written his words
- many trees with a lion in centre and four beasts in four corners
- a Lady looking at a fountain
- stags
- rabbits, leopards and other beasts
- nettles
- in the manner of a sepulchre (Roman p.228 suggests with tears or other funerary symbols)
- roses
- children
- coats of arms:Dukes of Orléans, Burgundy
- pavillion small portable with perpendicular bands of white and green

Collection with Guillemin Ligier:

various chambres of tapestry including

subjects:

- roses
- windmills (from beaux oncles of Burgundy)
- ducks, with their necks cut (as in figures on a shield, according to Roman p.229)
- Seven vices and Seven Virtues
- la vie de vie (the chemin of life)
- pavillion of Arras silk, in red and white

All the above were to be sold, on orders of Gilet de Lengres (secretary of Duke of Orléans (1403)) and Mariete

Signed De Recy

DOCUMENT XXXI.

Valentine on receipt of jewels and precious stones from Jehan Poulain in discharge of his duties as treasurer

Written at Blois

12 August 1408

Signed for Madame la Duchesse, Sauvage (secretary of the Duke, 1408, looked after coffres 1409)

DOCUMENT XXXII.

Marguerite, dame d'Anneville (Marguerite de Besons) having received from Nicolas Bernart (treasurer of Orléans' Household) by hand of Pierre Sauvage, secretary of Duke of Orléans on receipt of a sum for diamond and goblet, given to marquis de Bande.

9 December 1408

DOCUMENT XXXIII.

Charles

To acquit debts of the late Seigneur, God rest his soul

By sale of

images:

of St. John Baptist

St. Katherine

Annunciation of Our Lady

and a gold jewel (horn)

Delivered by Jehan Poulain, formerly our treasurer general

To Julien Simon, merchant, living in Paris

Efface these items from our Inventory

Written at Chateau of Blois

2 February 1408 (1409)

Signed for m. le Duc, Bernart (varlet de chambre of Duke and King)

In presence of Guillaume le Bouteiller (of Senlis, lord of Villedieu and Chartrier) and lord of Montjoye (chambellan of King and Duke of Orléans)

APPENDIX IX

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THOMSON, BEING ADDITIONAL CHARTERS AND AN ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT (11542) IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY.

SOURCE: W. Thomson, A History of Tapestry. First Edition 1906, Third edition revised by F.P. & E.S. Thomson, London, 1973, p62-67, 74, 117-118.

In his history of tapestry, Thomson quotes extensively from documents pertaining to tapestries ordered by Louis Duke of Orléans. Apart from the list in the Additional Manuscript, the documents appear to be receipts and invoices. Thomson does not indicate if he has referred to every Additional Charter which makes reference to tapestries, or if there may be further information about Louis' tapestries in other manuscripts in the Additional Charters. His book is the most exhaustive study yet published on the documents in the British Library which refer to the tapestries of the Duke of Orléans. It is therefore of value to summarise Thomson's quotations:

The numbers are those of the Additional Charters, British Library.

No.2696. August 14, 1389.
 Jehan de Croisetes, tapicier sarrazinois, living at Arras, having received from Jehan Poulain, 800 gold francs for a tapis sarrazinois of History of Charlemagne taken and bought from him in the hotel de Beauté.

No.2702. January 1391
 From Colin Bataille, tapestry maker and bourgeois of Paris, receipt from Jehan Poulain for a high warp tapestry of The Story of Theseus and the Golden Eagle. (This was the sixth instalment)

No.2706. December 10 1392
 From Colin Bataille, for a large piece, 300 gold francs

No.2709. February 1, 1392
 From Colin Bataille, for a large piece, 1200 gold francs

No.2713. January 15, 1393
 From Colin Bataille, for a large piece, 300 gold francs

- No.2714. January 1393
Payment for a piece of high loom work, with the History of Ancois et Izore.
- No.2717. February 6, 1394
To pay Colin Bataille, 300 livres tournois
- No.2719. March 28, 1395.
Loys, ordering payment 204 francs to Levan de la Mer, merchant of Genoa, for six pieces of thick tapestry d'oultremer. (this Thomson regards as a curious entry, see p.76)
- No.2721. April 29, 1396.
Authorising payment to Jacquet Dourdain, for tapestries in No. 2726. (see Thomson, p.65 for this being the Vidimus of Jehan, Sr. de Foleville, Chevalier, Keeper of the Prevoste of Paris)
- No.2722. June 25, 1395
Acquittance (from Colin Bataille), 200 livres tournois. [According to Champollion-Figeac this was a Story of Theseus with an eagle in gold]
- No. 2725. November 23, 1395.
Loys to Jehan Poulain to pay 130 gold francs to Alain Diennys for a high warp tapestry, worked with gold, with L'Istoire de Dieudonne. 8 1/2 aulnes x 3 aulnes
- No.2726. November 24, 1395.
Loys to Jehan Poulain, to pay 1800 livres Jaquet Dordin, merchant and bourgeois of Paris, for three tapis of high warp, of thread of Arras, worked with gold of Cyprus, two with History of the Credo of the Twelve Prophets and Apostles, the other with The Coronation of Our Lady.
- No.2727 December 6, 1395
Dourdain, receipt of payment for tapestries, 1400 livres tournois
- No.2729 1395
Payment (to Bataille) for two pieces of woollen tapestry with a blue ground for the blue chamber of his son Louis (according to Thomson, p.62)

- No. 2731. ?
 Receipt of Alain Dyonis for payment for tapestry
 described in No.2725.
- No.2733. April 13, 1396.
 Payment to Pierre Labourebain 2200 francs for a
 chambre of silk tapestry of several colours.
- No.2734. May 3 1396
Loys to Jehan le Flament to pay 1700 francs
Nicolas Bataille, varlet de chambre, merchant and bourgeois of Paris, for
 3 high warp tapestries on L'Istoire de Pentasilée and another of Beauve de
Hantonne and a third of L'Istoire des Enfants Regnault de Montaubon et des
Enfants de Riseus de Ripemont. (sizes: 15 aulnes x 4 1/4; 20 x 3 3/4;
 20 x 3 1/2)
- No.2735. May 3, 1396.
 Payment to Dourdain 1400 francs for three pieces
 of tapestry of Arras thread wrought with gold from Cyprus.
- No.2737. 1392.
 To pay Bataille for some pieces for the Duchess.
- No.2741. 1392
 Commission to Bataille for eighteen pieces with
 his coat of arms.
- No.2743. 1392
 Silk tapestry of several colours.
- No.2752. 1393
 Supplied by Bataille, ten pieces of blue tapestry
 decorated with golden fleur de lis, for a chambre for the Duchess
- No.2757. 1393
 Furnishings for a chamber for the Duchess., as
 above
- No.2762. ?
 Supply by Bataille of serges etc

- No.2764. 1398
From Dourdain tapestry of Arras workmanship, of the Savage Man and other pieces of tapestry and furniture. 791 francs 12 sols 6 deniers.
- No.2770. January 24, 1398.
Payment to Perrin Pillot, tailor and varlet de chambre, for a tapestry of Arras wool. 431 francs 5 sols tournois
- No.2772. February 8 1398.
Loys to Denis Mariete to pay Nicolas Bataille, tapestry maker, living in Paris, 582 francs 8 sols 9 deniers, for many chambres of tapestry, and for a tapis for the chapel of The Tree of Life, with a Crucifix and many prophets by the branches of the tree, under Paradis terrestre, Our Lady, St. John and other Saints and Saintes, which tapis was bought 4th December last to hang in his chapel and do his pleasure. 200ecu.
[See Champollion-Figeac for description of one chambre with unicorns in this collection.]
- No.2777. ?
Receipt from Dourdain for pieces of tapestry of wool of Arras, given to Lois de Sancerre, Constable of France.
- No.2778. 1399
Delivered by Bataille two pieces, one decorated with pearls on a white ground, the other with a device of beasts and unicorns, a present to Robin le Seneschal, cup bearer to the Duke. 582 francs 20 sols 9 dernier tournois
- No.2779. August 2, 1399.
Acquittance of Perrin Pillot for payment 200 livres tournois for a tapestry of Arras wool with a gooseberry pattern, as gift to Jehan de Roussay, Chamberlain and Councillor
- No.2781. September 27, 1399.
Receipt for a tapestry. Perrin Pilot. 231 francs 5 sols tournois
- No.2786. January 30, 1400.
Jaquet Dourdin, tapestry maker, living in Paris, acknowledging receipt of money 500 francs from Denis Mariete, for tapestry of fine wool of Arras, on a red field, for the room with red velvet, with the devise du boucheron.

Other subjects represented in tapestry, (see Thomson p65 for his source Francisque-Michel)

Fountain of Youth
the Duke of Aquitaine

British Library, Additional Manuscript 11542

Described as "a collection of pieces relating chiefly to Normandy and other parts of France whilst in the possession of the English." (Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library, 1836-1840.)

Included amongst these documents is an inventory of tapestries which were found in various residences of the Duke of Orléans in the fifteenth century. Thomson lists the following as an abridgement of this document: (he notes that the manuscript begins with "chambers" and nos. one to five are cancelled.)

1. a chambre of gold and silk and wool tapestry with the devise of small infants in a river. XV^C Frs. Pris.
2. another chambre of gold and wool tapestry with shepherds in a trellised garden. VII^C L Fs.
3. another chambre of tapestry on a brown green field without gold with the devise of a Lady with a Harp. V^C Fs.
4. another chambre of red tapestry with the devise of God of Love worked in gold and wool. XI^C Fs.
5. another chambre of tapestry of a tourney worked with gold and silk and wool. XVI^C Fs. (Delivered to Perrin Pillot)
 - another chambre of tapestry with the devise of small infants and in the middle a Lady who afouble a protection on a dog. iiiij^C Fs. (given to Symon)
 - another chambre of tapestry sewn with pamstaulx of hawthorn and in the middle a Lady clothed in white, holding a squirrel, worked in gold and wool. iiiij^C Fs. (to Colin Symon).
 - another chambre of red tapestry without gold with broom flowers and with three grands persons cestaso, two chlis and a Lady. iiiij Fs. (to Colin S.)
 - another chambre of tapestry of a white field with the devise of small children and a Lady who go on the chase. (after game) iiiij^C Fs.
 - another chambre of high warp worked with gold and wool with the devise of Rosiers VII^C L Ss (cancelled).
 - another chambre of tapestry of high warp without gold with devise of a Lady and Children and a Lady who vest a dog. V^C Fs.
 - another chambre of tapestry of high warp with a devise of many stags and a large stag in the middle. iiiij^C L.Fs. (marginal reference to N.Bataille.)
 - three curtains of red camelot. XC Fs.
 - another chambre of tapestry of a red field without gold worked with many arbriscaulx and in the middle a Lion with Four Beasts in the corners.

iiij^c L. Fs (marginal reference to N. Bataille). Three curtains of red camelot. XV Fs.

-another chambre of tapestry on a green field worked with gold and wool, sewn with bergheris et de bucherons. VI^c Frans.

-two large tappis of high warp for salez worked with gold and silk and wool very richly with the story of the Old Testament and the New. (the first commences with Naaman who bathes in the River Jordan and the other se fruit with the story of the Sacrament of Marriage.)

-two other large old tappis de sale worked in gold and wool with the devise of the grant Credo et de la petit.

-seven other tapis of the Seven Vices and Seven Virtues worked in gold and wool.

-seven other tappys of the fensters lancelot (jousts of Lancelot) worked in gold and wool.

-seven other large tappis of Regnault de Montauban, worked in gold and wool.

-two large old tappis of the Story of Theseus with the arms of the late daufon. (Louis?)

-seven other large old tappis of high warp of Story of the Destruction of Troy, the large with arms of said Daufon

-cy lostel de beshaigne

-seven large tappys de sale worked with gold and wool richly with story of Seven Vices and Seven Virtues.

-seven small tappys of Tree of Life worked in gold silk and wool.

APPENDIX X

ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMMES SHOWN ON THE TAPESTRIES IN THE 1403 INVENTORY, PARIS INVENTORY, BLOIS INVENTORY AND THE BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT, 11542.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SUBJECT MATTER OF TAPESTRIES IN:

A) PARIS INVENTORY (PUBLISHED IN ROMAN)

B) BLOIS INVENTORY (PUBLISHED IN GRAVES)

C) 1403 INVENTORY (PUBLISHED IN CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC)

D) CATALOGUE OF TAPESTRIES IN 1408 (PUBLISHED IN THOMSON, HISTORY OF TAPESTRY, BL Add. Ms. 11542)

A) PARIS INVENTORY.

<u>Entry Number(*)</u>	<u>Chambre, tapis & materials used(if specified) colour, subject</u>
678	chambre gold silk fantasy (angels in heaven)
680	chambre green ceiling angels, <u>dossier</u> shepherds park
681	chambre gold silk wool children in river, ceiling birds
682	chambre lady squire collecting cherries basket
683	chambre brown green lady harp
684	chambre shepherds latticed garden
685	tapis lady collecting cherries fountain
686	tapis,7 as follows: <u>7 Vices 7 Virtues</u> Joust Lancelot Joust Regnault Montauban <u>Grand Credo</u> 2 of <u>Old Testament</u> & <u>New Testament</u> Joust Beuvon D'Hantonne
689	tapis ,2 old as follows: Logic Arms Burgundy
690	chambre vermeillon God of Love
691	chambre knight lady playing chess
696	tapis arms M. Dauphin
697	tapis large <u>Destruction of Troy</u>
698	tapis,2 <u>Story of Theseus</u>
700	chambre green shepherds
701	chambre gladioli
702	chambre high warp <u>Fountain of Youth</u>
703	chambre high warp tournament
704	chambre high warp children lady dog
707	chambre red with <u>branches</u> arms falcons
710	chambre vermeillon broom flowers large figures one in tree
711	chambre vermeillon lady with squirrel

- 712 chambre green woodcutters shepherds
 713 chambre green brown roses children holding scroll words
 714 chambre trees centre lion, corners 4 beasts
 715 chambre green serge lady fountain
 716 chambre stags
 718 chambre Damas blazoned blue white
 719 chambre ladies children dog
 721 pavillion banded green white
 722 tapis old orange trees
 723 chambre white gold ladies children
 724 chambre green rabbits leopards beasts knotty batons
 725 chambre green serge nettles
 726 tapis, 6 funereal symbols
 727 tapis, white thread of Paris worked with roses
 728 tapis oranges
 729 covers red satin gold with roses, made long ago Perrin Pilot
 730 chambre gold wool FOR children
 731 chambre gold cloth roses bordered red velvet
 732 chambre gold windmills (was Burgundy's)
 733 chambre ducks with necks chopped as in blazons
 734 tapis 7 Vices 7 Virtues
 735 tapis, old gold Path of Life
 736 dossieret gold cloth field blue
 737 cover edged ermine gold scarlet field
 738 pavillion silk Arras striped red white

B) BLOIS INVENTORY.

<u>Entry</u>	<u>Chambre, tapis & materials used(if specified)</u>
<u>Number(#)</u>	<u>colour, subject</u>
495	baldaquin, azur, lions, crowns gold red silk roses
496	baldaquin, red, worked with lions, <u>espreviers</u> foliage in silk
497	baldaquin, azur, embroidered in gold lion on a trunk
499	satin, piece, embroidered with a stag, park tree of gold
500	baldaquin, blue, embroidered in gold, falcons, with a sun
501	baldaquin, blue, embroidered with gold with lion & baton
502-516	cloths, various, most are figured with decoration, such as crowns, trefoils, thistles, violets, feathers
1002	chambre blue white silk coats of arms Duke
1005	chambre high warp, gold silk, ladies, harp, children
1007	tapis, white blue coats of arms
1008	tapis, 9 for <u>chambre au bouchérons</u>
1009	chambre cloth of gold, roses
1011	tent gold cloth, edged red velvet, arms Mme.
1012	chambre red satin <u>devise</u> stags edged gold
1014	tent gold brown velvet arms of M. Dauphin
1015	tiercelet gold cloth, old, white field, belonged Mme.
1016	tapis high warp <u>Tree of Life</u>
1017	tapis high warp <u>Judgement</u>
1018	tapis high warp larger Tapis of <u>Coronation</u>
1019	tiercelet high warp gold wool children bathing in river
1020	tapis old blazons white blue
1021	tapis, 2 high warp <u>Story of Theseus</u>
1022	tapis high warp <u>Story of the Grand Charlemagne</u>
1023	tapis high warp <u>7 Vices 7 Virtues</u> gold
1024	tapis <u>St Louis</u> gold
1025	tapis <u>Credo</u>
1026	chambre Dammas cloth blazoned blue white
1028	tapis, 2 blazoned blue white
1030	tapis, 10 high warp fleur de lis in gold 6 of hemp
1032	chambre gold wool of a goddess
1034	tapis orange trees
1035	tapis orange trees
1039	pavillion boucassin white embroidered needles porcupine
1041	pavillion boucassin white sewn <u>fers à cheval</u>
1045	chambre serge green nettle leaves
1046	tapis white vignette arms M. Dauphin
1048	tapis, 4 of chambre of knotty tree
1049	chambre blue taffeta arms Mme.
1050	squares, 4 blue velvet gold fleur de lis

- 1051 pavillion serge many colours, arms Duke
 1056 serges, 6 arms Duke
 1057 squares leather, 24 arms Duke
 1058 pieces leather, 4 arms Duke
 1059 tapis old arms Duke
 1060 tapis for salle Grand Credo
 1061 tapis, 2 Old Testament and New Testament
 1062 chambre with dogs arms falcons
 1069 tapis, 6 white roses of Parisian thread
 1070 curtains 10 pairs serge green red white
 1071 chambre of knotted stick
 1076 chambre blue velvet arms Mme.
 1077 chambre gold wheat
 1078 chambre silk white leaves
 1079 chambre blue satin stars
 1080 chambre blue velvet fleur de lis in gold
 1082 chambre red satin chambre au parc woodcutters
 1083 chambre white satin orange trees
 1085 chambre green embroidered V
 1086 pavillion green serge embroidered VV
 1088 espreviers, 2 large green silk arms Mme.
 1089 espreviers, 2 large green silk arms Duke
 1091 tapis Battle of the Thirty
 1093 banquiers, 2 arms Mme.
 1103 chambre red serge nettles
 1105 chambre green rinceaux roses small children
 1106 parement of bed park with sheep
 1107 baldaquin angels
 1108 chambre green nettles
 1113 chambre red velvet gold silk chambre aux boucherons
 1115 chambre azure velvet gold fleur de lis arms Duke.

C) 1403 INVENTORY

<u>Chambre or Tapis</u>	<u>Materials used(if specified) colour, subject</u>
chambre	gold silk pleasure (angels in heaven)
chambre	green ceiling angels, <u>dossier</u> shepherds nuts & cherries cover with shepherds in park gold and wool.
chambre	gold silk wool children in river, ceiling birds with 3 tapis
tapis	3 of cherries lady squie collecting in basket
chambre	brown green lady harp without gold
chambre	green shepherds latticed garden with gold and silk
tapis	lady collecting cherries fountain
chambre	green shepherds latticed garden with 6 tapis same
tapis	7 as follows: <u>7 Vices 7 Virtues</u> Joust Lancelot Joust Regnault Montauban <u>Grand Credo</u> 2 of <u>Old Testament & New Testament</u> Joust Beuvon D'Hantonne
tapis	2 old as follows: Logic Arms Burgundy
chambre	vermeillon God of Love with 6 tapis and 3 <u>custodes</u>
chambre	green knight lady playing chess in pavillion
tapis	arms M. Dauphin
tapis	large <u>Destruction of Troy</u>
tapis	2, <u>Story of Theseus</u>
chambre	high warp Fountain of Youth with many people
chambre	high warp tournament
chambre	high warp children lady dog
chambre	red with <u>branches</u> arms falcons
chambre	vermeillon broom flowers large people one in tree
chambre	vermeillon lady clothed in white with squirrel
chambre	green <u>basterons</u> shepherds
chambre	green brown roses children holding scroll words
chambre	red with many trees centre lion, corners 4 beasts
chambre	lady fountain
one (chambre)	stags does (animals) leopards other beasts

D) CATALOGUE OF TAPESTRIES IN 1408 (BL Add. Ms. 11542)

<u>Entry</u> <u>Number(*)</u> <u>Chambre or</u> <u>Tapis.</u>	<u>Materials used(if specified)</u> <u>colour, subject</u>
1.Chambre	gold silk wool children in a river
2.Chambre	gold wool shepherds latticed garden
3.chambre	brown green field no gold lady playing harp
4.chambre	red gold wool Dieu d'Amours
5.chambre	gold silk wool tournament
chambre	small infants lady dog
chambre	gold wool hawthorn lady squirrel
chambre	red without gold broom flowers children lady
chambre	white children lady chase (ie hunt)
chambre	gold wool high warp devise roses (cancelled)
chambre	without gold high warp lady children dog
chambre	high warp stags large stag centre
chambre	red without gold <u>arbriscaulx</u> lion four beasts in corners
chambre	green gold wool shepherds woodcutters
tappis	two large high warp gold silk wool <u>Old & New Testament</u>
tappis	two large gold wool <u>grant Credo & petit credo</u>
tappis	seven, gold wool <u>Vices & Virtues</u>
tappis	seven gold wool jousts of Lancelot
tappis	seven gold wool Regnault de Montauban
tappis	two large <u>Story of Theseus</u> arms of Dauphin
tappis	seven high warp <u>Destruction of Troy</u> arms of Dauphin
tappis	seven gold wool <u>Vices & Virtues</u>
tappis	seven gold silk wool <u>Tree of Life</u>

EXAMPLES OF ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMMES: PARIS INVENTORY (Source ROMAN), AND BLOIS INVENTORY (Source GRAVES).

The penury of detail in the inventories precludes an attempt at absolute classification, however the following examples serve to indicate the preferences for particular themes within the Paris and Blois Inventories.

1. RELIGIOUS THEMES.

Graves *1017, 1018, 1025, 1060, 1061 (2 tapis).

Roman * 686 (3 tapis).

2. PASTORAL AND COURTLY SCENES OF DAILY LIFE. (Some of these are VERDURES.)

Graves *1008, 1005, 1012, 1019, 1062, 1082, 1105, 1106, 1113.

Roman *680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 691, 700, 703, 704, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 719, 723, 724.

3. ALLEGORICAL SCENES.

Graves *1016, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1032, 1091, 1107.

Roman * 678, 680, 686, 689, 690, 697, 698, 702, 734, 735.

4. CULTS OF SAINTS

Graves *1024 (St. Louis).

5. DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND HERALDIC EMBLEMS. (Those which relate directly to Louis of Orléans are underlined. Not all tapestries with decorative patterns have been listed here, only those which are described with some detail are included.)

Graves *495-501 (Visconti emblems), 1002, 1007, 1014, 1020, 1026, 1030, 1039, 1045, 1046, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1062, 1071, 1076, 1077, 1080, 1085, 1086, 1088, 1089, 1093, 1103, 1115.

Roman *689, 696, 707, 710, 718, 721, 724, 725, 733.



ILLUSTRATION 1.



ILLUSTRATION 2.



ILLUSTRATION 3.



Seigneur d'Orléans

Calmeiro



Doyen

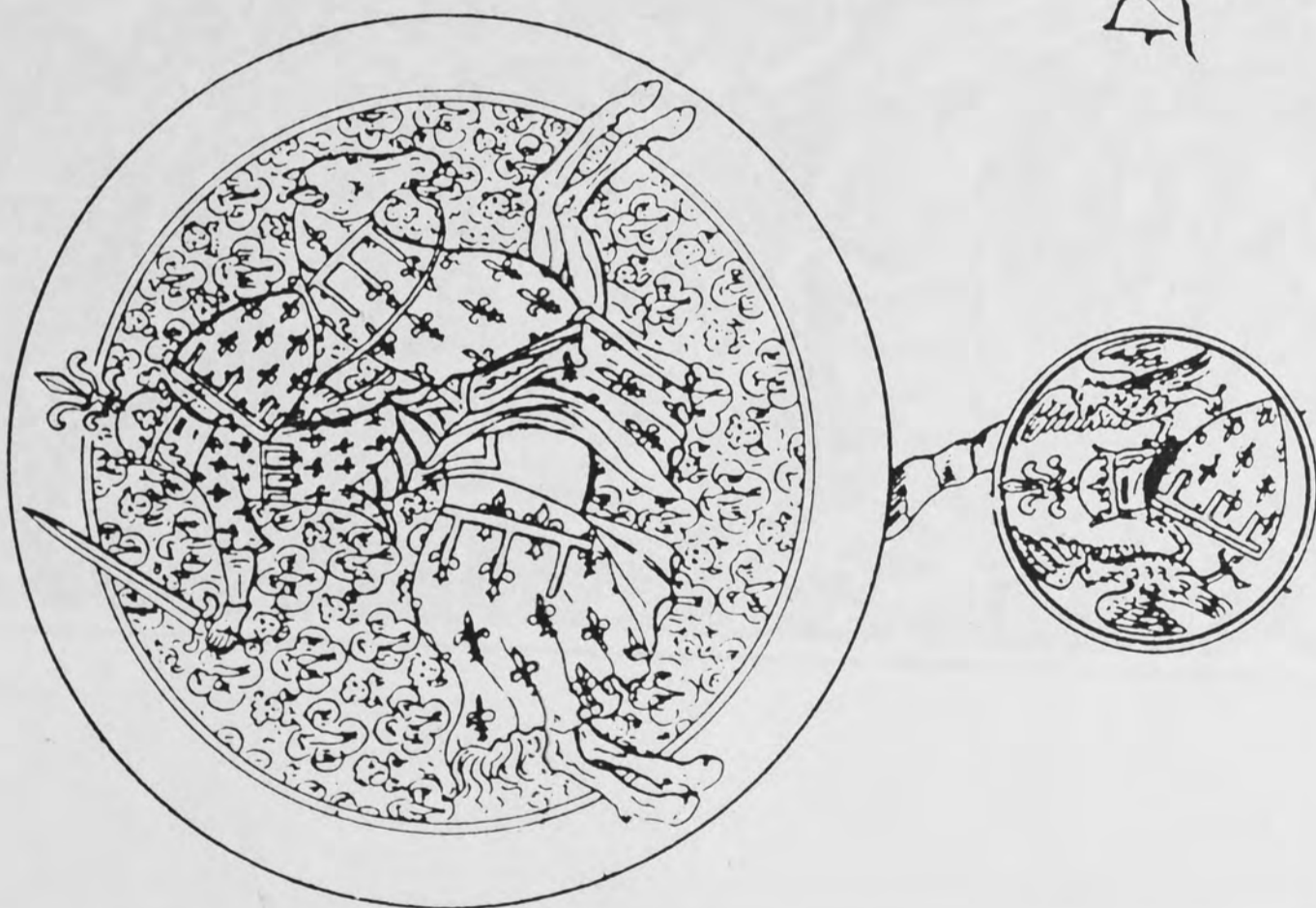




ILLUSTRATION 5.

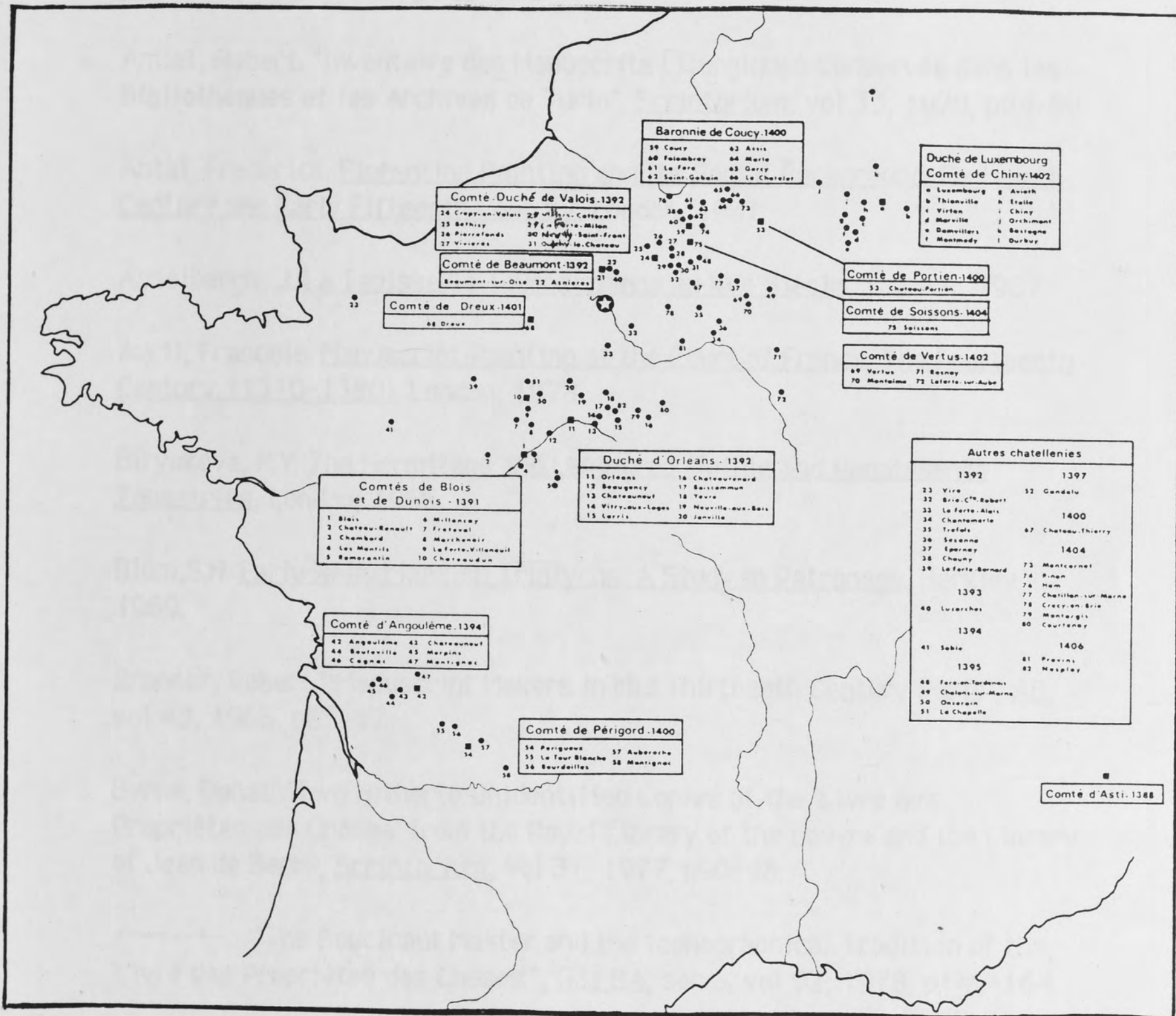


ILLUSTRATION 6.

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