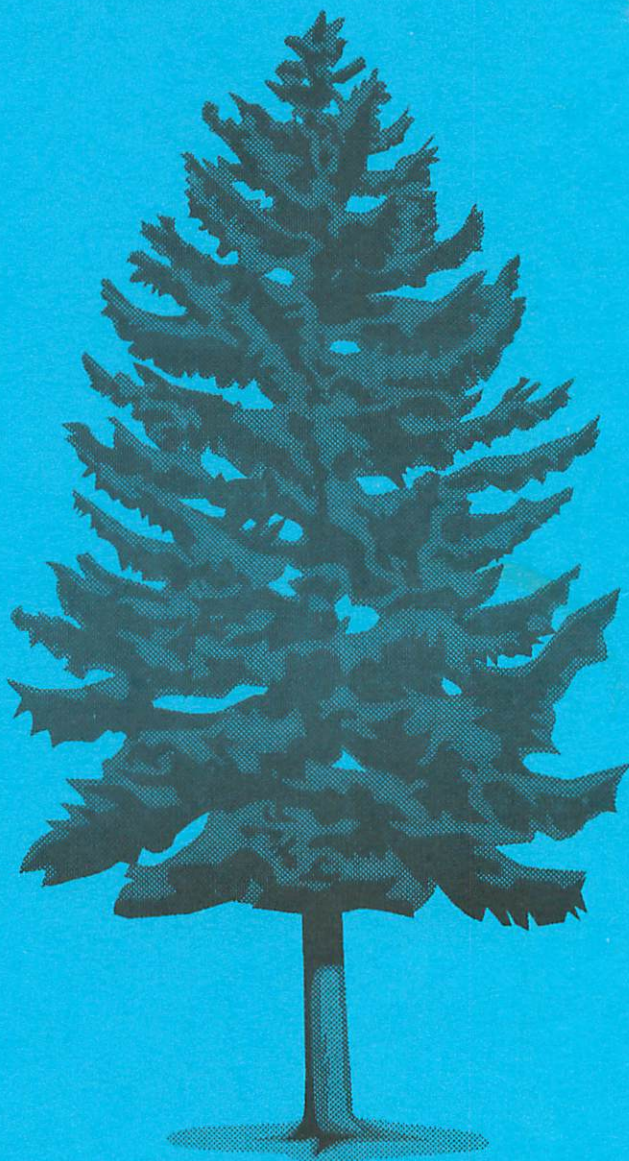


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See "From Catherine Baillon to Charlemagne", Page 170
René Jetté, John P. Dulong, #4003,
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From Catherine Baillon to Charlemagne

René Jetté, John P. DuLong, #4003, Roland-Yves Gagné and Gail F. Moreau, #2416¹

Catherine Baillon married Jacques Miville dit Deschaines on 12 November 1669 in the parish of Notre-Dame de Québec. This Daughter of the King (*fille du roi*) was different from most of the other immigrants who settled New France at that time. Thanks to her, hundreds of thousands of North Americans can say they are descendants of Charlemagne, King of the Franks, crowned emperor of the West by Pope Leo III, in Rome, on Christmas Day in the year 800. Among them are Lucien Bouchard, Premier of Québec, Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, the singer Celine Dion, three of the coauthors of this article, and the husband of the fourth coauthor.

Catherine Baillon truly descends from Charlemagne, but not in the manner indicated in the *Traité de généalogie* by René Jetté (Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1991), notably in table 3.3 (pp. 112-114) and in the section 14.1.2 (pp. 595-598). That is why this article includes two complementary parts.

- The first part of this article shows the error of the relationship published in the *Traité de généalogie*: Jean de Thiembronne, Gillette de Thiembronne's father, is not the same person as Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne.
- The second part of the article proves, generation by generation, that Catherine Baillon really descends from Charlemagne, notably through the ascending line presented in this article.

The reader accustomed to proving people's relationships through baptismal or marriage acts will perhaps be disconcerted by certain types of documents used in the course of this article. However, it is sufficient to remember that in the absence of parish registers, any authentic document can be used: a marriage contract, an act partitioning property, a donation, a receipt, homage for a fief, the transfer of a seigneurie, a coat-of-arms, a chronicle, etc.

This article constitutes the first publication which has resulted from a joint project, undertaken several years ago, by the coauthors of this article. Its long term goal was to reconstruct the complete ascendancy of Catherine Baillon as far back as primary sources would allow. The interested reader will be able to follow the progression of the research on the web page "Catherine Baillon Research Project" located on the internet at the following address:
<http://habitant.org/baillon>.

¹ The authors wish to thank Rev. Jerome F. Webber, Mrs. Elaine Smith, Mrs. Sue Rood, Harold R. Deschaines, Ronald R. Niquette and Mrs. Betty Champoux Borgman for their financial aid on this project. This article was originally published as René Jetté, John P. DuLong, Roland-Y. Gagné, and Gail F. Moreau, "De Catherine Baillon à Charlemagne," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 48 (Autumn 1997): 190-216. This English translation has a few minor additions and corrections. It was translated by Moreau and read over by Jetté, DuLong, Gagné, and our new colleague Rev. Joseph A. Dubé, S.J. With one exception, original French, Dutch, or Latin quotes are given in the original language with an English translation following in square brackets. The exception involves blazons of arms, the technical description of coats-of-arms, which are kept in the original language and no effort is made to translate these complex descriptions into English. For quotations from relatively contemporary published sources we only present the translation and mark it as "our translation." We also wish to thank John Campeau and Anita (née Blanchet) Campeau, Rev. Joseph M. Powers, S.J., and Prof. Jeffrey S. Carnes for helping us translate the Latin quotes into English. Willem Bevernage and Paul Declerck were kind enough to help us untangle portions of the Dutch quote relating to money. Any mistakes in translating the Latin or Dutch remain ours, as we had to make compromises when there was a difference in opinion. This was especially the case with some of the Medieval Latin quotes, which Rev. Powers felt were "stange constructs" and "horrible Latin."

Jean de Thiembronne, Gillette de Thiembronne's Father, is Not Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne

Catherine Baillon descends through her mother, Louise de Marle, from Jean de Marle, who became Seigneur of Villiers-Saint-Paul by his marriage to Sybille Le Blond, heiress to that place (*Jetté*, 1991, p. 113 and pp. 595-596; *Louviers*, fo. h, recto; Bibliothèque nationale de France—hereinafter known as B.N.—*Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 228, dossier 5952, fo. 39, de Marle genealogy; B.N., *Dossiers bleus*, vol. 429, dossier 11488, fo. 34, de Marle genealogical chart).

This Jean de Marle was the son of Jean de Marle “allyé par mariage à une noble damoiselle nommée damoiselle Gilles de Thiembronne, fille de noble homme Jehan de Thiembronne seigneur de Merquenetz et de Marle lez Callonne Ricouart aupres de Bethune” [joined by marriage to a noble young lady named Damsel Gilles de Thiembronne, daughter of the Noble Man Jehan de Thiembronne, Seigneur of Merquenetz and of Marle near by Callonne Ricouart near Bethune] (*Louviers*, fo. h, recto; extracts quoted in the *Traité de généalogie*, p. 596; also see B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 228, dossier 5952, fo. 39, de Marle genealogy; B.N., *Dossiers bleus*, vol. 429, dossier 11488, fo. 34, de Marle genealogical chart)².

It is tempting to identify “noble homme Jehan de Thiembronne seigneur de Merquenetz et de Marle lez Callonne Ricouart aupres de Bethune,” father of “noble damoiselle Gilles de Thiembronne” (*Louviers*, fo. h, recto), with Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne (*Anselme*, 1726, “Bournel”, vol. VIII, p. 153). This identification was specifically proposed by Jetté in his *Traité de généalogie* (*Jetté* 1991, pp. 595-598).

At least five clues plead in favor of this identification:

- First, Anselme affirms that Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne, and Julienne, Dame (or Lady) of Monchy, had the following two children: Louis II Bournel, Knight, Seigneur of Thiembronne, of Bauchain and of Monchy, councilor and Louis XI's chamberlain in 1463 and his *pannetier* [pantler or store keeper] in 1465, married 14 June 1485 to Guillemette de Melun, and he died after 2 August 1498 (date of a *quittance* [receipt]), and “Gille Bournel, femme de Louis seigneur de Marle” [Gille Bournel, wife of Louis, Seigneur of Marle].
- Second, one finds in the Bibliothèque nationale a Bournel genealogy dated October 1617 which affirms that “Jean de Bournel sieur de Thiembronne, Beauchamp et L'Ambersart espousa Juliane héritière du sieur de Monchy dont il eut Loys de Bournel sieur de Thiembronne, fille de Thiembronne femme de Loys sieur de Marle” [Jean de Bournel, Sieur of Thiembronne, Beauchamp and L'Ambersart married Julienne, heiress of the Sieur of Monchy, from whom he had Loys (corruption of Louis) de Bournel, Sieur of Thiembronne, and a daughter (unnamed) of Thiembronne, wife of Loys Sieur of Marle] (B.N., French manuscript 5481, fo. 87).

² It is advisable to point out that the Louviers manuscript and the six de Marle genealogies preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (*Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 228, dossier 5952, fo. 39; *Nouveau d'Hozier*, vol. 226, dossier 5114, fo. 43; *Dossiers bleus*, vol. 429, dossier 11488, fo. 34; *Dossiers bleus*, vol. 429, dossier 11489, fo. 3-22, first and second genealogy; “Recueil de généalogies,” French manuscript 5485, pp. 831-855) do not agree on the identity of the father and the mother of Jean de Marle, Gillette de Thiembronne's husband. It is thus impossible to prove the ancestry of the latter from authentic documents, being unable to separate the wheat from the chaff.

- Third, the Louviers manuscript and the de Marle genealogies kept in the Bibliothèque nationale, agree in affirming that Guillaume de Marle, eldest son of Jean de Marle and of Gillette de Thiembronne, was notably Seigneur of part of Thiembronne.
- Fourth, the first seigneurie attributed to Jean de Thiembronne, is Merquenetz (today Mercq-Saint-Liévan, district of Fauquembergues, Pas-de-Calais department, is near Thiembronne). The Bournels, Seigneurs of Thiembronne, of Lambersart and other places, thus could have been seigneurs of, or at, Merquenetz, without deigning to take its title; only the de Marles, who would have inherited through the marriage of Jean de Marle to Gillette de Thiembronne, would have had an interest in giving precisely the bournelaise origin of this heritage.
- Fifth, the second seigneurie attributed to Jean de Thiembronne, which is Marle near Calonne-Ricouart (today Marles-les-Mines), is mentioned in 1446 among the possessions of the Bournels, Seigneurs of Thiembronne. In fact, 5 May 1446, at Théroutan, "Noble personne Louis Bournel, chevr, sgr de Thienbronne et de Heuchin, baille à rente héritable à Jean d'Olhain, escuier, sgr de Frefay..." [noble person Louis Bournel, Knight, Seigneur of Thienbronne and of Heuchin, rented (from an inherited income), to Jean d'Olhain, Squire, Seigneur of Frefay], the seigneurie called Wez-à-Marles, located east of the main seigneurie of Marles (*Ratel 1942*, pp. 52-53).

By contrast, at least four clues compel us to make of "noble homme Jehan de Thiembronne, seigneur de Merquenetz et de Marle lez Callonne Ricouart aupres Bethune" a distinct person from Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne.

- First, contrary to Anselme, *La Morlière* (1642, pp. 148-149) and *Le Carpentier* (1664, p. 298) show that the Bournel-Monchy couple had only one child: Louis de Bournel, husband of Guillemette de Melun. One can object that the older genealogists treated men better than women. It is, nevertheless, necessary to take note that Anselme's dissidence is unexplained. It is possible that in reading the de Marle genealogy, Anselme (or his source) was confused, like us, with Jean de Thiembronne and Jean Bournel de Thiembronne.
- Second, the Louviers manuscript, which is prompt to point out relatives allied to the de Marles, especially if they are prestigious, finds nothing else to say, following the enumeration of the children of the Marle-Thiembronne couple, then that they were "cousins et parens de Mons^r de Thiembronne et de Messieurs les Seigneurs de Hérouval [Héronval]" [cousins and relatives of our Seigneur of Thiembronne and of our lords the Seigneurs of Hérouval (Héronval)] (*Louviers*, fo. h, verso). But, no genealogist mentions any Bournel-Hérouval/Héronval connection. It is especially strange to see a genealogist of the de Marle family be silent about the relationship of the de Marles, not only to the Bournels, but also to the Monchys, to the Croys and to the Craons, houses allied to the Bournels, and much more notable that the obscure Héronvals.³ It is thus doubtful that Gillette de Thiembronne was a Bournel de Thiembronne.
- Third, what one knows about the chronology of the history of the de Marle and Bournel families makes it difficult, if not impossible, that Gillette de Thiembronne, Jean de Marle's wife, should have been the daughter of Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne, as is

³ Among the owners of the rear-fief of the Barony of Thiembronne in 1477, was a certain "M. d'Anglos d'Héronval" (*La Gorgue-Rosny 1874*, vol. IV, "Rôles des fiefs du Boulonnais," pp. 170-171, and *Leroux 1912*, p. 123).

shown by the facts assembled in Table 1. For Gillette de Thiembronne to have been the daughter of Jean II Bournel, only about twenty years would have separated five consecutive generations. In fact, Louis Bournel was married about 1420 and Waast de Marle about 1500; under these conditions, Jean II Bournel would have had to have been married about 1440, Gillette de Thiembronne, about 1460, and her son Jean de Marle, about 1480. It is biologically possible, but socially not likely.

- Fourth, a *Jean de Thiembronne* is mentioned in 1407-1408⁴, and this person is a contemporary of two other people who are said to be Seigneurs of Thiembronne: *Guillaume de Lambersart*, Seigneur of Thiembronne, deceased before 1408-1409⁵, and *Hue Bournel*, Seigneur of Thiembronne in 1409⁶, the nephew and heir of Guillaume de Lambersart.

Thus, this Jean de Thiembronne cannot be a Bournel, since the first Bournel de Thiembronne was Hue Bournel.⁷ Without a doubt, he was not a Lambersart either; at least, he was not a brother or the son of a brother of Guillaume de Lambersart, since the latter bequeathed Thiembronne to Hue Bournel, but more likely he was the son of a sister of Guillaume de Lambersart. It can be added that authentic documents relating to Thiembronne and reported by Rodier⁸ never confuse the family names and the seigneuries: a Lambersart, Seigneur of Thiembronne, is always distinguished from a Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne, the same from a Thiembronne. Consequently, there thus exists, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Thiembronne family distinct from the Bournels and from the Lambersarts.

The rules for proof by presumption are positive: the convergence of facts must be integral and exclusive (*Jetté 1991*, pp. 288-289). In this context, it appears more reasonable to make Gillette de Thiembronne, not a daughter of, but a contemporary of Jean II Bournel. Her father, Jean de Thiembronne, could thus have been, at best, a distant cousin of Jean II Bournel through the Lambersarts, but not the same person. In sum, Jean de Thiembronne, Gillette de Thiembronne's father, is not Jean II Bournel, Seigneur of Thiembronne.

See Appendix, Table 1, Bournel and Thiembronne Families

⁴ "1407-1408—Jean de Thiembronne, esc' (Rebecque, Saint-André-lez-Aire, 86)" (Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, *Fichier des fiefs par Roger Rodière*, 12J ms 400, vol. VIII, p. 10823, "Thiembronne", fo. 8 recto).

⁵ "1408-1409—The executors of the deceased Guillaume de Lambersart, formerly a Knight, Seigneur of Thiembronne and of Fasque (Rebecque, Saint-André-lez-Aire, 808)" (Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, *Fichier des fiefs par Roger Rodière*, 12J ms 400, vol. VIII, p. 10822, "Thiembronne", fo. 7 verso).

⁶ "1409—Hue Bournel, Knight, Seigneur of Thiembronne (Rebecque, Saint-André-lez-Aire, 125)" (Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, *Fichier des fiefs par Roger Rodière*, 12J ms 400, vol. VIII, p. 10821, "Thiembronne", fo. 7 recto); "1408—Note sur Guillaume de Lambersart. Avait eu plus⁸ femmes, mortes avant lui. Laissa pour h⁸ Hue Bournel, chevalier, chambellan du Roy Charles VI, seigneur de Tiembronne et de Ploich, son neveu, et autres" [1408—Note on Guillaume de Lambersart. He had several wives who died before him. He left as his heirs, Hue Bournel, Knight, King Charles VI's chamberlain, Seigneur of Tiembronne and of Ploich, his nephew, and others] (Rebecque, Saint-André-lez-Aire, 818" (*Ibid.*, p. 18823, fo. 8 recto).

⁷ Anselme qualifies the Bournels as Seigneurs of Thiembronne two or three generations before Hue Bournel (*Anselme 1726*, "Bournel", vol. VIII, p. 152), but the authentic documents relating to the Lambersarts prove that he was mistaken (*La Gorgue-Rosny 1874*, p. 820; Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, *Fichier des fiefs par Roger Rodière*, 12J ms 400, vol. VIII, "Thiembronne").

⁸ Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, *Fichier des fiefs par Roger Rodière*, 12J ms 400, vol. VIII, p. 10822, "Thiembronne".

Proof of the Ascending Line from Catherine Baillon to Charlemagne

The facts to be proven are the filiation links, paternal or maternal, according to the case, connecting Catherine Baillon to Charlemagne, as shown in the following ascending line. It is, moreover, fitting to point out that the filiation links which connect Philippe II, King of France, (generation 16) to Charlemagne (generation 29) are unanimously agreed upon by both historians and the better genealogists (*Anselme 1726, Brandenburg 1935, Isenburg 1960, Schwennicke 1978, Werner 1967*, etc.). This is why we have abstained from furnishing the proofs for generations 16 to 29.

Ascending Line from Catherine Baillon to Charlemagne

1. Catherine Baillon & Jacques Miville dit Deschênes, married (m.) 12 November 1669, Notre-Dame de Québec
2. Alphonse Baillon, Sieur of La Mascotterie, & Louise de Marle, m. about 1630/1640, Chevreuse region (Yvelines department)
3. Renée Maillard & Adam Baillon, Seigneur of Valence, m. about 1580
4. Miles Maillard, Seigneur of Le Breuil and of La Boissière & Marie Morant, marriage contract (mc.) 25 June 1555
5. Bénigne Le Bouteillier, Dame of La Boissière & Jacques Maillard, Seigneur of Champagne, mc. 16 April 1516, Montivilliers (Seine-Maritime department)
6. Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie, of Roquemont, of Vaux-sur-Orge and of La Boissière & Marie de Venois, m. about 1480/1490
7. Guy II Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and of La Roche-Guyon & Isabeau Morhier, m. about 1450
8. Catherine de Gavre d'Escornaix, Dame of Vaux-sur-Orge and of La Boissière & Guy I Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and of La Roche-Guyon, m. after April 1419, about 1425
9. Isabelle de Ghistelles & Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, m. about 1380/1390
10. Roger de Ghistelles, Seigneur of Dudzeele and of Straten & Marguerite, Dame of Dudzeele, m. in or a little before 1357
11. Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles & Marie de Haverskerke, Dame of Straten, m. a little after June 1337
12. Marguerite de Luxembourg & Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, m. 1284, before June 1289
13. Mathilde de Clèves & Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbury, m. 1253
14. Élisabeth de Brabant & Thierry de Clèves, Seigneur of Dinslaken, m. 19 March 1233, Louvain (Belgium)

15. Maire de France & Henri I, Duke of Brabant, m. 8/22 April 1213, Soissons (Aisne department)
16. Philippe II *Auguste*, King of France & Agnès d'Andechs de Méranie, m. June 1196
17. Louis VII, King of France & Adèle of Blois of Champagne, m. 18 October 1160
18. Louis VI, King of France & Adélaïde of Savoy, m. 1115
19. Philippe I, King of France & Berthe of Holland, m. 1071/1073
20. Henri I, King of France & Anne of Russia, m. 19 May 1051, Reims (Marne department)
21. Robert II, King of France & Constance of Provence, m. 1003/1005
22. Hugues Capet, King of France & Adélaïde N..., m. Summer 968
23. Hugues le Grand, Duke of France & Hedwige of Saxony, m. 9 May / 14 September 938, Mayence (Germany) or Ingelheim (Germany)
24. Béatrice of Vermandois & Robert I, King of France, m. about 895
25. Héribert I, Count of Vermandois & N...
26. Pépin, Count in the region of Paris & N...
27. Bernard, King of Italy & Cunégonde N..., m. about 815
28. Pépin I, King of Italy & N..., m. about 795
29. Charles I, called *Charlemagne*, King of the Franks and Emperor of the West & Hildegard N..., m. 771

1—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Catherine Baillon, Wife of Jacques Miville

The proof of the father and mother of Catherine Baillon, wife of Jacques Miville, is found in her marriage act, dated 12 November 1669 in the parish of Notre-Dame de Québec, and in her marriage contract, dated 10 October 1669 before the notary Paul Duquet.

The act shows the state of marriage of “Jacques Miville fils de deffunt Pierre Miville et de Charlotte Maugis” [Jacques Miville, son of the deceased Pierre Miville and of Charlotte Maugis] and “Catherine Baillon fille d’Alphonse Baillon et de Louise de Marle ses pere et mere de la paroisse de Monfort la Mori Evesché de Chartres” [Catherine Baillon, daughter of Alphonse Baillon and of Louise de Marle, her father and mother from the parish of Monfort la Mori, Bishopric of Chartres].

The marriage contract shows “Jacques Miville sieur des Chesnes fils de deffunt honorable homme Pierre Miville habitant de ce pays et dame Charlotte Maugis” [Jacques Miville, Sieur⁹ of Chesnes, son of the deceased honorable man Pierre Miville, habitant of this country, and Dame Charlotte Maugis] and “damoiselle Catherine de Baillon fille de deffunt Alphonse de Baillon, escuyer, sieur de La Mascotterie et damoiselle Louise de Marle ses pere et mere” [Damsel Catherine de Baillon, daughter of the deceased Alphonse de Baillon, Squire, Sieur of La Mascotterie and Damsel Louise de Marle, her father and mother].

On one hand, none of the Baillon genealogies preserved in the Fonds d’Hozier of the Bibliothèque nationale mention Catherine Baillon.¹⁰ On the other hand, Catherine Baillon is named in one of the de Marle genealogies preserved in the same place: “Alphonse de Baillon” and “Louise de Marle” had “Catherine de Baillon” (B.N., *Cabinet d’Hozier*, vol. 228, no. 5952, fo. 39). Specifically, she is also named in a donation of “Louise de Marle, veuve en premières noces d’Alphonse de Baillon, écuyer, sieur de Mascotterie” [Louise de Marle, widow, in her first marriage, of Alphonse de Baillon, Squire, Sieur of Mascotterie] to her son Antoine de Baillon, dated 11 October 1673; the latter received all his mother’s property, “à la charge de payer [...] 600 livres à damoiselle Catherine de Baillon, autre fille de la donatrice” [being charged to pay (...) 600 livres to Damsel Catherine de Baillon, another daughter of the donor] (Archives Nationales, *Insinuations aux Châtelet de Paris*, Y 227, fo. 287, 25 October 1673).

The Baillon arms were “*De gueules à une tête de léopard d’or bouclée du même*” (Hozier 1868, “Baillon”, vol. VII, second part, p. 68).

Therefore, Catherine de Baillon, Jacques Miville’s wife, was the daughter of Alphonse Baillon and Louise de Marle.

2—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Alphonse Baillon, Husband of Louise de Marle.

The proof of the father and mother of Alphonse Baillon, Louise de Marle’s husband, is found in an act of “partage fait le 17e Janvier de l’an 1617 entre Adam de Baillon E^{cr} S^r de Valence Alphonse de Baillon E^{cr} et D^{lle} Caterine Baillon scavoir des biens a eux echus tant par la succession d’Adam de Baillon vivant E^{cr} S^r dud. lieu de Valence et du feu D^{lle} Renée de Maillart sa femme leurs père & mère, que des héritages à eux délaissés par D^{lle} Robert de Baillon femme de Cristofe de Villequoy E^{cr} S^r de Thionville et par D^{lle} Marguerite de Baillon femme de Gabriel de Cocherel E^{cr} S^r des Roches, soeurs desd. partageans, ce acte reçu par Louis Gentil notaire de la châtellenie des Vaux de Cernai la Ville” [partition made on the 17th January of the year 1617 between Adam de Baillon, Squire, Sieur of Valence, Alphonse de Baillon, Squire and Damsel Caterine Baillon, that is to say, through inheritance from Adam de Baillon, while living Squire, Sieur of the said place of Valence, and from the deceased Damsel Renée de Maillart, his wife, their father and mother, as well as from the legacies left to them by Damsel Roberte de Baillon, wife of Cristofe de Villequoy, Squire, Sieur of Thionville and by Damsel Marguerite de Baillon, wife of Gabriel de Cocherel, Squire, Sieur of

⁹ In colonial New France, “sieur” was really closer to the concept of Mister in New England than Lord back in France. In France, among the nobility, “sieur” was often used interchangeably with “siegneur” and usually implied that the person was the lord of a particular seigneurie.

¹⁰ The Fonds d’Hozier is a collection of the papers of the Judges of Arms. These officials were all, but one, members of the d’Hozier family. These papers consist of family dossiers containing transcripts of original documents to prove relationships between generations and noble status. The Fonds d’Hozier is part of the Cabinet des titres [Office of Noble Titles] of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.

Roches, sisters of the said heirs, this act received by Louis Gentil, notary of the seigneurie of Vaux de Cernai la Ville] (B.N., French manuscript 30282, *Carrés d'Hozier*, vol. 53, fo. 130).

This document confirms the Baillon genealogy preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris: "Alphonse de Baillon mort sans alliance" [Alphonse de Baillon, dead without any alliance],¹¹ son of "Adam de Baillon, seigneur de Valence" and of "Renée Maillard, fille de Nicolas Maillard, seigneur de la Boissière et du Breuil, et de Marie Morand" [Renée Maillard, daughter of Nicolas Maillard, Seigneur of la Boissière and of le Breuil, and of Marie Morand] (B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 24, dossier 527, fo. 3).

Therefore, Alphonse Baillon, husband of Louise de Marle, is the son of Adam Baillon and of Renée Maillard.

3—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Renée Maillard, Wife of Adam Baillon

The proof of the father and mother of Renée Maillard, Adam de Baillon's wife, is found in the Baillon genealogy preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier, where it is written that "Adam de Baillon, seigneur de Valence, épousa Renée Maillard, fille de Nicolas Maillard, seigneur de la Boissière et du Breuil, et de Marie Morand" [Adam de Baillon, Seigneur of Valence, married Renée Maillard, daughter of Nicolas Maillard, Seigneur of la Boissière and of le Breuil, and of Marie Morand] (B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 24, dossier 527, fo. 3).

A confirmation of this document is found in a receipt from 7 July 1605, of "Adam de Baillon escuyer sieur de Vallence en nom et comme procureur de Damoiselle Marie Morant veuve de Mille de Maillard" [Adam de Baillon, Squire, Sieur of Vallence in name and as procurator of Damsel Marie Morant, widow of Mille (or Miles) de Maillard] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 171, dossier 3588, fo. 4). It is also appropriate to point out that this receipt (which is an authentic document) equally proves that the husband of Marie Morant has the first name of Mille and not Nicolas, as the preceding genealogy asserts (which is a subsequent document). In contrast, none of the Maillard genealogies preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier of the Bibliothèque nationale mentions Renée Maillard.

The Maillard arms were "*D'azur au chevron d'or accompagné de 3 fers de pique aussi d'or, 2 en chef et 1 en pointe*" (*Cabinet d'Hozier*) or "*D'azur au chevron d'or accompagné de 3 fers de pique d'argent, 2 en chef et 1 en pointe*" (*Nouveau d'Hozier*).

Therefore, Renée Maillard, Adam Baillon's wife, is the daughter of Miles Maillard and of Marie Morant.

4—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Miles Maillard, Husband of Marie Morant

The proof of the father and mother of Miles Maillard, Marie Morant's husband, is found in an act of partition reported by a Maillard genealogy preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where it is written that "Milles de Maillard, seigneur du Breuil et de la Boissière en partie 1551" [Milles de Maillard, Seigneur of le Breuil and of la Boissière in part 1551] and husband of "Marie Morant" "par contrat du 25 juin 1555 son père présent" [by contract of 25 June

¹¹ We know very well that Alphonse Baillon did not "die without any alliance." All the previously cited documents, used for proving the family relationship of Catherine Baillon, proves that he had a daughter, as well as other children.

1555 her father present], is the son of “Jacques Maillard, seigneur de Champagne”¹² and “Benigne le Bouteillier”, who were married “par contrat passé à Montierwilliers du 16 avril 1516” [by contract passed in Montierwilliers (Montivilliers, Seine-Maritime department) 16 April 1516] and that Miles Maillard had an older brother, “Christophe de Maillard, E, sieur de la Boissière [lequel] partagea avec son frère la succession de leur mère le 15 juillet 1551” [Christophe de Maillard, Squire, Sieur of la Boissière, (which) he shared with his brother, through an inheritance from their mother on 15 July 1551] (B.N., French manuscript 31143, *Nouveau d’Hozier*, vol. 218, dossier 4949, “Maillard”, fo. 49).

This document confirms another Maillard genealogy preserved in the Fonds d’Hozier in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where it is written that “Miles de Maillard qui a laissé postérité qui dure encore” [Miles de Maillard who left descendants who still exist] is the younger brother of “Christophe de Maillard escuier seigneur de Champagne près Évreux et de la Boissière près Nogent le Roy” [Christophe de Maillard Squire Seigneur of Champagne near Evreux and of la Boissière near Nogent le Roy] and that both of them are the sons of “Jacques de Maillard escuyer seigneur de Champagne [qui] espousa damoiselle Benigne le Bouteillier dame de la Boissière en France fille de Jean le Bouteillier escuier seigneur de la Boissière en France et de damoiselle Marie de Venois ses pere et mere le sisiesme [sic] avril mil cinq cens seize” [Jacques de Maillard Squire Seigneur of Champagne (who) married Damsel Benigne Le Bouteillier Dame of La Boissière in France, daughter of Jean Le Bouteillier Squire Seigneur of La Boissière in France and of Damsel Marie de Venois, her father and mother, on sixth April one thousand five hundred sixteen (1516)] (B.N., *Cabinet d’Hozier*, vol. 221, dossier 5737, fo. 77-78).

Therefore, Miles Maillard, Marie Morant’s husband, is the son of Jacques Maillard and of Bénigne Le Bouteillier.

5—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Bénigne Le Bouteillier, Wife of Jacques Maillard

The proof of the father and mother of Bénigne Le Bouteillier, Jacques Maillard’s wife, is found in a Maillard genealogy preserved in the Fonds d’Hozier in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where it is written that “Jacques de Maillard escuyer seigneur de Champagne [qui] espousa damoiselle Benigne le Bouteillier dame de la Boissière en France fille de Jean le Bouteillier escuier seigneur de la Boissière en France et de damoiselle Marie de Venois ses pere et mere le sixiesme avril mil cinq cens seize” [Jacques de Maillard Squire Seigneur of Champagne (who) married Damsel Benigne Le Bouteillier Dame of La Boissière in France, daughter of Jean Le Bouteillier Squire Seigneur of La Boissière in France and of Damsel Marie de Venois, her father and mother, on sixth April one thousand five hundred sixteen (1516)] (B.N., *Cabinet d’Hozier*, vol. 221, dossier 5737, fo. 77-78). This document is confirmed by subsequent documents relating to the devolution (that is, the passing of property upon death) of the seigneuries of La Boissière and of Vaux-sur-Orge, mentioned in the following section.

The Le Bouteillier arms were “*D’hermine à une fleur de lis de gueules*” [Roger 1978].

Therefore, Bénigne Le Bouteillier, Jacques Maillard’s wife, is the daughter of Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois’ husband.

¹² In some documents this small seigneurie appears as Champagne, in others, as Champaigne. It should not be confused with the larger province of Champagne.

6—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Jean Le Bouteillier, Husband of Marie de Venois

No documents found so far names the father and mother of Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband. Proof by presumption of his family relationship is based on the genealogical chart which accompanies this text (Table 2).

It is known that Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband, was not only Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and of Roquemont, which is expressly indicated in an act of 26 January 1513 (an act cited below), but equally Seigneur of La Boissière and of Vaux-sur-Orge, as the following facts prove.

- On one hand, his daughter Bénigne Le Bouteillier was not only Dame of La Boissière at the time of her marriage 16 April 1516 (B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 221, dossier 5737, fo. 77-78), but she was also Dame of Boise in Vaux-sur-Orge. In fact, one finds, dated 16 October 1565, an "Hommage de la terre et seigneurie de Boise, à Grand Vaux et Petit Vaux, movant de la châteltenie de Monthlhéry, rendu par Louis Maillard, écuyer, hériter de Bénigne Le Boutellier, sa mère, et de Catherine Le Bouteillier, sa tante" [Homage for the land and seigneurie of Boise, at Grand Vaux and Petit Vaux, dependent on the castleward of Monthlhéry, rendered by Louis Maillard, Squire, heir of Bénigne Le Bouteillier, his mother, and of Catherine Le Bouteillier, his aunt] (*Mirot 1932*, notice 236, p. 22).
- On the other hand, 4 May 1514, a Jean Le Bouteillier, who qualified as Seigneur of La Bouteillerie, gives homage for Vaux-sur-Orge: "4 mai 1514. Hommage du fief, terre et seigneurie de Vaux-sur-Orge, rendu par Jean Le Bouteillier, seigneur de la Bouteillerie" [4 May 1514. Homage for the fief, land and seigneurie of Vaux-sur-Orge, rendered by Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie] (*Mirot 1932*, notice 2263, p. 201). But, the latter can only be the son of Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and husband of Marie de Venois, who was a widow on 26 January 1513 (act cited further on) and had a son named Jean like his father.

In this context, the filiation of Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband, is *proven by presumption* though six acts relating to the *devolution of the seigneuries of La Bossière and of Vaux-sur-Orge*.

- 31 October 1452: received by "Katherine de Gavre, veufve de defunct messire Symon Morhier, en son vivant chevalier, dame de Villiers le Morhier et de la Bouessiere ... donné aud. lieu de la Bouessiere...." [Katherine de Gavre, widow of the deceased sire Symon Morhier, while alive, a Knight, Dame of Villiers le Morhier and of la Bouessiere ... given at the said place of la Bouessiere....] (Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir, G 1281; referenced in *Roger 1983*, p. 144, note 347).
- 1472: "Comptes de l'Ordinaire de Paris, 1472" [Tax Audit Office of Paris, 1472]. Redemption, relief, and fifth *denier*¹³ of "Guillaume Morhier, Escuyer, pour l'acquisition faite par feue Dame Katherine de Gauve, en son vivant femme de feu Mre Simon Morhier, & mère dudit Escuyer. D'un Fief assis à Vaux-sur-Ourge, qui fut à feu Mre Guillaume Bernier, Chevalier, movant de Montlhéry, ... escheu audit Escuyer par le trepas de ladite feue Katherine de Gauve" [Guillaume Morhier, Squire, for the acquisition made by the deceased

¹³ A denier is a unit of money. There are 12 deniers to a sol and 20 sols to a livre. This phrase, "rachat, relief et quint denier," usually refers to feudal dues paid when land exchanged hands. It would equal a fifth of the sale price.

Dame Katherine de Gauve, while alive, the wife of the deceased Master Simon Morhier, and mother of the said Squire. Of a fief located at Vaux-sur-Orge, which belonged to the deceased Master Guillaume Bernier, Knight, dependent on Montlhéry,...which came by inheritance to the said Squire by the death of the said deceased Katherine de Gauve] (*Sauval 1724*, vol. III, p. 412).

- 24 November 1498: "Hommage du fief, terre et seigneurie de Vaux-sur-Orge, mouvant de la châtelainie de Monthlhéry, rendu par Guillaume Morhier, écuyer, seigneur de la Boëssière" [Homage for the fief, land and seigneurie of Vaux-sur-Orge, dependent on the castleward of Monthlhéry, rendered by Guillaume Morhier, Squire, Seigneur of la Boëssière] (*Mirot 1932*, notice 2260, p. 201).
- 23 May 1502: "Hommage du fief, terre et seigneurie de Vaux-sur-Orge, rendu par Guion Le Bouteillier, chevalier, seigneur de la Bouteillerie, héritier de son oncle Guillaume Morhier, écuyer, ce dernier héritier de sa mère, Catherine de Gaure" [Homage for the fief, land and seigneurie of Vaux-sur-Orge, rendered by Guion Le Bouteillier, Knight, Seigneur of la Bouteillerie, heir of his uncle Guillaume Morhier, Squire, the latter heir from his mother, Catherine de Gaure] (*Mirot 1932*, notice 2261, p. 201).
- 1503: "Ordinaire de Paris pour l'année finie à la St Jean 1503" [Audit Office of Paris for the year ending on St-Jean's day 1503]. "Mre Guy le Bouteillier, Seigneur de la Bouteillerie, pour le rachat de la Terre & Seigneurie de Vaulx sur Auge, à lui escheu par le trepas de feu Guillaume Morhier, Seigneur dudit Vaulx sur Auge" [Master Guy Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of la Bouteillerie, for the repurchase of the land and seigneurie of Vaulx sur Auge, which came to him through an inheritance from the deceased Guillaume Morhier, Seigneur of the said Vaulx sur Auge] (*Sauval 1724*, vol. III, pp. 534-535).
- 26 January 1513: extract from the "Ordinaire de Paris pour l'année finie à la saint Jean-Baptiste 1513" [Audit Office of Paris for the year ending at on Saint Jean-Baptiste's day 1513]: "Honorable personne Marguerite Larcher, veufve de Dominique Quinette, Marchand Bourgeois de Paris, ... pour plusieurs héritages scis en la Prevosté de Gonesse, qui appartinrent à Damoiselle Marie Benois [*sic*, pour Venois], veufve de Jean le Bouteillier, Escuyer, Seigneur de la Bouteillerie & de Roquemont, Jean le Bouteillier, fils aîné & héritier présomptif dudit deffunt, & Guyon le Bouteillier, fils puisné d'icelui deffunt, lesdits heritages vendus au Chastelet par decret du vingt-six Janvier 1512 [1513 n.s.]" [Honorable person Marguerite Larcher, widow of Dominique Quinette, bourgeois merchant of Paris, ... for several inheritances located in the provostship of Gonesse, which belonged to Damoiselle Marie Benois (*sic*, for Venois), widow of Jean Le Bouteillier, Squire, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and of Roquemont, Jean Le Bouteillier, oldest son, and presumed heir of the said deceased, & Guyon Le Bouteillier, youngest son of this deceased, the said inheritances sold at Chastelet (probably the Châtelet, a small castle in Paris used as a law-court) by decree on 26 January 1512 (1513 n. s.)] (*Sauval 1724*, vol. III, p. 558).

These acts, which allow the drawing up of the genealogical chart which accompanies this text (Table 2), proves that the seigneuries of La Boissière and of Vaux-sur-Orge passed from Catherine de Gavre, wife of Simon Morhier, to her son Guillaume Morhier, then to the latter's nephew, Guyon Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie, and, finally, to a Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie, who, as has just been shown, could hardly be anyone else but the son of Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie, husband of Marie de Venois and deceased before 1513. Thus, based on what is known about the chronology of the history of the Le Bouteillier and Morhier families, Guyon Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and heir of his uncle Guillaume Morhier between 1498 and 1502, must be the *brother* of Jean Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and

husband of Marie de Venois. Guyon Le Bouteillier, who died without any heirs after 1502, no doubt left his brother Jean as his heir, whose oldest son Jean would have inherited in his turn La Bouteillerie and Vaux-sur-Orge, while the daughter, Bénigne, would have inherited La Boissière. (Also, see the Map we have included to clarify the location of the seigneuries owned by the Le Bouteillerie and Moorhier families)

In summary, these acts show that Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband, must be the son of N... Le Bouteillier and of N... Morhier, daughter of Simon Morhier (since Guyon Le Bouteillier was the nephew of Guillaume Morhier whose father was named Simon Morhier).

This deduction is confirmed by a Morhier genealogy preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where it is written that Simon Morhier had, among other children:

- First, Guillaume [Morhier] Ecuyer S^r de la Boissière, de Hermeray et de Lenanville en 1495 épousa 4 Juillet 1488 Marie d'Avaugour, fille de Guill^e et de D^e Perrine de Boeuf [Guillaume (Morhier), Squire, Seigneur of La Boissière, of Hermeray and of Lenanville in 1495, married 4 July 1488 Marie d'Avaugour, daughter of Guil(aum)le and of Damsel Perrine de Boeuf].
- Second, "Isabeau [Morhier] D^e de Roquemont femme en 1450 de Guy le Bouteiller E^r V^e en 1506" [Isabeau (Morhier) Dame of Roquemont wife in 1450 of Guy Le Bouteiller, Squire, widow in 1506], who (Isabeau) had for a child "Jean le Bouteillier" (B.N., Dossiers bleus, vol. 472, dossier 18479, "Morhier", fo. 4-5). Furthermore, this is found in another Morhier genealogy preserved in the Fonds d'Hozier in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and which seems to summarize the original documents which it does not quote: "1506—D^e Isabeau le Morhier veufve feu M^{re} guy le bouteillier chev" [1506—Dame Isabeau le Morhier widow of the deceased Master guy le bouteillier Knight] and his son "Jean Le Bouteillier" (B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 248, dossier 6582, fo. 161).

This genealogy, which, it is important to emphasize, seems to rest on original documents if one trusts the dates scattered throughout it, furnishes four suitable pieces of information to confirm the preceding deduction as to the family relationship of Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband.

- First, it confirms the existence and paternal filiation of Guillaume Morhier, Seigneur of La Boissière and son of Simon Morhier.
- Second, it confirms the patronymes and lets us know the first names of Jean Le Bouteillier's father and mother, that is to say Guy Le Bouteillier and Isabeau Morhier.
- Third, it confirms that Guy Le Bouteillier and Isabeau Morhier definitely had a son named Jean, although his name is not associated with that of his wife, Marie de Venois.
- And, fourth, it lets us know that Isabeau Morhier was Dame of Roquemont, the seigneuries of which Jean Le Bouteillier, Marie de Venois' husband, was said to be the owner in 1513, which confirms, in a supplementary manner, the maternal family filiation of Jean Le Bouteillier.

Therefore, Jean Le Bouteillier, husband of Marie Venois, is the son of Guy II Le Bouteillier and of Isabeau Morhier.

See Appendix, Table 2, Devolution of the Seigneuries of La Boissière and Vaux-sur-Orge

See Appendix, Map, Seigneuries of the Le Bouteillerie and Morhier Families

7—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Guy II Le Bouteillier, Husband of Isabeau Morhier

None of the documents discovered so far expressly name the father and mother of Guy Le Bouteillier, Isabeau Morhier's husband. Nevertheless, several documents prove:

- On one hand, Guy Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillerie and of La Roche-Guyon, and Catherine de Gavre, his only wife, had a son named Guy, and he was Seigneur of La Roche-Guyon like his father
- And, on the other hand, that a Guy Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Bouteillier en Caux and who had inheritances in Beauce, was the husband of Isabeau Morhier, daughter of Simon Morhier.

Notably, it is fitting to mention the following four documents:

- First, Guy (II) Le Bouteillier's father and mother are mentioned with him in the inquiries of 13 May 1439 and of 16 May 1440 relating to his father's inheritance; at the time of the 1440 inquiry, Guy Le Bouteillier was the oldest of the children in the family and he was said to be 13 years old (J. Lenoir, *Manuscrits sur l'histoire de la Normandie*, vol. IX, pp. 180-181, no. 19722; referenced in *Roger 1978*, p. 308, note 223).
- Second, Guy II Le Bouteillier qualified as Seigneur of La Roche-Guyon as did his father in at least one document; it was the matter of a lease of 26 March 1446 and that "Gui Le Bouteillier escuier seigneur de la Roche Guyon" [Gui Le Bouteillier, Squire, Seigneur of la Roche Guyon] signed with a magnificent signature (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 477, dossier 10675, "Le Bouteillier", fo. 41).
- Third, on 9 August 1457, "Guy Le Bouteillier chevalier seigneur de la Bouteillerie en Caux en noms de luy et de damoiselle Isabel Morhier sa femme" [Guy Le Bouteillier, Knight, Seigneur of la Bouteillerie in Caux in his name and in the name of Damsel Isabel Morhier his wife] sold an annuity (a yearly income) on a house located in Paris (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 2051, dossier 46738, "Morhier", fo. 41).
- Fourth, Guy II Le Bouteillier, who had inheritances in Beauce, was named with his wife and his brother-in-law Jean Morhier in an act of 26 January 1461 by which the King of France Louis XI handed over to "nos bien aimez Jehan Morhier chevalier et Guy Le Bouteillier aussi chevalier et sa femme" [our well-beloved Jehan Morhier, Knight, and Guy Le Bouteillier also a Knight and his wife] some inheritances in Beauce belonging to "Maistre Pierre de Marigny" and to "Guille de La Faulconnerie (or Faulconnière)" and which had been legally sold on 4 July 1410 for nonpayment of rent from 1396 to 10 March 1409: the act then specifies that "le dit feu Guille est depuis trespasé et semblablement est trespasé le dit Maistre Pierre delaisse Jehanne de Marigny sa fille qui fut femme de feu Jehan de Laigny laquelle est semblablement trespasée delaissez feuz Simon Morhier chevalier et Jeanne de Lagny sa femme fille et héritière seulle et pour le tout ditcelluy de Marigny lesquels Simon Morhier et sa femme sont aussi trespasés delaissez lesdits suppliants leurs héritiers" [the said deceased Guille has since died and, likewise, the said Master Pierre has died, having left Jehanne de Marigny, his daughter, who was the wife of the deceased Jehan de Laigny, (who) has likewise died, leaving the deceased Simon Morhier, Knight, and Jeanne de Lagny, his wife, as the daughter and sole heir, and for all of this, (of) the said Marigny which Simon Morhier and his wife who are also deceased, leaving the said supplicants as their heirs] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 2051, dossier 46748, "Morhier", fo. 51).

Moreover, it is known that Catherine de Gavre, widow of Guy (I) Le Bouteillier, father and mother of Guy (II) Le Bouteillier, married Simon Morhier, widower of Jeanne de Laigny, father and mother of Isabeau Morhier. This marriage is proven, among others, by the devolution of the seigneuries of La Boissière and of Vaux-sur-Orge (Table 2), as well as by a receipt dated 31 October 1452 and signed by “Katherine de Gavre, veufve de defunct messire Symon Morhier, en son vivant chevalier, dame de Villiers le Morhier et de la Bouessiere ... donné aud. lieu de la Bouessiere...” [Katherine de Gavre, widow of the deceased sire Symon Morhier, while alive a Knight, Dame of Villiers le Morhier and of la Bouessiere ... given in the said place of la Bouessiere...] (Archives départementales d’Eure-et-Loir, G 1281; referenced in *Roger 1983*, p. 144, note 347).¹⁴

Therefore, Guy II Le Bouteillier, Isabeau Morhier’s husband, is the son of Guy I Le Bouteillier and of Catherine de Gavre.

8—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Catherine de Gavre, Wife of Guy I Le Bouteillier

The proof of the father and mother of Catherine de Gavre, wife of Guy Le Bouteillier, is found in a combination of the following four documents.

- First, in a receipt of 11 April 1439, Catherine de Gavre is named “Katherine de gavre aut[re]ment descornay” [Katherine de gavre otherwise (known as) descornay] and this receipt concerns the sums received “pour employer a la garde et deffense de la Roche Guyon” [to be used in the protection and defense of la Roche Guyon] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 1299, dossier 29240, “Gaure”, no. 2).
- Second, Catherine de Gavre’s seal proves that she was both the wife of a Le Bouteillier and that she was a Gavre of the Escornaix branch. In fact, the historian Roger, who has affirmed in another source that Catherine de Gavre was “the tenth child of Arnoul VI de Gavre, sire d’Escornaix, and of Ysabel de Ghisteltes”, states specifically that “her seal (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 477, dossier 10675, no. 114; vol. 1299, dossier 29240, nos 2 and 3) was parted of Le Bouteillier and of Gavre-Escornaix (*le chevron, brisure d’Escornaix, brochant sur le trescheur*)” [our translation] (*Roger 1978*, p. 307).

See Appendix, Illustration 1, Catherine de Gavre’s Seal

- Third, her marriage to Guy Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of La Roche-Guyon, is proven by three receipts: the first, dated 4 February 1439, is worded in the name of “Katherine de Gavre, veuve de Guy Le Bouteillier, seigneur de la Roche-Guyon” [Katherine de Gavre, widow of Guy Le Bouteillier, Seigneur of la Roche-Guyon] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 477, dossier 10675, “Le Bouteillier”, fo. 114); the second, dated 11 April 1439, is worded in the name of “Katherine de gavre aut[re]ment descornay” [Katherine de gavre otherwise (known as)

¹⁴ The reader might will be interested in knowing that the two husbands of Catherine de Gavre, Guy Le Bouteillier and Simon Morhier, were “*collabos*”—collaborators. In fact, both went into the service of the English in the last phase of the One Hundred Years’ War. Notably, they were on the English side during Joan of Arc’s time. Guy Le Bouteillier entered into the English service on the day following the capture of Rouen in January 1419; he remained in it until his death in 1438; he then defended his seigneurie and fortress of La Roche-Guyon (*Roger 1978*). Simon Morhier went into the English service after the capture of Paris in 1420; named by them as provost of Paris in 1422, he remained in this position until the recapture of Paris by Charles VII in April 1436. He then followed the English into Normandy; it was thus at the beginning of the year 1440, he married the widow of Guy Le Bouteillier and in his turn became seigneur and defender of La Roche-Guyon. Captured at Torcy-le-Grand on 25 February 1449 by the French in Dieppe, he died before October 1452 and was buried in Saint-Honoré de Paris (*Roger 1983*).

descornay] and concerns the sums received “pour employer a la garde et deffense de la Roche Guyon” [to be used in the protection and defense of la Roche Guyon] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 1299, dossier 29240, “Gaure”, no. 2); and the third, dated 21 July 1439, is worded in the name of “Katherine de Gavre, dame de la Roche-Guyon, veuve de Guy Le Bouteillier” [Katherine de Gavre, Dame of la Roche-Guyon, widow of Guy Le Bouteillier] (B.N., *Pièces originales*, vol. 1299, dossier 29240, “Gaure”, fo. 3).

Fourth, the only Gavre d'Escornaix at the time was Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, husband of Isabelle de Ghisteltes, who had a daughter named Catherine. In fact, the will of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, and of his wife, Isabelle de Ghisteltes, 11 May 1416 (Archives municipales de Gand, série 330, no. 16, fo. 75-76, and exécution no. 17, fo. 47; referenced in *Roger 1978*, p. 307 and summarized in *Liedekerke 1957*, pp. 212-215), enumerates their eleven children and mentions, in the tenth position, a daughter named Catherine, who was neither married nor a widow at that date. Even if neither Schwennicke nor Liedekerke mention the Gavre-Le Bouteillier and Gavre-Morhier marriages, this person can be none other than Catherine de Gavre “otherwise descornay”, married after 1419 to Guy Le Bouteillier.¹⁵

The arms of Gavre d'Escornaix were “D'or, au double trescheur fleuroné et contrefleuronné de sinople” [for Gavre] “brisé d'un chevron de gueules” [for Escornaix] [*Roger 1978*].

Therefore, Catherine de Gavre, Guy I Le Bouteillier's wife, is the daughter of Arnould VI de Gavre and of Isabelle de Ghisteltes.

¹⁵ The marriage of Guy I Le Bouteillier and of Catherine de Gavre did not take place until after April 1419. It was in the spring of 1419 that Guy Le Bouteillier “wanted to add (to the seigneuries that had been given to him by the King of England, Henry V, on 16 March 1419) the domain of La Roche-Guyon by forcing the *châtelaine* (castlewardness) to give him her hand (in marriage); but this woman, truly French, preferred exile to the shame of such an alliance” [our translations throughout this footnote] (*Chéruel 1840*, p. 78). This “truly French” woman was Perrette de la Rivière, widow of Guy VI de La Roche-Guyon, whom Luce depicts as a courageous patriot. In fact, “this young châtelaine, renowned for her beauty and her elegance,” relentlessly defended the fortified château of La Roche-Guyon against the Count of Warwick and “Gui le Bouteillier, a shrewd person, with a resourceful spirit for all that he undertook”. However, she had to capitulate, but Henry V offered her a chance to keep her fief on the condition that she swore an oath of fidelity to him and to marry her conqueror, Guy Le Bouteillier. According to Luce, she preferred to lose her fief and to benefit from a safe conduct to rejoin the dauphin rather than marry “the vilest traitor” (*Luce 1893*, “Perrette de la Rivière”, pp. 184-193). According to Roger, however, the main (if not the only) reason for her refusal was that the marriage contract stipulated the disinheritance of her two sons, born of her first marriage. Whatever the case was, in April 1419, the fief of La Roche-Guyon was confiscated by Henry V to the profit of his faithful servant Guy I Le Bouteillier and the donation was ratified by the English chancellery on 20 March 1420. In fact, the marriage of Guy I Le Bouteillier and of Catherine de Gavre no doubt took place about 1425, seeing that their eldest son Guy II Le Bouteillier was aged about 13 on 16 May 1440, the date of an inquiry relating to his father's inheritance (*Roger 1978*, p. 308, note 223).

Moreover, how can it be explained that a young lady of good Flemish nobility could have married an ordinary, petty Norman nobleman? In the first place, it is necessary to recall that Guy Le Bouteillier had climbed the social ladder and that Catherine de Gavre was the youngest sister in a very large family. In the second place, at the time of the marriage of Guy Le Bouteillier and Catherine de Gavre, the Count of Flanders was the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe III, the Good, who was an ally of the English since 1420 and he remained as one until 1435.

9—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Isabelle de Ghisteltes, Wife of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix

The proof of the father and mother of Isabelle de Ghisteltes, wife of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, is found in a combination of the following two documents.

- First, the name of Isabelle (or Ysabeau) de Ghisteltes, wife of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, is attested to notably by their will of 11 May 1416 (Archives municipales de Gand, série 330, no. 16, fo. 75-76, and exécution, no. 17, fo. 47; referenced in *Roger 1978*, p. 307 and summarized in *Liedekerke 1957*, pp. 212-215).
- Second, the paternal and maternal families of Isabelle de Ghisteltes, wife of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, are attested to by the arms which are represented on a commemorative plaque concerning Marguerite de Gavre d'Escornaix, abbess of Nivelles from 1443 to 1462, and younger daughter of Arnould VI de Gavre and Isabelle de Ghisteltes: "A very beautiful engraved and enameled brass plaque, decorating the collegiate church of Sainte-Gertrude in Nivelles [Belgium] ... and bearing the arms of the abbess, parted for Gavre-Escornaix and Ghisteltes with a franc-quartier for Luxembourg, as well as Gavre-Ghisteltes-Roye-Dudzeele in its four quarters" [our translation] (*Liedekerke 1957*, p. 220).

See Appendix, Illustration 2, Marguerite de Gavre d'Escornaix's Commemorative Plaque

Isabelle de Ghisteltes is thus the daughter of a Ghisteltes and of a Dudzeele.¹⁶ At that time there was only one known Ghisteltes-Dudzeele couple: the couple formed by Roger de Ghisteltes and Marguerite de Dudzeele [*Dumont 1775*, pp. 156-157 and 165-166; *Du Hays 1863*, pp. 61, 73, 240 and 241; *Limburg Stirum 1868*, pp. 136-141; *Schwennicke 1978*, vol. VII, table 94 (Gavre), and 96-97 (Ghisteltes)].

The Ghisteltes arms were "*De gueules au chevron d'hermine*" (*Limburg Stirum 1868*).

Therefore, Isabelle de Ghisteltes, wife of Arnould VI de Gavre, Baron of Escornaix, is the daughter of Roger de Ghisteltes and of Marguerite de Dudzeele.

10—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Roger de Ghisteltes, Husband of Marguerite de Dudzeele

Genealogists agree on the names of the father and mother of Roger de Ghisteltes: they name them as Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghisteltes, and Marie de Haverskerke [*Dumont 1775*, pp. 156-157 and 165-166; *Du Hays 1863*, pp. 61, 73, 240 and 241; *Limburg Stirum 1868*, pp. 136-141; *Schwennicke 1978*, vol. VII, table 94 (Gavre), and 96-97 (Ghisteltes)]. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that although Dumont and Du Hays are affirmative, Limburg Stirum and Schwennicke emit doubt about their identity. As, in their Ghisteltes genealogies, Du Hays follows Dumont, while Schwennicke follows Limburg Stirum, we are confining ourselves to the affirmations of Dumont and Limburg Stirum.

¹⁶ As Gavre is for her paternal grandfather and Ghisteltes with a "*franc-quartier*" of Luxembourg for her maternal grandfather, one deduces from the disposition of the arms on the plaque that Roye is for her paternal grandmother and Dudzeele for her maternal grandmother (*Nivelles*). The arms for Roye were: "*De gueules à la bande d'argent*." The Dudzeele arms were: "*D'argent au chevron de gueules*."

According to Dumont, who refers to an act of 1339:

VI. Jean. V. [sic] of the name, Knight, Seigneur of Ghistelles, Chamberlain of Flanders, married 1° Jolente, daughter of the Seigneur of Dorlens, who died on the day of St. Gregoire 1326; & 2° Marie de Haveskercke (*D'or à la fasce de gueules* [arms]) hereditary Dame of Straete, daughter of Pierre. It appears from this second marriage by the partition of the husband and wife made to their three sons named in it and present, sealed with the seals of their parents and friends dated 25 May 1339. The said Jean was killed at the Battle of Crécy on 24 August 1346 & left from his second wife: - 1. Jean, who follows; [...] - 4. Roger, reported after the posterity of his brother, & - 5. Gerard [our translation] (pp. 156-157).

Further, Dumont adds:

VII. Roger de Ghistelles, Knight, Seigneur of Straete, son of Jean V of this name, & of Marie de Haveskercke, his second wife, married 1° Marguerite or Anne, Dame, heir of Dutsele in 1357 [...] From the first bed came: - 1. Jean, who follows; [...] - 3. Isabeau, married to Arnould de Gavre, Knight, Seigneur & Baron of Escornaix [our translation] (p. 165-166).

In other respects, according to Limburg Stirum:

Jean IV de Ghistelles, oldest son of Jean III and of Marguerite of Luxembourg (p. 136) [...] was killed at the Battle of Crécy, which was waged on 26 August 1346 (p. 138) [...].

According to the epitaph which covered his tomb, Jean IV de Ghistelles was buried in the choir of the Ghistelles church, next to his wife Marie or Marguerite de Luxembourg. This Dame of Luxembourg was the daughter of Waleram de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Ligny and of Jeanne de Beauvoir, and died in June 1337.

Lacking any authentic acts, I can only put forth certain facts about the alliances of this Seigneur of Ghistelles.

First of all, they give him as a wife Yolante, daughter of the Seigneur of Dorles or Dorlens who died on St. George's Day in 1326; she was buried in the nave called the chancel of Notre-Dame in the church of Ghistelles. According to the order of dates, it would be necessary to assign him as a second wife Marie or Marguerite de Luxembourg, about whom we have spoken. He is also given as a wife Marie de Haveskerke, who was still alive in 1350, and in this case would have been his third wife. It is positive that there was, at this time, an alliance between the house of Ghistelles and of Haveskerke; all the writers, who have been interested in the Ghistelles family, are unanimous on this point.

We know two children of Jean IV, sire de Ghistelles.

1° Jean V, who follows.

2° Marie de Ghistelles (...)

3° I believe we should be able to count among the children of Jean and of Marie de Haveskerke: Roger de Ghistelles, who founded the branch of the Seigneurs de Dudzeele [our translation] (pp. 139-141).

The following four series of facts tend to confirm Dumont's assertions and Limburg Stirum's supposition about Roger de Ghistelles.

In the first place, an act of 25 May 1339, reported by Dumont, attests to the existence of a Roger de Ghistelles, son of Jean de Ghistelles and of Marie de Haverskerke (*Dumont 1775*, pp. 156-157). In addition, according to Le Fort, the brothers Jean, Roger and Gérard de Ghistelles were all three present at the defense of Audenarde against the Gantois in 1379 (*Manuscrits généalogiques de J.E. et J. H. Le Fort*, "Généalogies de familles nobles: De Ghistelles," fo. 122, 124 and 128; LDS microfilm no. 0451877).

In the second place, this Roger de Ghistelles was the grandson of a (female) Luxembourg. In fact, the Luxembourg arms, associated with those of Ghistelles, are on a commemorative plaque concerning Marguerite de Gavre d'Escornaix, abbess of Nivelles and younger daughter of Arnould VI de Gavre and of Isabelle de Ghistelles: "A very beautiful engraved and enameled brass plaque, decorating the collegiate church of Sainte-Gertrude in Nivelles [Belgium] ... and bearing the arms of the abbess, parted for Gavre-Escornaix and Ghistelles with a franc-quartier for Luxembourg, as well as Gavre-Ghistelles-Roye-Dudzeele in its four quarters" [our translation] (*Liedekerke 1957*, pp. 210 and 220). Thus Isabelle de Ghistelles descends from the Luxembourgs. Considering that the alliances between these two illustrious families are well-known, she was the great-granddaughter of Jean III de Ghistelles and of Marguerite de Luxembourg whose descendants have perpetuated the memory of this high alliance by the addition of a franc-quartier for Luxembourg with the Ghistelles arms.

In the third place, Jean I de Ghistelles, son of Roger de Ghistelles, as well as his descendants, qualified as Seigneur of Straten (Straete) by Schwennicke. In other respects, according to Dumont (followed by Du Hays), Roger de Ghistelles himself was the Seigneur of Straten and Marie de Haverskerke, his mother, based on our research, was the Dame of Straten.

Richard III, Seigneur of Straten, deceased 7 March 1284, married for the first time before 1 October 1249 to Marguerite, daughter of Goswin de Varsenare and he had, in addition to his son and heir Guillaume II, Seigneur of Straten, two unnamed daughters mentioned in a document of 28 August 1266 with their brother Guillaume (*Warlop 1968*, "Straten", pp. 552 and 556). According to Piot, who follows Butkens, one of these daughters was Marie de Straten, married to Pierre de Haverskerke, Knight, who were the father and mother of Marie de Haverskerke, married to Jean de Ghistelles (*Piot 1877*, p. 41; according to *Butkens 1724*, "Généalogie de Ghistelles", vol. II, supplement (1726), p. V). Nevertheless, neither Marie de Straten nor her daughter Marie de Haverskerke was the Dame of Straten in the unique sense or the main heiress of the seigneurie of Straten, given that Guillaume II, Seigneur of Straten and brother of Marie de Straten, left children (*Warlop 1968*, "Straten", pp. 552 and 556; *Piot 1877*, pp. 41-44). Nevertheless, it would be through the marriage of Jean IV de Ghistelles and of Marie de Haverskerke that the seigneurie of Straten would have entered (at least in part) into the heritage of the Ghistelles in the person of Roger, the only son and heir of Marie de Haverskerke. The devolution of the seigneurie of Straten would thus prove the paternal as well as maternal filiation of Roger de Ghistelles.

In the fourth place, it is stated that the second son of Arnould VI de Gavre and of Isabelle de Ghistelles was named Gérard. This first name, unknown before this time in the Gavre family, was likely passed to the Gavres through the Ghistelles alliance. In fact, it was carried by a brother and grandson of Jean IV de Ghistelles, and it entered into the onomastic inheritance of the Ghistelles house through the presumed ancestors of Roger de Ghistelles, that is to say, Jean III de Ghistelles and Marguerite de Luxembourg, who was the daughter of Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy.

Therefore, Roger de Ghistelles, Marguerite de Dudzeele's husband, is the son of Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles and of Marie de Haverskerke.

11—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles, Husband of Marie de Haverskerke

The proof of the father and mother of Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles, husband of Marie de Haverskerke, is found in a combination of the following two documents.

- First, an act of transfer of ...1303, by which Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, and his second wife Isabeau, Dame of Oudenbourg, ceded some lands at Ghistelles, made clear that Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, promises to have this transfer ratified by his children from his first marriage, *Jean*, Gérard, Wulfard, Charles and Marguerite, at the age of their majority (*Limburg Stirum* 1868, p. 129; supporting document no. XLI). Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles, is thus the son of Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles and of his first wife, Marguerite de Luxembourg.
- Second, an act of Jean V, Seigneur of Ghistelles, dated ...1365, names his grandmother "Marguerite, daughter of Sieur Gérard de Luxembourg, Dame of Durbuy" [our translation]:

Mynheer Jan heer van Ghistele en van Ingelmunster (myn heer Jan f. myns heeren) houd een leen ... van ij^e lib. par. siarers op den tho ten Damme, do welke hem toecomen zyn van der doot mynen heer van Ghistele sinen vader ende van vrouwe Magriet f. heer Gherards van Lutsenborgh vrouwe van Durbuy zire ouder moeder, die hare gheghevene waren in recht huwelike. [My Lord Jan of Ghistele and of Ingelmuster (my Lord Jan son of my Lord) holds a loan ... of two Parisian pounds per year in Damme, which came to him from the death of my Lord of Ghistele his father and from Lady Margaret daughter of Lord Gherards of Lutsenborgh (Gérard de Luxembourg) Dame of Durbuy his grandmother, which was given to her in right of marriage] (Chambre des Comptes. Inventaire. no. 1072; referenced in *Limburg Stirum* 1868, p. 141, note 2).

Therefore, Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles, husband of Marie de Haverskerke, is the son of Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, and of Marguerite de Luxembourg.

12—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Marguerite de Luxembourg, Wife of Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles

The proof of the father and the first name of the mother of Marguerite de Luxembourg, wife of Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, is found in an act of 12 June 1289 where it says that "Gérars de Luxenbourgh, sires de Durby, et Mehaus, sa feme, dame de cel meismes liu; faisons savoir [...] ke comme ensi soit ke nous aïens ahieretéé no chiére fille Margherite, pour le mariage kele fait avoce mon seigneur Jean de Ghistele, chevalier, fil à noble home no bon et chier ami mon seigneur Jehan, seigneur de Ghistele, de Formeseles et de Le Wastine." [Gerard de Luxembourg, Sir of Durby, and Mehaus, his wife, Dame of the same place, make known (...), as it may be, we have willed (to) our dear daughter Marguerite, for her marriage she made with our Seigneur Jean de Ghistelle, Knight, son of the nobleman our good and dear friend Seigneur Jean, Seigneur of

Ghistelle, of Formeseles, and of Le Wastine.] (Chambre des comptes, Lille; cited in *Limburg Stirum* 1868, supporting document no. XXXIX, pp. xlvvv-xlix).

This document is confirmed by the act of 1365 of Jean V, Seigneur of Ghistelles, cited in the name of his son Jean IV, Seigneur of Ghistelles, and where Marguerite de Luxembourg is said to be the daughter of Gérard de Luxembourg and Dame of Durbuy.

As for the proof of the identity of "Mehaus" (Mahaut, Mathilde, or Maud), it rests on the fact that we only know of one wife for Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy. This would be Mathilde de Clèves. She is specifically named in the passage of the *Chronique de Hainaut* by Baudouin d'Avesnes, cited under his name (see the following section).

The Luxembourg arms were: "D'argent au lion de gueules, la queue nouée, fouchée et passée en sautoir, armé couronné d'or, lampassé d'azur, au lambel d'azur de trois pendants" (Anselme 1726, vol. III, p. 722).

Therefore, Marguerite de Luxembourg, wife of Jean III, Seigneur of Ghistelles, is the daughter of Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy, and of Mathilde de Clèves.

13—Proof of the identity of the father and mother of Mathilde de Clèves, wife of Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy

The proof of the father and mother of Mathilde de Clèves, wife of Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy, is found in the *Chronique de Hainaut* by Baudouin d'Avesnes:

Après ce morut la duchesse mahaus, et li dus Henris de Louvaing reprist a femme Marie, fille le roi Phelippe de France, qui avoit este femme le conte Phelippon de Namur. Si ot de li une fille qui ot non Ysabiaus. Celle Ysabiaus fut mariee a monseigneur Thieri de Cleves, qui ot de li une fille qui ot non Mahaus. Celle Mahaus fut mariee a monseigneur Gerart de Lucembourg seigneur de Durbuis. [After this Duchess Mahaus died, and the said Henris de Louvaing took as his wife Marie, daughter of King Phelippe of France, who had been the wife of Count Phelippon de Namur. He had from her a daughter named Ysabiaus. This Ysabiaus married our Seigneur Thieri de Cleves, who had from her a daughter named Mahaus. This Mahaus married our Seigneur Gerart de Lucembourg Seigneur of Durbuis] ("Chronicon Hanoniense quod dicitur Balduini Avennensis," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, vol. XXV, Hannover, 1880, p. 426, lines 49-53 [this is what we refer to as the *Chronique de Hainaut* by Baudouin d'Avesnes in our text])

The arms of Clèves were "De gueules à un écusson d'argent en abîme et une escarboucle fleurdelisée d'or, brochant sur le tout" (Rietstap 1884, vol. 1, p. 434).

Therefore, Mathilde de Clèves, wife of Gérard de Luxembourg, Seigneur of Durbuy, is the daughter of Thierry de Clèves, Seigneur of Dinslaken, and of Elisabeth de Brabant.

14—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Elisabeth de Brabant, Wife of Thierry de Clèves, Seigneur of Dinslaken

The proof of the identity of the father and mother of Elisabeth de Brabant, wife of Thierry de Clèves is found in the *Chronique de Hainaut* by Baudouin d'Avesnes cited under the name of her daughter, Mathilde de Clèves, wife of Gérard de Luxembourg (see the preceding section).

In addition, the proof for the the identity of her father is found in her marriage contract of 19 March 1233 in Louvain: "Theodoricus Dei gratia Comes Clevensis, cum vir nobilis Henricus Dux Lotharingiae, ex una & nos ex altera convenissemus, de matrimonio consummando inter Theodoricum filium nostrum primogenitum & dicti Ducis filiam Elisabeth [...] Actum Louanii anno MCC.XXXIII. Mense Martia, XIV. Kal. Aprilis." [Théodoric, by the grace of God, Count of Clèves, with the Noble Man, Henry, Duke of Lorraine,¹⁷ from the first and second part, whose marriage was conveniently consummated between Théodoric, our first born son, and Elisabeth, daughter of the said Duke, Act dated in the year MCC.XXXIII (1233) in the month of March, 14 (days before the) 1st of April (19 March)] (*Butkens 1724, Preuves*, p. 74: "Des registres de Brabant").

The Brabant arms were "*De sable au lion d'or*" (*Anselme 1726*, vol. II, p. 788).

Therefore, Elisabeth de Brabant, wife of Thierry de Clèves, is the daughter of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, and of Marie de France.

15—Proof of the Identity of the Father and Mother of Marie de France, Wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant

The proof of the father of Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, is found in the following documents.

- On one hand, the father of Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant is named, among others, in the following two accounts:
 - In the first place, the father is named in the *Chronique de Hainaut* by Baudouin d'Avesnes, cited with the name of his granddaughter Mathilde de Clèves, wife of Gérard de Luxembourg, he was Philippe (II), King of France.
 - In the second place, he is named in the great Chronicles of France, where it was written that "en cele année [1212] assembla li Rois Phelippe un concile à Soissons lendemain de Pasques flories. A ce concile furent tuit li baron du roiaume et li Dux de Breban, à cui li Rois dona Marie sa fille, qui devant ce ot esté fame au Conte Phelippe de Namur, et li dux l'espousa sollempnement apres les octaves de Pasques" [in that year (1212) King Philip assembled a council at Soissons the day after Easter. At this council all the barons of the kingdom were present and the Duke of Breban (Brabant), to whom the King gave Marie his daughter, who had previously been the wife of the Count Phelippe de Namur, and the Duke married her solemnly after the octaves of Easter (the day after the eighth day after Easter)] ("Les Gestes de

¹⁷ During the Middle Ages, Brabant was often referred to as *Basse-Lorraine*. This was Lower Lorraine, not be be confused with *Haute-Lorraine*, that is, Upper Lorraine, or modern Alsace-Lorraine. The name Lotharingie, or Lotharingia in Latin, derives from the kingdom of Lothaire II (855-869) (*Larousse 1989*, p. 1400).

Philippe-Auguste, extraits des grandes Chroniques de France, dites de Saint-Denis", *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XVII, p. 388).

- On the other hand, the father of Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, was named in the following two acts relating to her marriage (cited in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XVIII, p. 657; summarized in *Delisle 1856*, p. 327).
 - In the first place, he is named in an act drawn up at Soissons in April 1212 by which "Henricus Dux Lotharingiae, etc. Noveritis me jurasse super sacrosancta domino meo Philippo Regi Franciae illustri, quod ego in crastino octavarum instantis Paschae ducam in uxorem Mariam filiam ejus." [Henry, Duke of Lorraine, etc., solemnly swore before me, Philippe King of France, his most sacred and illustrious sovereign, that the day following the octave of Easter (that year, the day following the octave of Easter was 22 April) (he) married his (the king's) daughter Marie].
 - In the second place, he was named in an act drawn up at Soissons in April 1212 by which: "Philippus, Dei gratia, Francorum Rex, etc. Noveritis quod nos dilecto et fidei nostro Henrico Duci Lotharingiae promissimus bona fide, et in animam nostram jurari fecimus, quod in crastino dominicae instantis qua contabitur Quasimodo, Mariam filiam nostram cum dotalitio suo eidem, dabimus in uxorem." [Philippe, by the grace of God, King of the French, etc. be it known that we have promised to our beloved and faithful Henry, Duke of Lorraine, and we have made an oath in our heart (or on our soul), that tomorrow, the coming Sunday, which is called Quasimodo (that year, Quasimodo, the first Sunday after Easter, fell on 22 April), we will give our daughter, with her dowry, to the aforementioned as his wife.]

The proof for the mother of Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, is found in particular in the combination of the following three accounts of the "*gestes*" (exploits) of Philippe II *Auguste*, King of France.

- First, according to Rigord, the King's chronograph, Philippe II, King of France, married Marie (*sic*) de Méranie in June 1196 and she died in 1201 after having given him two children: Philippe and Jeanne.

Eodem anno [1196] et eodem mense [junio], Philippus Rex duxit uxorem nomine Mariam, filiam Ducis Meraniae et Bohemiae, marchionisque Hystriae [...] Anno 1201 [...] de qua Rex Francorum susceperat filium nomine Philippum et filiam nomine Johannam. Quinque enim annis contra legen et Dei decretum eam habuit et tenuit. Post mortem vero ipsius Mariae, ad petitionem Regis Francorum Innocentius Papa III infantes praedictos legitimos haeredes esse mandavit. [In this year (1196) and in this month (June), King Philippe took as his wife one named Mariam, daughter of the Duke of Meranie and Bohemia, and Marquis of Istrie¹⁸ (...) in the year 1201 (...) from whom the French King had a son named Philippe and a daughter named Jeanne. Five years after the legal

¹⁸ Méranie is also called Meran. It is modern-day Merano in the Tyrol of Italy. Bohemia is now the Czech Republic. Istrie is in Croatia. It is a peninsula on the Adriatic coast. Agnès de Méranie, sometimes called Marie, was a member of the Counts of Andechs family from central Europe (*Schwennicke 1978*, vol. I, table 36).

contract of his marriage before God, his posterity was decreed as illegitimate. After the death of the said Marie, the French king petitioned Pope Innocent III to proclaim his children as his legitimate heirs.] (“Gesta Philippi Augusti, Francorum Regis, descripta a magistro Rigordio, ipsius Regis chronographe,” *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XVII, pp. 46 and 54.)¹⁹

- Second, according to Guillaume le Breton, the King’s chaplain, the two children of Philippe II, King of France, and of Agnès de Méranie were named Philippe and Marie: “Anno Domini MCCI [...] Philippus puer et Marie soror ejus, quos Philippus Rex ex superinducta genuerat, a Papa Innocentio legitimantur. Eodem anno [...] obiit eadem superinducta Regina, Marie scilicet.” [In the year of our Lord MCCI (1201) (...) the boy Philippe and his sister Marie, whom the King Philippe had fathered by his supplementary queen, are legitimized by Pope Innocent. In the same year (...) the same supplementary queen, Marie died.] (“Gesta Philippi Augusti, Francorum Regis, auctore Wilhelmo Armorico, ipsius Regis capellano,” *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XVII, p. 75).
- Third, according to the Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, Philippe II, King of France, married Marie, daughter of the Duke of Méranie and Marquis of Istrie, by whom he fathered Philippe, Count of Boulogne, and the wife of the Duke of Louvain: “MCXCVII. [...] Philippus rex Franciae duxit in uxorem Mariam filiam ducis Meraniae et Bohemiae marchionisque Histriae, de qua poste genuit Philippum comitem Boloniae et exuorem ducis de Lovanio” [MCXCVII (1197). (...) Philippe King of France married Mariam daughter of the Duke of Meranie and Bohemia and Marquis of Istrie and begot Philippe, who become count of Boulogne, and the woman became the spouse to the duke of Louvain] (“Chronicon Guillelmi de Nangis, sive Nangiaci, monachi Sancti Dionysii in Francia, Oridnis Sancti Benedicti”, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XX, p. 748).

As Philippe II, King of France, only had one son from his first wife, Isabelle de Hainaut, and that he had no children from his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, can only be the daughter of Agnès de Méranie, in accordance with the third account (*Schwennicke* 1978, vol. II, tables 11-12).

Finally, the identity of Agnès de Méranie, wife of Philippe II, King of France, is proven notably by the letter of Pope Innocent III, legitimatizing the children “quos ei [Philippus Rex Franciae] nobilis mulier quondam filia nobilis viri Ducis Meraniae peperit” [whom the noble woman, formerly the daughter of the noble man Duke of Méranie, bore for him (Philippe King of France)] (the complete text from the letter of Pope Innocent III is in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIX, pp. 406-407).

The arms of France were “D’azur semé de fleurs de lys d’or” (*Anselme* 1726, vol. I, p. 76).

Therefore, Marie de France, wife of Henri I, Duke of Brabant, is the daughter of Philippe II *Auguste*, King of France, and of Agnès de Méranie.

¹⁹ Philippe II had repudiated his wife Ingeborg of Denmark to marry Agnès de Méranie, against papal wishes. Consequently, this marriage and its children had been considered illegitimate. That is why, after the death of Agnès de Méranie, Philippe II asked Pope Innocent III to legitimatize their two children, which the pope acquiesced to do.

Epilogue

Philippe II *Auguste*, King of France, descends several times from Charlemagne. Descents from Charlemagne can also be found for his wife Agnès de Méranie and his son-in-law Henri I, Duke of Brabant (*Anselme 1726, Brandenburg 1935, Isenburg 1960, Schwennicke 1978, Werner 1967,...*). Any descendant of Catherine de Baillon, curious enough to explore the multiple lines which connect him or her to Charlemagne, will be amused by the numerous lineage possibilities!

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²⁰ These two pieces have been translated in Gail F. Moreau, trans., and John P. Dulong, ed. "Archange Godbout's Baillon, de Marle, and Le Sueur Families of France." *Michigan's Habitant Heritage* 13:2 (April 1992): 40-51.

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²¹ There exists an English edited translation of this manuscript: Gail F. Moreau, trans., and John P. DuLong, ed., in collaboration with René Jetté. "The de Marle Livre de Raison: Gateway Document to a Royal Lineage." *The American-Canadian Genealogist*, 4 part series: Part I: The Louviers Manuscript as a Key to a Royal Pedigree, 10:4 (Winter 1993): 4-8; Part II: The Louviers Manuscript, 19:2 (Spring 1993): 42-45; Part III: Translation of the Louviers Manuscript, 19:3 (Summer 1993): 116-125; and Part IV: Evaluating the Manuscript, 19:4 (Fall 1993): 153-158.

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Das Nachleben. Düsseldorf (Germany): Wolfgang Braufels & Percy Ernst Schramm, 1967, pp. 403-482, and genealogical table.

Appendix: Illustrations, Map, and Tables



Illustration 1, Catherine de Gavre's Seal

Plaster cast impression of the seal of Katherine de Gavre from the Archives nationales de France, La Salle de Sigillographie et d'Héraldique, Pièces originales, no. 2018. The inscription reads: "S Katherine le boutellier dame de la rocheguiö." The seal is described as: "Écu d'hermine à une grande fleur de lys, parti d'un plain à une bordure d'hermine, un chevron brochant sur le tout; timbré d'un buste de sainte Catherine couronnée, de face, tenant une palme et une roue." This seal can be found on several receipts of the Receiver General of Normandie dated 4 January, 11 April, and 11 July 1439 (*Roman 1909*, vol. 1, p. 231).

Illustration 2, Marguerite de Gavre d'Escornaix's Commemorative Plaque

Commemorative plaque for Marguerite de Gavre d'Escornaix displaying family arms, Ste-Gertrude, Nivelles, Belgium. From *Liedekerke 1957*, between pp. 220-221.



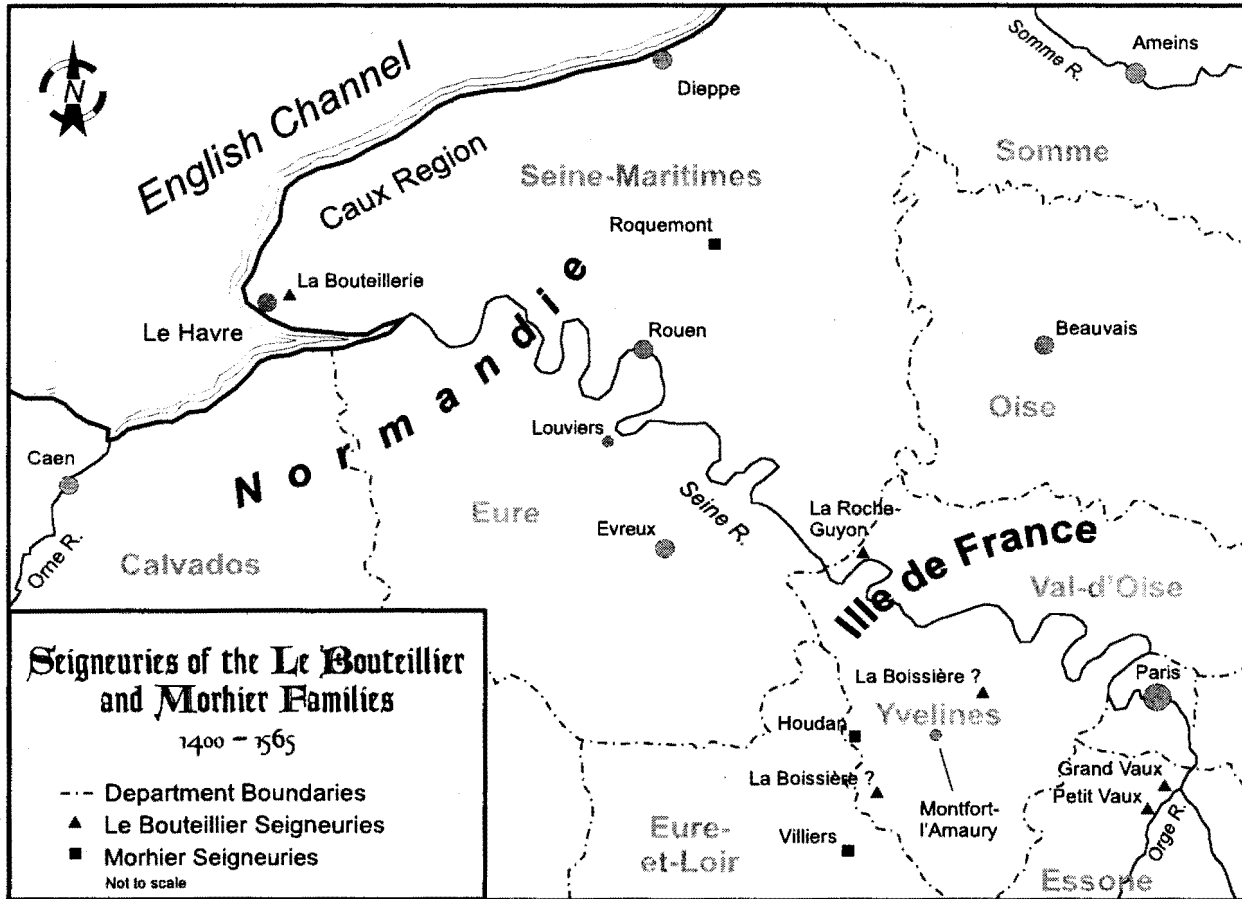
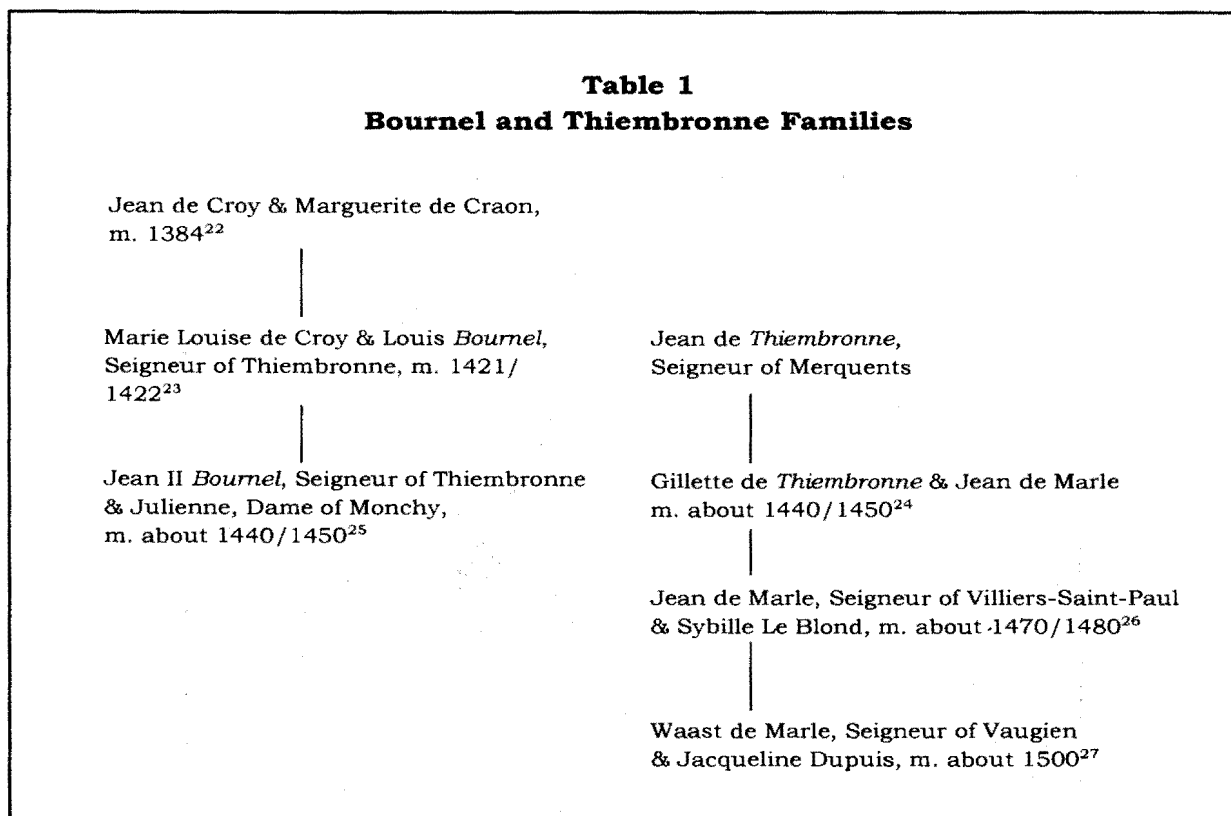


Table 1
Bournel and Thiembronne Families

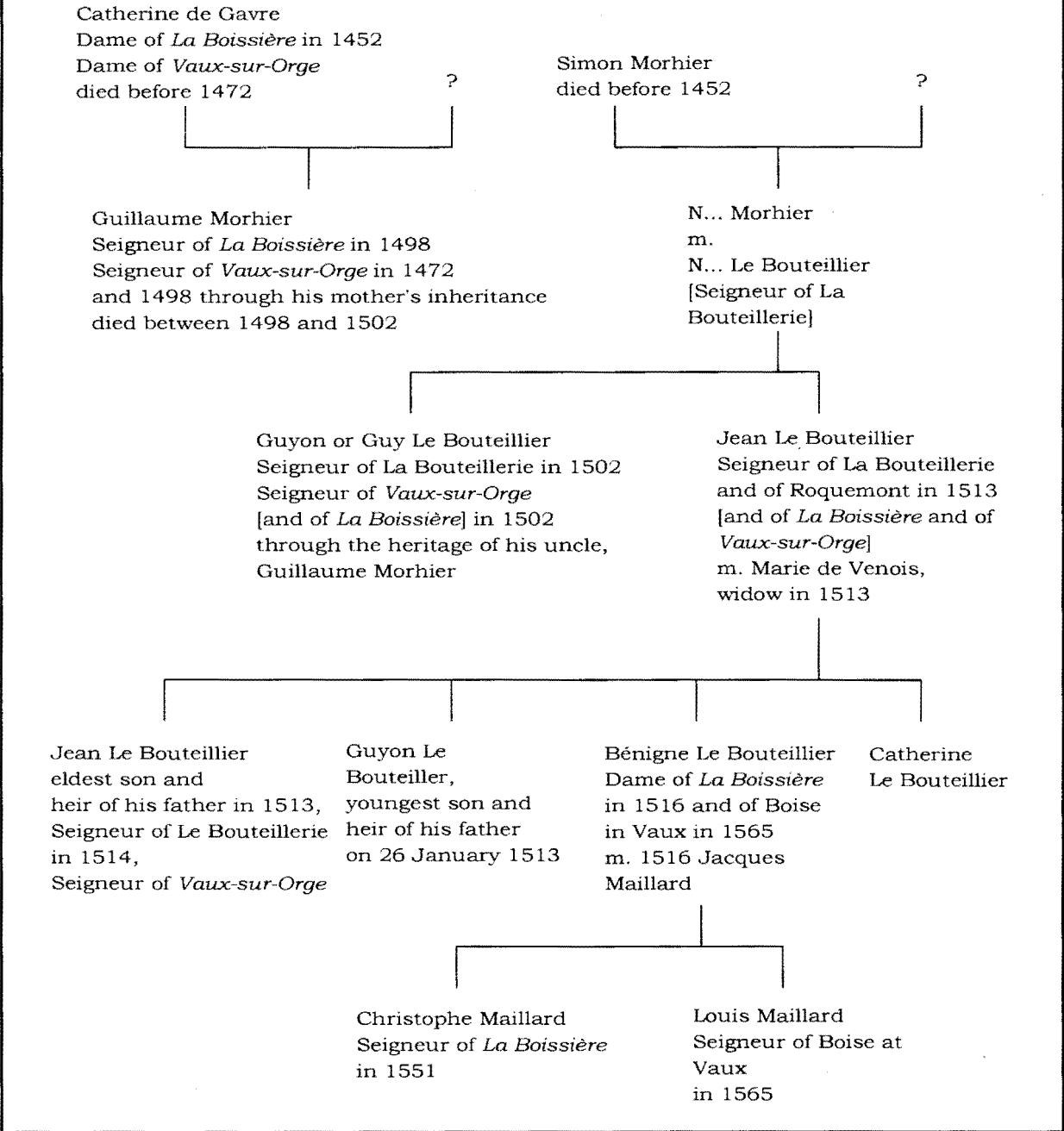


22. *Anselme 1726, "Croy", vol. V, p. 637.*

23. *Anselme* does not give the exact date of the Croy-Bournel marriage (*Anselme 1726, "Croy", vol. V, p. 637, and "Bournel", vol. VIII, p. 153*). However, apart from the fact that *Anselme* puts Marie Louise de Croy as the youngest one in her family, which would have made her born around 1400, rather than around 1390, the following incident has us place her marriage in 1421/1422. *Leroux* says that "en 1421, à la bataille de Mons-en-Vimeu, il [Louis Bournel] fut fait prisonnier par David de Brimeu, partisan du duc de Bourgogne, qui profita de la circonstance pour confisquer et donner au sieur de Croy et de Renty 'tout les revenus des ville, château et terre de Thiembronne [...] Louis Bournel rentra sans doute en possession de sa terre de Thiembronne par son mariage avec Marie Louis de Croy, fille de Jean, sire de Croy et de Renty' " [in 1421, at the Battle of Mons-en-Vimeu, he (Louis Bournel) was taken prisoner by David de Brimeu, a partisan of the Duke of Burgundy, who profited from the circumstance by confiscating and giving to the Sieur of Croy and of Renty "all the revenues from the city, château and land of Thiembronne (...) Louis Bournel, no doubt, returned in possession of his property of Thiembronne through his marriage to Marie Louise de Croy, daughter of Jean, Sir of Croy and of Renty"] (*Leroux 1912, p. 101*). *Anselme* adds that "il demeura prisonnier en une rencontre près de Mons en vimeu l'an 1421 et, après avoir payé sa rançon, il retourna à Gamaches, qu'il fut obligé de rendre en 1422" [he became a prisoner in an encounter near Mons-en-Vimeu in the year 1421 and, after having paid his ransom, he returned to Gamaches, which he was obliged to give up in 1422] (*Anselme 1726, "Bournel", vol. VIII, p. 153*). It can be believed that the confiscation of Thiembronne for the profit of Jean de Croy would not have taken place if Louis Bournel had already been his son-in-law, which sets the Bournel-Croy marriage after the battle of 1421 and more likely in 1421/1422.

24. The Louviers Manuscript and the de Marle genealogies preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale agree on the identity of the father and mother of Jean de Marle, Seigneur of Villiers-Saint-Paul, whom they name as Jean de Marle and Gillette de Thiembronne. These sources equally agree on the genealogical history of the oldest brother of Jean de Marle, Guille or Guillaume de Marle: "Lequel Guille de Marle filz aîné apres le trespas de sesdictz pere et mere a esté

Table 2
Devolution of the Seigneuries of La Boissière and Vaux-sur-Orge



seigneur des dictes terres de Merquenetz de Marle et de partie de Thiembronne et a este allye par mariage avecques damoiselle Jacqueline de Maunay" [Which Guille de Marle, eldest son, after the deaths of his said father and mother, was Seigneur of the said lands of Merquenetz de Marle and of part of Thiembronne and was allied through marriage with Damsel Jacqueline de Maunay] (*Louviers*, fo. h, verso $\frac{3}{4}$ see also B.N. *Dossiers bleus*, vol. 429, dossier 11488, fo. 34, and B.N., *Cabinet d'Hozier*, vol. 228, dossier 5952, fo. 39).

Consider, on one hand, that Jean de Marle, Seigneur of Villiers-Saint-Paul and husband of Sybille Le Blond, was married about 1470/1480 (see further on). On the other hand, his older brother, Guillaume de Marle, must also have married in the 1470/1480 period to Jacqueline de Mannay, daughter of Jean de Mannay and of Marguerite d'Enguinehaut, based on the fact that their son Me [Master] Nicolle de Marle, licensed in law, was a witness at the marriage of his first cousin Jérôme de Mannay, on 11 March 1509, and that the latter was the son of Lancelot de Mannay, Jacqueline de Mannay's brother, who was married on 25 March 1478 (*La Gorgue-Rosny 1874*, "Mannay" vol. 2, p. 939).

25. Anselme does not give the exact date of the Bournel-Monchy marriage (*Anselme 1726*, "Monchy", vol. VII, p. 555, and "Bournel", vol. VIII, p. 153). We can, nevertheless, suppose that based on the presumed period of Jean II Bournel's parents' marriage, this marriage (Bournel-Monchy) took place about 1440, at the earliest.

26. Their son, Waast de Marle, Seigneur of Vaugien, was married about 1500. In addition, their other son, Nicolas de Marle, Seigneur of the Falaise, was an adult in 1513 and the latter's son, Nicolas de Marle, married Marguerite de Biannoys on 9 June 1541 (B.N., *Carrés d'Hozier*, vol. 414, fo. 206).

27. Their daughter Paule de Marle married Pierre Hotman about 1520, because their son François Hotman was born on 23 August 1524 (*Godbout 1976*, pp. 205-207).