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Spangler, Jonathan (2017) Bridging the Gaps: The Household Account Books of Marguerite de Lorraine, Duchesse d'Orléans. *Annales de l'Est*, 2017 (2). pp. 69-85. ISSN 0365-2017

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Version: Accepted Version

Publisher: Universite de Lorraine

Please cite the published version

<https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk>

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Bridging the Gaps: The Household Account Books of Marguerite de Lorraine, Duchesse d'Orléans

History is written and perceived at many levels: popular, theoretical, empirical. The last of these categories, particularly for the medieval and early modern periods, is derived in large part from accounts, inventories, financial and legal transactions. These are rarely the inspirational materials which feed popular and theoretical histories. But empirical accounts are crucial to historians attempting to piece together the complete picture of any given historical period or place, filling in the gaps not included in the grandiose chronicles, state-sponsored narratives, or self-justificatory memoirs. Thus, less glamorous, less heroic, less vocal figures are usually left out of the popular vision of the past.

Such is the case for one of the top-ranking figures at the French court in the seventeenth century: Marguerite de Lorraine, Duchess of Orléans. She was nominally one of the most prominent women at the court of Louis XIV due to her rank, but is in fact almost completely unknown to posterity. Marguerite is sometimes mentioned in passing, as the sister or the wife of two of the Grand Siècle's notorious characters, Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, and Gaston de France, Duke of Orléans, respectively. Marguerite herself is not written about at all in the context of histories of France or the French court; this absence is highlighted by a comment made in a book chapter written only a few years ago by an eminent American historian—in fact a specialist of gender and of early modern France—who states that the court of Louis XIV in 1662 included only three royal women: the Queen, the Queen Mother and the King's first cousin, the duchesse de Montpensier,

better known as ‘La Grande Mademoiselle’.¹ In fact there were seven, including the King’s sister-in-law, Madame (Henriette-Anne d’Angleterre), three other first cousins (the younger daughters of the King’s uncle, Gaston), and their mother, the Dowager Duchess of Orléans, Marguerite de Lorraine, known in court language as ‘Madame Douairière’. The inclusion of these seven women within the royal family proper is evident from the titles by which they were addressed—‘Altesse Royale’—and by the precedence given to them over other princesses of the blood (who were only addressed as ‘Altesse’).²

The fact that Marguerite de Lorraine was present but made little impact on contemporary memoirs or narrative histories raises questions about the place of royal women outside the immediate circle of the King, particularly a king like Louis XIV who was supremely conscious of correctness of rank and of appearances. This article will demonstrate how household account books and other manuscript records can help us fill in the gaps of our knowledge about the position of one of the more outlying ‘satellites’ of the Sun King. Using household accounts also decreases our reliance on ‘bendable truths’, such as those presented in memoirs like those of Saint-Simon or La Grande Mademoiselle, both notorious self-promoters who often presented ‘facts’ to suit their own social or political aims. What can we say about the importance of this overlooked satellite court? This article will demonstrate overall that Marguerite de Lorraine, particularly as a dowager, as seen in the composition of her household, continued to rely on her connections with the nobility of Lorraine to provide stability after a long period of personal turmoil and displacement, but also continued to hold together elements of her late husband’s clientèle from his Orléans apanage. We can also see that this very devout woman continued to be a model of piety, a trait often attributed to her dynasty of birth, a useful commodity for public relations of the French royal house in this decade of royal scandal and moral laxity.

Marguerite de Lorraine’s life story has an air of tragedy about it: evidence from memoirs seems to suggest that she had psychological problems, identified by some as agoraphobia.³ Born into a deeply religious family, raised by her aunt the Abbess of Remiremont (and probably intended to succeed her), she was married quite suddenly at fifteen to Gaston d’Orléans, then in exile at the court of Lorraine,

1 - Kathryn NORBERG, « Women of Versailles, 1682-1789 », A. WALTHALL (dir.), *Servants of the Dynasty. Palace Women in World History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2008, p. 192.

2 - We could also include the first daughter of Philippe, Marie-Louise, born in 1662, and the Dowager Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, resident in France, bringing the total of royal women to nine.

3 - See portraits of Marguerite drawn from various sources by Patricia M. RANUM, *Portraits Around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Baltimore, self-published, 2004, p. 289-291 ; and by Georges DETHAN, *Vie de Gaston d’Orléans*, Paris, Fallois, 1992, p. 242-245.

then held in a suspended state, in constant fear of living in mortal sin, until her marriage was declared valid over a decade later.⁴ The stress of living in exile in Brussels apparently took its toll, and Marguerite is described as never leaving her chambers, or even her bed, once installed in the Palais d'Orléans in Paris in 1643.⁵ She is mocked for her inability to entertain the court adequately when it visited her husband's 'court in exile' at the château de Blois in the 1650s; she and her ladies were dressed in 'yesterday's fashions', and her daughters unprepared for court life.⁶

Marguerite's life transformed when she became a widow. Archival records from the 1660s show us how she established herself and her daughters in Paris, in half of the Luxembourg Palace (with La Grande Mademoiselle in the other half). Her primary focus was now to stabilise her life, by establishing a strong *tutelle* for her daughters, and paying off Gaston's sizeable debts.⁷ Accounts at the end of her life—the focus of this article—reveal more details about how she spent her money, organised her household, and maintained a twofold image of a woman of royal rank and of Catholic piety. They also provide us with valuable information about the identity of her household staff and point to important connections the Dowager Duchess maintained with her late husband's apanage of Orléans, the bourgeoisie of Paris, and, most importantly, the court nobility of her homeland, Lorraine. This article will therefore look firstly at Madame's reputation for piety in contemporary sources, the establishment of her independence in 1661, then the organisation of her household and some details of its consumption, and will conclude by examining the personnel links revealed in her accounts.

4 - Gédéon TALLEMANT DES RÉAUX, *Historiettes*, G. MONGRÉDIEN (éd.), Paris, Garnier, 1932-34, t. II, p. 176 ; Marie-Christine VIGNAL-SOULEYREAU, *Richelieu et la Lorraine*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004, p. 231-247.

5 - Sieur du DUBUISSON-AUBENAY (Fr.-N. Baudot), *Journal des guerres civiles, 1648-1652*, G. SAIGE (éd.), Paris, Champion, 1883-1885, t. II, p. 271, 10 août 1652.

6 - Duchesse de MONTPENSIER (A.-M.-L. d'Orléans), *Mémoires de Mlle de Montpensier, petite-fille de Henri IV*, A. CHÉRUÉL (éd.), Paris: Charpentier, 1858-1859, t. III, p. 375-376.

7 - Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Arsenal 4213, accounts of the liquidation of Gaston's debts, 1661.

1. *A Royal Woman of Devotion.*

In the 1660s, Marguerite de Lorraine was at last mistress of her own household, her husband Gaston having died in February 1660. This was a decade of (temporary) consolidation for the House of Lorraine more generally following the disarray of the previous three decades. Marguerite's brother, Duke Charles IV of Lorraine, had been in exile since 1634, with a brief restoration in 1641, and a longer restoration seemed on the cards following the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659 (though in fact Charles would once again be driven into exile in 1670). Marguerite's life had also been in disorder in the previous decades: even after her marriage to Gaston was recognised by the French church and the monarchy, she was soon after forced into internal exile following her husband's participation in the Frondes. Now as a widow, Marguerite successfully re-established her place in Paris, settling herself and her young daughters at the Palais Orléans (today the Palais du Luxembourg). Yet we know almost nothing about Marguerite in this decade; she rarely appears in contemporary memoirs or descriptions of the court, except for passing references to the mere existence of a 'Vieille Madame' (to contrast her with the new 'Madame', Henriette-Anne).

Those few contemporary sources that do mention Marguerite note her piety and her continued devotion to her faith, and to both her husband and to her homeland of Lorraine and its dynasty. Madame de Motteville gives a portrait of a woman who was essentially decent, but rather bland, and suffered from constant illnesses which mostly seemed to be in her head.⁸ Marguerite's own husband joked about her two chief loyalties—her faith and her province of origin—in letters he wrote to the Queen: 'Si je deviens dévot, je veux suivre vos leçons plutôt que [celles de ma femme]. A vous tout réussit, tandis que Madame est toujours malade et chagrine, et n'a encore pu avoir que des filles'; and to Cardinal Mazarin: 'Madame pour l'avantage de ses frères verrait volontiers brouiller toute la France. Quand vous voulez faire savoir quelque chose à Bruxelles, il suffit de le dire en sa chambre, le jour de l'ordinaire.'⁹ One of Gaston's gentilshommes, Nicolas Goulas, provides one of the few specific instances where Madame involved herself in politics: in 1647, the Regent Anne of Austria became ill and Marguerite plotted with the Maréchale d'Ornano (the widow of Gaston's former governor and favourite) to obtain the regency for Gaston. But the plot was foiled as soon as it began.¹⁰

8 - Madame de MOTTEVILLE (Fr. Bertaut), *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville sur Anne d'Autriche et sa cour*, M. SAINTE-BEUVE (éd.), Paris, Charpentier, 1855, t. I, p. 326-328.

9 - Both quoted in George DETHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

10 - Nicolas GOULAS, *Mémoires de Nicolas Goulas, Gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du duc d'Orléans*, Ch. CONSTANT (éd.), Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1879-82, t. II, p. 252.

Many of the lengthiest references come from her own step-daughter, La Grande Mademoiselle, and are mostly negative: the duchesse de Montpensier spent five long years battling Marguerite for control of the estate of Gaston d'Orléans, and in particular, the Palais d'Orléans, and her anger spills over into her memoirs. According to her, Madame was lazy, cared only for praying and for her Lorraine ladies and her daughters (whom she looked down on as half-Lorraine, not full Bourbons like herself). She was always sickly, and constantly eating to remedy her vapours, which only seemed to increase them.¹¹ Characteristically, in the midst of reporting on the first Dutch campaign of 1672, Montpensier wrote: 'J'avois oublié de dire que ma belle-mère mourut le second jour de mars de cette année-là'. In the days that followed, La Grande Mademoiselle begged off her responsibilities as chief mourner of the House of Orléans, forcing the King to give that job to 'La Petite Mademoiselle' (Marie-Louise), who was only ten.¹²

But Marguerite de Lorraine's devotion to piety was evident in the public eye : shortly after her arrival in France, she was responsible for the foundation of a monastery at Charonne (in the eastern suburbs of Paris), in 1644, and she continued to donate large sums there in the 1660s.¹³ The public could also see that towards the end of her life she was devoted to the Franciscan Order, and in particular to the Poor Claires in Alençon, and probably commissioned Marc-Antoine Charpentier to compose music for their services.¹⁴ Indeed, in her last years she herself took the habit of the Third Order of Franciscans in June 1671.¹⁵ Her reputation lived on in the public piety seen in her daughter, Isabel, duchesse de Guise. The ambassador from Berlin, for example, certainly noticed Isabel's dedication to good works,¹⁶ and the funeral oration given on Madame de Guise's death in 1696 noted the direct connection between the two women in terms of their piety and devotion to charity : 'elle écoute attentivement les leçons d'une vertueuse Mère'.¹⁷

Marguerite's piety, though understated, was crucial to the public face presented by the Bourbon monarchy in the early years of Louis XIV's personal

11 - MONTPENSIER, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 390 ; t. IV, p. 429-433.

12 - MONTPENSIER, *op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 325.

13 - BnF, Baluze Ms 273, fols. 182-188.

14 - This is indicated in the manuscript composition notebooks of Charpentier, Cahiers VI-VIII, H. 1, H. 236 and H. 283, which are examined in P. RANUM, *op. cit.*, p. 295-296.

15 - *Gazette de France*, juin 1671.

16 - Ézéchiél SPANHEIM, *Relation de la Cour de France en 1690*, É. Bourgeois (éd.) Paris, Mercure de France, 1973, p. 86.

17 - Eulogy at the Hôpital d'Alençon by Capuchin Jérothée de Mortagne, 11 May 1696, BnF, Ln27 9433. For example, Isabel created an academy to educate young noble boys under the protection of the *Enfant Jésus* in her parish of Saint-Sulpice. In her will, she designated over thirty institutions—convents, hospitals, schools—for charitable donations, across her domains (Alençon, Abbeville, Angoulême, Cognac, and Paris). BnF, Arsenal 6525, fol. 28. The will is fol. 218, also printed in BnF, Fonds Français 66117.

reign, the 1660s, a decade that followed the embarrassing royal powerlessness of the Fronde, replaced by the sexual and hedonistic years of the court of the young Sun King. Public piety was conspicuously employed to counter these public relations problems, orchestrated in particular by the King's mother until her death in 1666.¹⁸ Thereafter, the *dévot* faction at court was nominally headed by the queen, Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, but, as is well known, her abilities did not match those of her mother-in-law, and the Queen relied on other pious royal women to buttress her efforts, notably Marguerite de Lorraine, and later her daughter, Isabel d'Orléans, duchesse de Guise.¹⁹ This is Marguerite's historical importance—though limited—in the public face of the Bourbon monarchy, a Catholic monarchy in deeply pious counter-reformation France, a significance the King himself came to appreciate and emulate once he reached middle age in the 1680s.

2. *Establishing control.*

Louis XIV was keen to maintain control over his widowed aunt's household, as with all royal households, by ensuring that procedures regarding guardianships of any royal minors and successions would be regulated by the Parlement of Paris, and that these procedures would be overseen by the highest ranking servants of the state. In the creation of the *tutelle* for the Orléans girls in March 1660, the King took on the position of guardian personally, permitting their mother, Marguerite de Lorraine, only control over their education and the administration of their physical persons, but charging financial responsibility to the Premier Président of the Parlement, Guillaume de Lamoignon (a fellow *dévot*), and real day-to-day responsibility to a rising parlementaire, Claude Le Pelletier (the future minister of state and controller-general of finance).²⁰ In the settlement, the King notes that although a mother should naturally have full control, he feels this burden would be too great for his aunt, giving credence to suggestions of her weakness. Nevertheless, we do see Marguerite participating in financial matters of her daughters' *tutelle*, signing off the accounts relating to the succession of Marie de Médicis in January 1661, alongside Lamoignon and Le Pelletier.²¹ A decade later, in 1671, the King's

18 - Joseph BERGIN, « Anne d'Autriche et les dévots », Chantal GRELL (dir.), *Anne d'Autriche, Infante d'Espagne et reine de France*, Paris, Perrin, 2009, p. 187-207, especially p. 206.

19 - Marquis de SOURCHES (L.-Fr. du Bouchet), *Mémoires sur le règne de Louis XIV*, G.-J. de COSNAC et A. BERTRAND (éds.), Paris, 1882, t. I, p. 132 (note). Souches gives a mixed review of Mme de Guise, noting that she took care « to compensate for a very mediocre wit (*esprit*) through serious devotion » (t. I, p. 12).

20 - BnF, Joly de Fleury 120, fol. 237.

21 - BnF, Arsenal 6524.

Council intervened once again to maintain control over Marguerite's grandson, the duc d'Alençon, since his mother, Isabel, duchesse de Guise, was herself still a minor under law. Marguerite seems not to have been considered as guardian, and the King wanted to avoid the semi-royal child's affairs being controlled by his non-royal paternal great-aunt (and heir to his Guise estates), Marie de Lorraine, Mlle de Guise. In the end none other than Jean-Baptiste Colbert himself was appointed to the child's council to balance the interests of the Guise and Bourbon dynasties, as Colbert had been associated with the Guise for some time.²² This is clearly part of the ongoing struggle between the *princes du sang* and the *princes étrangers* for position and status in late seventeenth-century France.²³

In both of these royal wardship arrangements involving Marguerite and her offspring, a prominent royal counsellor was appointed to manage the actual administration of the minors' estates: Nicolas Pinette for the Orléans girls in 1661, and Jean de Joncoux for young Alençon in 1671. Household accounts reveal furthermore that the King is often present in Marguerite's financial dealings, notably paying the dowries of her daughters and later Marguerite's own funeral costs.²⁴ We see that in June 1662 the King formally guaranteed Marguerite's dowager residences of Limours and Montlhéry (southwest of Paris), which had been promised to her in her marriage contract of December 1643, as part of the 40,000 *livres* agreed for her *douaire*.²⁵ These properties were separate from the apanage of Orléans, which was returned to the Crown and re-granted to the King's brother, Philippe. The King also allowed Madame to retain the *engagement* of the Duchy of Alençon, against the protests of La Grande Mademoiselle. Alençon had been given to the Queen Mother, Marie de Médicis, as personal property, and was therefore part of the properties she willed to Gaston in 1642,²⁶ and which now passed to Mlle d'Alençon as part of the settlement with her half-sister La Grande

22 - BnF, Joly de Fleury 120, fol. 216; BnF, Clairambault 1204, fols. 179-222.

23 - See Jonathan SPANGLER, *The Society of Princes: The Lorraine-Guise and the conservation of power and wealth in seventeenth-century France*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009, p. 19-41.

24 - BnF, F-5001, Actes Royaux, no. 557, marriage contract of Marguerite d'Orléans and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; Archives nationales (AN), K 541, no 56, contract of Isabel d'Orléans and the Duke of Guise. BnF, Arsenal 6525, payment of 42,000 *livres* by the King, June 1672, to Mme de Guise to settle her mother's funeral costs.

25 - BnF, Arsenal 6525, fol. 200, letters patent of 19 June 1662, granting Madame the revenues of the counties of Limours and Montlhéry for her lifetime. Her marriage contract is BnF, Fonds français 17351, fol. 123.

26 - BnF, Cinq-Cents de Colbert 81, fol. 341, testament of Marie de Médicis, Cologne, 1642. The differences between *apanage* and *engagement* are discussed by Fanny COSANDEY, *La reine de France : symbole et pouvoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 2000, p. 94-97.

Mademoiselle in 1665,²⁷ though the revenues were given to her mother and used to run her household. This was between 20,000-30,000 *livres* a year,²⁸ though it was a bit higher in 1668 since the Duchy also generated revenues from sales of its ducal offices, and though most of these produced relatively small amounts, in 1668 the *lieutenant-général des eaux et forêts* died, and his office was sold for 5,000 *livres*.²⁹ We see also from accounts of 1668 that the douaire continued to be paid by the *recepte général des finances* of the Generalité d'Orléans.³⁰

Together the *douaire* and the *engagement* of Alençon generated about 70,000 *livres*, but Louis XIV had apparently greatly supplemented his aunt's revenue to allow her to maintain a household worthy of a royal prince: the *recepte* listed in the account from 1668 leads with a sum of 252,000 *livres* received from the Garde du Trésor Royal, discharging the *fermier général* of the Gabelles de Lyonnais for four quarters of payments. 252,000 *livres* is exactly the same sum given by the King to Monsieur's second wife to run her household upon her arrival in France in November 1671.³¹ It is perhaps astonishing to see that, unlike most of her royal or aristocratic contemporaries, Madame managed to live within a budget: the 1668 état gives her total yearly income as 307,139 *livres* and expense as 331,577; the état for 1672 (the portion before her death in April) was even better, at 100,153 *livres* income and 100,153 expenses, or 'pareille à la recepte', as her accountant proclaimed with satisfaction as he signed off that year's accounts.³²

3. Household Organisation: Royal Prestige.

Looking in greater detail, Marguerite de Lorraine's household records reveal useful information about her domestics, from her ladies in waiting to her kitchen staff. Most of the financial listings focus on revenues coming in and wages paid out, but some details are given for certain luxury items (150 *livres* for oranges, lemons and grenadines in 1671), food supplies (529 *livres* for one quarter of bread; 1,371 *livres* for a quarter of wine), or for work on her palace (220 *livres*

27 - The settlement of 1665 is printed in BnF, Factum 23503. Note that Marguerite is also heiress of her daughter the Duchess of Savoy, who had died in 1664 (BnF, Cinq-Cents de Colbert, fol. 420), and of her aunt, Catherine de Lorraine, Abbess of Remiremont, as seen in a lawsuit of 1666 (BnF, Fonds Français 16567, fols. 78, 500).

28 - Most of this comes from sale of wood in the châteltenie of Alençon, BnF, Arsenal 6525, fol. 2.

29 - BnF, Arsenal 6535, fols. 1-4.

30 - *Ibid.*

31 - Dirk VAN DER CRUYSSSE, *Madame Palatine, princesse européenne*, Paris, Fayard, 1988, p. 141, citing A. N., K 542.

32 - Arsenal 6525 and 6535.

to a plumber for work on the Luxembourg fountains in 1669 and 1670).³³ We can examine figures for how much people earned from serving in a royal household: 6,000 *livres* a year for her dame d'honneur, but only 660 for femmes de chambre, or 25 *livres* for the lowly blanchisseuse du corps. For the men, 4,000 *livres* for her premier maître d'hôtel, 1,800 for a gentilhomme servant, or 150 *livres* for an enfant de cuisine.³⁴

Using the accounts for 1672, the year of Marguerite's death, we can re-assemble the size and general organisation of her household.³⁵ Aside from a premier aumônier, the bishop of Tarbes, her ecclesiastical household included an aumônier ordinaire, four aumôniers per quarter, four chaplains per quarter, a cleric de chapelle, a sommier de la chapelle, and an aumônier commun. Her Chamber was presided over by a dame d'honneur, with two dames d'atour, la première femme de chambre, and seven femmes, plus the blanchisseuse. The Chambre also included two huissiers, a premier valet, two valets, a joueur de luth, a garçon de chambre, a premier medecin, a medecin ordinaire, an apoticaire, a chirurgien, a tailleur and a portemanteau. There had previously been some filles d'honneur, but the fact that these no longer existed (some had become femmes) is indicated by the payment that year of pensions, not wages, for the former governess, and a specific tailor, marshal and valets for the filles. There are also a portechaise and a ballayeur. The household was run by a maître d'hôtel ordinaire, four maîtres by quarter, three gentilshommes servants and a controller, and included five men in the panneterie, five in the eschançonnerie, ten in the kitchens, two in the buttery, two gardes vaiselle, a patissiere, a verdurier, three in the fruiterie, and eight others connected to the kitchens and dining service. There was also a tapisserie ordinaire and a fallotier. The stables were run by a premier écuyer, two écuyers ordinaires and four by quarter, plus an écuyer calvacadour and a controlleur général de l'écurie. There are pages (of unspecified number), who have their own governor and valet, and a master who taught them how to dance. The écurie staff also includes the normal array of palfreniers, postillons and cochers, and wages are paid to those who provide saddles, coaches, food for the horses, and so on. Wages are also paid a surintendant des finances, intendant de la maison, secrétaire des commandements and a trésorier. Finally, the household includes a maison militaire consisting of eight gardes françoises du corps, eight gardes suisses du corps, and their commandant, Sieur de Romecourt. The wage list concludes with a concierge of the Palais d'Orléans, a premier jardinier and a jardinier du palais. Altogether there are about 180 names in the household list for 1672, comparable to about 250

33 - Both of these details are from Arsenal 6525, fol. 25.

34 - Arsenal 6535 (1668).

35 - Arsenal 6525, fols. 6-18.

names listed for the household of the ‘new’ Madame, Elisabeth-Charlotte of the Palatinate.³⁶

5. Personnel and International Relations.

Besides settling her household, Marguerite’s accounts also reveal a subtle role for her in the international affairs of the Bourbon dynasty: Marguerite’s household supported several women from Lorraine, occupied territory since the 1630s. This accounts for the suspicious comments on Madame’s devotion to her ‘Lorraine ladies’ referred to above. At the same time, however, we also see a great deal of continuity of the clientèle networks remaining from the Orléans apanage of Gaston de France. Many names associated with Gaston’s household in the 1650s appear again in Marguerite’s household accounts in the later 1660s, and beyond, in those of her daughters: firstly, Isabel, Duchess of Guise, and then Marguerite-Louise, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, who returned to France in 1675 after her marriage fell apart and was the primary heir of her sister after 1696 (the Grand Duchess lived on until 1721). Some of the most prominent members of Gaston’s entourage were famous throughout France, for example, Tristan L’Hermite, Paul Scarron and Vincent Voiture (who was also Madame’s maître d’hôtel), their careers having benefitted from years of royal patronage.³⁷ All three of these men were dead by the 1660s, and Marguerite’s household certainly did not shine with such brilliance, yet Marguerite’s accounts do include a few names of men whose careers were boosted through Marguerite’s continuing royal connections—notably the writer Jean de La Fontaine, a member of Marguerite’s household from 1665.³⁸

More common, however, are the names of lesser known officers and servants who depended on this satellite court of the monarchy for their livelihood across multiple generations, many of them originating from areas in or near the Orléans apanage (Touraine, Anjou, etc). For example, Gaston’s treasurer Nicolas Pinette, Sieur de Charmoy (from the region near Montargis, on the edge of Orléannais), was succeeded by his son Jacques as finance officer for Madame, then secrétaire des commandements for her daughter Madame de Guise. Or Jacques de Courtarvel, Marquis de Saint-Rémy, from Maine, who served first as Monsieur’s then

36 - Dirk VAN DER CRUYSSSE, *op. cit.*, p. 150-151.

37 - George DETHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 235-236. A recent biography of Gaston d’Orléans focuses more specifically on his role as a patron of the arts: P. GATULLE, *Gaston d’Orléans. Entre mécénat et impatience du pouvoir*, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 2012.

38 - Listed as one of the « gentilshommes servans » (as « La Fontaine ») in 1668 : BnF, Arsenal 6535, fol. 5.

Madame's maître de l'hôtel.³⁹ Saint-Rémy's step-daughter, Louise de la Vallière (from a prominent family of Touraine) accompanied Marguerite's daughters from Blois to Paris in the early 1660s where she soon came to the attention of the King himself.⁴⁰ Saint-Rémy's daughter Catherine was one of several young girls in the household of Madame considered for marriage by her brother, Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, along with Marianne Pajot, daughter of the apothecary and the première femme de chambre of La Grande Mademoiselle (as will be explored below).⁴¹ The head of Madame's spiritual household was the bishop of Tarbes, Marc Mallier du Houssay, also from the Orléannais, who succeeded his father (who had entered the church late in life) as both bishop of Tarbes and as premier almoner.⁴²

Lower down the scale, the lists of household domestics reveal several brothers, fathers and sons, or husbands and wives serving together in various Orléans households. Guillaume Aubert had been valet of Gaston d'Orléans in 1644, but rose to the position of *fermier* of the duchy of Alençon for Isabel after 1673; Antoine Aubert (possibly his son?) served as *chef de fourriere* of Marguerite.⁴³ François Bailly was *valet de chambre* of Marguerite, then of Isabel.⁴⁴ Without further information, we cannot conclude much about the presence of numerous domestic staff with common surnames like Chevalier or Etienne. But occasionally, a clear detail emerges: Honoré de Mange, *garçon de chambre* of Marguerite in 1672, is undoubtedly 'Demange', *valet de garde-robe* for Isabel in 1684, and further listed as 'the only one of her parents' domestics still in her service' in her testament of 1695.⁴⁵ Was he possibly from Mangé in Anjou, and thus a further point of connection between the house of Orléans and the Loire valley of Gaston's former apanage?

One of the only scholarly articles dedicated solely to Marguerite de Lorraine, by Lucien de Warren, examines the connections between Madame and Lorraine, through her role in keeping her shattered family together by sheltering her brothers, Charles IV and Nicolas-François, and her nephew Charles (the future Duke Charles V), as well as her aunt, Catherine de Lorraine, Abbess of Remiremont, at Gaston's court in the 1640s-50s. According to Warren, as a woman who 'restée

39 - Listings of Madame's household from 1650 : *Estat des Officiers, Domestiques & Commençaux des Maisons, du Roy, de la Reine Regente, de Msr le Duc d'Orléans ... etc.*, J. PINSSON DE LA MARTINIÈRE, Paris, 1650, p. 86 ; 1668 : BnF, Arsenal 6535, fols. 5-31 ; and 1672 (the year of her death) : Arsenal 6525, fols. 3-18.

40 - MONTPENSIER, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 496.

41 - *Ibid.*, t. III, p. 497.

42 - Josef BERGIN, *The Making of the French Episcopate*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, p. 662-663 ; *idem.*, *Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004, p. 450.

43 - A. N., Minutier Central, CXVI, rep. 3 ; BnF, Arsenal 6525.

44 - BnF, Arsenal 6525 (1672) ; BnF, Fonds Français 66117 (1684).

45 - BnF, Arsenal 6525 (1672) ; BnF, Fonds Français 66117 (1684 and 1695).

Lorraine jusqu'au fond du coeur, on la voit saisir toutes les occasions de servir sa patrie'. She tried to reconcile Charles with his estranged wife Nicole, defending their marriage in letters to the Pope, and encouraged her husband Gaston to use his influence to push for Charles's restoration at the peace talks in Westphalia.⁴⁶

Examination of the household accounts reveals further details of Marguerite's ongoing connections with the nobility of Lorraine, though whether these connections were in fact used for any political or diplomatic purposes remains supposition in the absence of private correspondence or notes. A prime example of Madame's 'Lorraine ladies' is Madame da la Val, listed as 'previously' femme de chambre in the list of 1672, and recipient of a pension in 1668 (indicating she was already no longer in active service).⁴⁷ Further investigation in a variety of genealogical resources reveals her as Françoise Bon de Hazelach or d'Azelach (probably Haslach in the Vosges), widow of Charles-Louis de Laval (-sur-Vologne in southern Lorraine), previously one of Madame's maîtres d'hôtel.⁴⁸ It is likely she was a close relative to Etienne Bon d'Hazelot, prévôt of Saint-Georges de Nancy in 1649, and a counsellor and almoner of Madame.⁴⁹ Other names listed among Madame's household staff with likely Lorraine origins can only be guessed at, for example, Mlle de Remencourt, likely to be Agnès de Thomasson, a fille d'honneur in the early 1660s who later became a Carmelite nun, Soeur Thérèse (and there are pensions paid to a Soeur Anne-Thérèse in both 1668 and 1672).

Georges Dethan in his biography of Gaston d'Orléans singles out Claude de Hasselot, who appears in the accounts as Dazelot and d'Hazelot, which he identifies with the village in Lorraine, Azelot (but could it also be Haslach?).⁵⁰

46 - Lucien de WARREN, « Marguerite de Lorraine, duchesse d'Orléans, 1615-1672 », *Bulletin de la Société philomatique vosgienne*, 1882-83, p. 137-78 (quote from p. 159). Much of this article is uncited, but is supported by the study by F. BONNARD, *Les relations de la famille ducale de Lorraine et du Saint-Siège dans les trois derniers siècles de l'indépendance*, Nancy, Société d'archéologie lorraine, 1934, p. 86-89.

47 - Here and in the following paragraphs, the 1650 listing is from the *Estat*, the 1668 listing is Arsenal 6535, and that of 1672 is 6525.

48 - In the following paragraphs, genealogical material has been gathered from a wide variety of sources including the well-sourced online genealogical database « Roglo », by D. de RAUGLAUDRE [<http://roglo.eu/roglo>]; as well as more traditional sources such as Père ANSELME DE SAINTE-MARIE, *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, des Pairs, des Grands Officiers de la Couronne & de la Maison du Roy, ...*, Paris, 1726-33 ; François-Alexandre AUBERT DE LA CHESNAYE-DESBOIS, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, Paris, 1770-1786 ; and more specifically for Lorraine, Mathieu HUSSON, *Le Simple Crayon utile et curieux de la Noblesse des Duchés de Lorraine et de Bar et des eveschés de Metz, Toul, et Verdun*, s.l., 1674 ; and Ambroise PELLETIER, *Nobiliaire ou armorial général de la Lorraine et du Barrois*, Nancy, Thomas, 1758.

49 - Augustin CALMET, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Lorraine, ... depuis l'entrée de Jules César dans les Gaules jusqu'à la mort de Charles V, duc de Lorraine, arrivée en 1690*, Nancy, Cusson, 1728, t. III, p. cxvi.

50 - George DETHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 242-243. Unfortunately he cites no source for this.

The accounts for 1650 include ‘Dazelot première’, a fille d’honneur, and Mlle Dazelot, sub-governess of the filles d’honneur; and those of 1668 and 1672 list Elisabeth de Hennezel, Dame de Hazelot, première femme de chambre, and (her daughter?) Mlle Marguerite d’Hazelot, femme de chambre. There is also a Sieur d’Hennezel listed amongst the gentilshommes servans in 1668 (but not 1672). For all their numerical prominence in Madame’s household, I have been unable to identify them for certain, though it seems likely they are related to Madame de Laval, above. A family website for the Hennezels (one of the families of ‘gentilshommes verriers’ from the Vosges) lists a Marguerite Grugnet de Pesmes who married in 1650 Pierre-Louis de Hennezel, who was sometimes referred to as Sieur d’Oiselay (or Oizelay; could this be Hazelot?). She had the correct name and probable age; and she had a cousin (not daughter), Claudine de Hennezel (Dethan’s Claude?), who as a single woman, received a portion of her father’s estate in 1668. Claudine, whose father was the Sieur d’Avrecourt, might therefore be the ‘Mlle d’Avencourt’ listed as a fille d’honneur in 1650. But none of these listed on the Hennezel website are given any connection to the Orléans household (in fact, Pierre-Louis is shown as serving in 1668 in the army of Spain in Franche-Comté, where Oiselay is located).⁵¹

We are on much firmer ground with the family Des Salles, in part due to a publication of their family history in 1716.⁵² Again we have multiple representations in Madame’s accounts: in 1650 a ‘Mlle Dessales’ is probably Marie, from the branch of Vouthons.⁵³ She does not appear on the later lists, but instead we have, quite prominently, her cousins, Anne and Marie-Catherine, daughters of Henri des Salles, Baron de Vernancourt, Chamberlain of Duke Henri II of Lorraine. Anne became a dame d’honneur and is listed in the accounts as Dame de Crissé (or Crice, Cryssay), wife of Jacques Turpin, Marquis de Crissé (from Maine), while Marie-Catherine was governess of the filles d’honneur, and, like her sister, tied together the nobility of Lorraine and the Orléans apanage, through her marriage to Pierre de la Rable, Seigneur du Lude, from the Orléannais.⁵⁴ There is another cousin, Isabelle de Ludres (whose mother was Claude des Salles)—the famous ‘Belle de Ludres’, another mistress of Louis XIV—who has sometimes been wrongly associated with the household of Madame, since, as a canoness of the Lorraine abbey of Poussay, she was formally known as ‘Madame de Poussay’. When she fled Lorraine after being jilted by Duke Charles IV, she came to the French court

51 - The Hennezel family website [hennezel.net] lists the archives kept by the royal genealogist d’Hozier as its main source, which would be the logical place for future research on this topic.

52 - Charles-Louis HUGO, *Histoire de la maison des Salles, originaire de Béarn, depuis son établissement en Lorraine jusqu’à présent*, Nancy, Cusson, 1716.

53 - *Ibid.*, p. 43.

54 - *Ibid.*, p. 15.

where she served as dame d'honneur to the younger Madame (Henriette-Anne), then the Queen, before joining the household of the new Madame, Elisabeth-Charlotte of the Palatinate, in 1672. It is clear that this is not however the Madame de Poussay, dame d'atours, listed for Marguerite de Lorraine in 1668, whom La Grande Mademoiselle identifies only as the sister-in-law of the curé of Saint-Suplice (and whose daughter, Mlle de Poussay, became known as the subject of a poem of La Fontaine and the amorous advances of the son of Madame de Sévigné).⁵⁵ But 'La Belle de Ludres' aside, there were further connections between the households of Marguerite de Lorraine and her brother, Duke Charles IV. For example, Claude-Antoine de Maillart, Sieur de Villacourt, one of her Marguerite's écuyers, was son of a cavalry colonel of Charles IV (who was killed in 1639).⁵⁶ Antoine d'Estourmel, Sieur du Fretoy (or Fretois), another écuyer (in the état of 1650), had a daughter Charlotte, who in 1662 married Jean-Baptiste-Gaston de Tornielle, Marquis de Gerbéviller, one of the chief counsellors of Charles IV, who named him Chamberlain of Lorraine, Governor of Nancy and ambassador to Holland and England.⁵⁷

This connection leads us back to the topic of the fusion of the networks between the ducal houses of Lorraine and Orléans, an interesting counter-balance to the main Bourbon clientèle centred on the court of Louis XIV, which seems to have held together across the long period of the occupation of Lorraine by France. For example, the Marquis de Gerbéviller's sister-in-law, Angélique de Choiseul, was the daughter of Ferri, Comte d'Hotel, Premier Gentleman and Captain of the Guard of Gaston d'Orléans. Her cousin, Catherine-Blanche de Choiseul daughter of Charles de Choiseul, Marquis de Praslin, Maréchal de France, was the wife of Jacques d'Estampes, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault, Marshal of France, one of the inner circle of Gaston (d. 1668).⁵⁸ As Marquise de la Ferté-Imbault, she appears among the dames of Madame in 1650, and as the Maréchale d'Estampes, she is première dame d'honneur in 1668 and 1672. The Choiseul family, whose estates straddled the borders between France and Lorraine, had played a connective role between the two states for centuries, and would continue to do so well into the eighteenth century. A further clear example is another dame d'atour, the Dame du Deffand, who is most likely Anne-Madeleine Brûlart de Genlis (a relative of the

55 - Édouard MEAUME, « La Belle de Ludre et Mademoiselle de Poussay », *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, 1883, p. 406-415.

56 - Colonel Maillart's military career is found in Jean-Charles FULAINE, *Le Duc Charles IV de Lorraine et son armée (1624-1675)*, Metz, Serpenoise, 1997, p. 123-125 ; p. 138.

57 - Gerbéviller appears in the accounts of Charles IV for the year 1668 : Archives départementales, Meurthe-et-Moselle, B 1527, fol. 85.

58 - The Choiseul family appears in its multiple branches in ANSELME DE SAINTE-MARIE, *op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 811.

secretary of state Brûlard de Sillery and of the Colbert family), whose husband, Louis du Deffand, Marquis de la Lande (from a Burgundian family) was named Lieutenant-General of the Orléannais in the 1650s.⁵⁹ Her grandson would marry the woman from Lorraine more famously known to us as Madame du Deffand, the celebrated salonnière (Marie-Anne de Vichy-Chamrond).

But Marguerite's household staff were not solely derived from the Orléans or Lorraine clientèle networks. As wife of a *fils de france*, her household naturally also included provincial magnates from elsewhere in the Kingdom, or from the Parisian high bourgeoisie. For example her premier écuyer, the Comte de Sainte-Mesme (Anne-Alexandre de l'Hôpital), was from one of the leading noble families of Champagne. After Madame's death, he continued to serve as Chevalier d'honneur of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany (and his wife, Elizabeth Gobelin, her dame d'honneur); and indeed their son would also be premier écuyer of the Grand Duchess.⁶⁰ Another of Marguerite's ladies from the état of 1650 was the comtesse de Fontaine-Chalandré [today Fontaines-Chalendray], Louise de l'Aubespine, whose father was a President of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris, and whose brother Charles was Gaston's chancellor. Louise's mother was Louise Pot de Rhodes, from another prominent Parisian parlementaire family with strong connections to the King's court (as hereditary 'Grand Maître des Ceremonies'). Her husband was Jean de Montberon, comte de Fontaines, who was in the earliest years Madame's premier écuyer (d. 1645).⁶¹ Even earlier, at the very start of Marguerite's time as duchesse d'Orléans, one of her first ladies was the Dame du Fargis, Madeleine de Silly, who shared her exile with her in Brussels in the 1630s—but she too had a Lorraine connection, as a co-heiress of the seigneurie of Commercy. Nevertheless, her primary connections were with the world of the Parisian high society, led by her cousins the Marquise de Rambouillet and her daughter, Julie d'Angennes.⁶² Other members of the Parisian bourgeoisie certainly entered the household of Marguerite de Lorraine, such as members of the Jolly and Charpentier clans. These names appear frequently in all three account lists, but I have not been able to identify these specifically, nor has the biographer of the composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier, though she asserts that there must have been

59 - ROGLO, citing François de COLBERT, *L'Histoire des Colbert : du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, Les Échelles, self published, 2000.

60 - ANSELME DE SAINTE-MARIE, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 432. There is a L'Hôpital connection with Lorraine in the Maréchal de l'Hôpital (François, Seigneur du Hallier) who was not only governor of the occupied duchy, 1639-43, but also step-father and guardian of the children of the last Cardinal de Guise (Louis de Lorraine). In fact, the daughter of one of these children, Charlotte-Christine de Lorraine, was by the 1670s living at the Palais d'Orléans, under the protection of Marguerite's daughter, Madame de Guise.

61 - François-Alexandre de LA CHESNAYE-DESBOIS, *op. cit.*, t. X, p. 277-278.

62 - ANSELME DE SAINTE-MARIE, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 169.

links, since there are numerous indirect connections between the Charpentiers and the Orléans networks.⁶³

One clearly identifiable woman from this network of Parisians is Claude Souart, a *femme de chambre*, whose father was apothecary and *valet de chambre* of Gaston, and who married a *valet de chambre* (Pierre Buré, who died before 1668), then married Thomas Rolland, *Sieur de Valmont*, a counsellor and *maître d'hôtel* of Madame. Her brother Armand became an apothecary in the Orléans household (and married Marie Jobart, daughter of Dominique, Madame's secretary); his daughter Claude-Elizabeth Souart became *dame d'atour* of the second Madame (Elisabeth-Charlotte). Claude's sister Elisabeth was *première femme de chambre* of La Grande Mademoiselle, and wife of her apothecary, Claude Pajot. Furthermore, there is a connection with Lorraine, as Claude's cousins, Charles, Arnould and Charles-Henri Souart would become agents of Duke Charles IV and the principal *intendants* of his illegitimate son, the Prince de Vaudémont.⁶⁴

This links us once again to Duke Charles IV, whose marital interests in the early years of his restoration as Duke of Lorraine focused on Mlle Marianne Pajot, daughter of the above-named apothecary and Elisabeth Souart (recall his infatuation also with Mlle Marianne de Saint-Rémy).⁶⁵ Marguerite de Lorraine disapproved of such a *mésalliance* and succeeded in having Marianne Pajot incarcerated in a convent. As she herself wrote to her brother's confessor, Père Donat, Marguerite felt that she alone was holding the family together—according to her, Charles had even tried to take Mlle de Saint-Remy by force from the Palais Orléans, and she claimed that she had considered having her brother assassinated rather than bring about the family's shame through his behaviour. Père Donat himself, for many years a loyal servant, indicates the level of the Duke's madness in 1662, by writing that he was ready to resign rather than get caught up in this 'disaster' of the his master's entanglement with 'cette petite creature' (Pajot). For many years Donat had been a diligent servant of the Duke, trying to sort out the Papal dispensation required for him to remarry Béatrix de Cusance (without success); but after this incident, Donat resigned for eight months in protest.⁶⁶

63 - Patricia M. RANUM, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

64 - Souart appears in numerous financial and administrative documents in the BnF, Collection de Lorraine.

65 - The Duke even drew up a marriage contract with Marianne Pajot ; see BnF, Arsenal 676, fol. 140.

66 - Letters quoted in Charles LEESTMANS, *Charles IV, duc de Lorraine (1604-1675). Une errance baroque*, Lasne, Par quatre chemins, 2003, p. 262 ; and Jean FAVIER (éd.), « Documents inédits sur la vie privée de Charles IV », *Revue historique*, 1886, vol. XXXI, p. 73-97.

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We can see therefore that not only was Marguerite de Lorraine, duchesse d'Orléans, presenting a solid image of piety to the French public in the 1660s, more importantly she was preserving the honour of the House of Lorraine and its links with the House of Orléans and the elites of Paris. The household accounts under examination here do not tell us very much about her charities (though we have seen that at the end of her life she had a healthy *maison ecclésiastique*). What Madame's household accounts do reveal, however, is a fully royal household, sizeable, organised and financially stable. At the end of her life Marguerite de Lorraine was not a refugee, but a respected member of the French royal hierarchy. The accounts also give a clearer picture of one of the more interesting points of connection between the elites of Paris and one of many royal households that functioned independently of the king of France in the later seventeenth century—refuting the notion of a singularly dominant royal court. Moreover, it was also a household with connections with the elites of one of the largest royal apanages (Orléans) as well as a sovereign state on the periphery of the Kingdom (Lorraine). These connections would prove useful in preserving the notion of Lorraine independence, which was indeed achieved, long after Madame's death, following the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. It would be useful to extend this study to another similar border state, Savoy, in examining the composition of the household of Marguerite's daughter, the Duchess of Savoy, which would undoubtedly reveal similar connections and continuities. In the next generation, we can certainly see continuity in the household of Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans (daughter of Philippe) who brought ladies with her from Paris to Nancy when she established herself as Duchess of Lorraine in 1698. In fact the connections between the courts of France, Lorraine and Savoy stretch back several centuries, as brides were exchanged back and forth. In this sense, these household accounts allow us to bridge the gap not just between gossip and fact, but also between different courtly networks of the *ancien régime*.