
André des Bordes: An Episode from the History of Sorcerers in the Lorraine

Henri Lepage

Translated from *André des Bordes: Épisode de l'Histoire des Sorciers en Lorraine* in *Bulletins de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, VII (1857) by [Chris Slee](#), LongEdge Press, 2016

Translator's Note

Henri Lepage (1814-1887) was the author of several books and monographs on the history of the Lorraine, for which his work as the Archivist for the department of Metz (from 1846) allowed him unparalleled access to primary materials. He was named vice-president of the *Société d'Archéologie Lorraine* in 1848 and president in 1851. He was also a member of the *Société des Antiquaires de France* and the *Académie Nationale de Metz*.

The most sadly celebrated work which saw the light in the last of years of the sixteenth century is, without doubt, that in which the procuror-general of Lorraine Nicolas Remy¹ recounts, with a frightening impassivity, that close to *nine hundred* individuals were put to death under the accusation of witchcraft² during the fifteen years in which he exercised his functions.

Among the unhappy victims of this inconceivable belief, of this delirium which seized all minds, there are two men, among others, whose name belongs to history, as much as for the position which they occupied as for the exceptional circumstances which accompanied their ordeal: I want to speak of André des Bordes and of Melchior La Vallée.

I have already had occasion to say some words about the former,³ that is des Bordes, [and] the interest which his biography could offer. I would never have thought to collect the documents which concern him if the discovery of several pieces related to his trial had not been put to me presenting certain facts in a wholly new light.

These pieces form the most curious part of my work. The words which precedes them are only a type of introduction intended to make these pieces more intelligible to the reader.

Abraham Racinot, better known under the name André des Bordes, was born in Lorraine around the year 1582. We do not know his birthplace nor his parents' condition but we must presume that he belonged to a somewhat well-off family⁴ as he received a liberal education.

¹A French magistrate who made his fame as a witch-hunter

²*sorcellerie*

³Original footnote: *Les Chartreuses de Sainte-Anne et de Bosserville*

⁴*une famille assez aisée*

When he had attained a reasonable age, he demonstrated a desire to travel and left for Italy. His stay in that country developed within him a taste for the arts and literature but his inclinations carried him above all, as he said himself,⁵ towards the profession of arms and, if he frequented the museums and libraries, he was more assiduous still in the *salles d'armes*. Also, he became one of the most accomplished students of these famous fencing masters whose renown had made the rounds of Europe.⁶

After some years, having acquired the knowledge he sought, he returned to his native land. Thanks, no doubt, to an insinuating manner and a wonderful skill at bodily exercise, greatly honoured in this period, he knew how to gain admittance to the court of the Duke of Lorraine, Charles III, and was soon one of the favourites of Henri, Duke of Bar, eldest son and future successor to this prince.

Henri, weak, squandering, imprudent, was easily dominated by persons whom he saw each day and Racinot, who knew how to please him, was not long in making a great influence on his mind. The Duke of Bar chose him for his first valet or *homme de chambre*, as we say, and from the month of August 1606 he solicited and obtained from Charles III for his protégé a pension of 1,200 *francs barrois* both “for wages of the fencing master and for his training.”⁷

Abraham Racinot is already no longer known under his family name but under that of André des Bordes,⁸ which Henri, having become Duke of Lorraine, confirmed by letters patent of 7 August 1608. It also appeared that his favourite had taken a new title for in the same year 1608 we find him called a “gentleman following the duke”.⁹

Despite this title, des Bordes was not noble: this honour was only conferred on him 2 August 1609, with exemption from paying the usual moneys in such cases.¹⁰ The preamble to the letters of ennoblement show in what esteem he was held by his master:¹¹ “Having,” this last said, “put in singular recommendation the praiseworthy courage and merit which are in the person of our beloved and faithful André des Bordes, our first *homme de chambre*, and the good, loyal and agreeable services which he has made and given us since we called him close to our said estate, comporting himself there with such care and loyalty that he is worthy of great praise and recognition. . .” Before long, the duke recalled that des Bordes had not, “since his most tender youth, any other profession than that of arms and nobility.”

A few weeks after 29 June, Duke Henri gives his first gentleman of the chamber “in order to help him buy and pay for a house in this place of Nancy” a sum of 8,500 francs, payable in

⁵Original footnote: See in Lionnois (*Hist. de Nancy*, t.II, p. 347) the dedicatory letter of which we will speak before long

⁶*dont la renommée avait fait le tour de l'Europe*

⁷Original footnote: See registered with letters patent for the year 1608, folio 98. In the letters conforming the grant made to des Bordes by his predecessor, Duke Henri explains himself thus: “duly certified for the faithfulness and affection that we see daily, to our great contentment, the said des Bordes carryng in our service”. He continued to draw this pension until the death of Henri II. He had, as well, 100 francs in wages as the first valet of the chamber.

⁸Original footnote: It is probable that the name des Bordes is nothing more than the name of a property that Abraham Racinot owned near Nancy. From the 15th century, there was, outside the Notre Dame gate, a type of public garden intended for the citizens' amusement which was called *les Bordes* or *les Bourdes* (See M. Digot, *Hist. de Lor.*, t.III, p.141.) Racinot, thus giving his name a noble countenance, gave, by the way, an example which found numerous imitators.

⁹Original footnote: See in *Trésor des Chartes*, Bar Nicey, No. 103

¹⁰Original footnote: See the register of letters patent for the year 1609, fol. 113. The arms granted to des Bordes were a blazon “of azure, a savage man of gold, holding in his right hand a mace of the same, stamped with a savage new-born on a shield, with his bunting and metal in the above-mentioned colours.”

¹¹*il était près de son maitre*

17 equal portions.¹² This extraordinary and actually considerable gratuity was, according to all probability, accorded to des Bordes on the occasion of his marriage to Marie Olivier, a young girl belonging to a distinguished family from Pont-à-Mousson.¹³ It is, at least, the conclusion that I believe can be drawn in this instance, that des Bordes should have, for a greater or lesser time, a lodging at the Arsenal in the role of fencing master to the Duke, or rather of the young Baron d'Ancerville, a favourite of this prince.

The following year, des Bordes had printed in Nancy, by Blaise André, a little volume entitled “Discourse on the Theory, on the Practice and on the Excellence of Arms.” In this book is added a picture of the author, engraved in intaglio¹⁴ by Jean Appier Hanzelet and placed in a medalion around which we read: “*Andreas Desbordes nobilis Lotharingus. A. ÆT. XXVIII*”.¹⁵ This particularity suffices to paint the character of the man. Regarding his physiognomy, it denotes a sad preoccupation less than the pride which we believe should have been found imprinted in all his traits.

That vice, which the favour of the mighty nearly always engenders, was developed out of measure in des Bordes’ heart as witnessed by multiple evidences of benevolence, one could say affection, that were shown him by his master. Thus, we see this latter give successively to his *valet de chambre* a rent on 600 francs on the manor¹⁶ of Châtel¹⁷ (1614), the taxes¹⁸ from Loupvent, the provostship of Saint-Mihel (1613), several pieces around the area of the Mazéville Bridge¹⁹ (1614), the garden of the Saint Jean brickyard near Nancy (1618), a part of the Domgermain tile yard (1620), etc.



Figure 1: Des Bordes’ portrait from the frontispiece of his book

¹²Original footnote: Acknowledgement in the account of the treasurer-general of Lorraine for the year 1609

¹³Original footnote: One named René Olivier, who we can suppose to have been des Bordes’ brother-in-law, was conformed in his nobility, without doubt at the bequest of this latter, by letters patent of 29 September 1619. (See Dom Pelletier, *Nobiliaire de Lorraine*, p.603)

¹⁴*taille douce*

¹⁵Original footnote: The public library of Nancy has this work, well researched by bibliophiles.

¹⁶*domaine*

¹⁷Original footnote: The preamble of the letters patent of 26 June 1614 relative to this donation ran: “we remit in favourable consideration the agreeable and loving service that our dear and faithful André des Bordes, our first *homme de chambre*, has given us for several years during which time he has been assiduously near our person, where he behaved with such goodwill and affection that it has given, to this effect, witness of his loyalty...”

¹⁸*la cense*

¹⁹Original footnote: The terms in which this donation is conceived attest to the type of familiarity which existed between the duke and his *valet de chambre*: “Our loved and loyal . . . André des Bordes has represented to us that for a few years in this, he had desired a garden near to this place which he tasks daily to embellish, making there to work continually in order especially to decorate the walls of this our town of Nancy on the side of the Notre Dame gate, and even give us the pleasure which it pleases us to go for walks there, but that he desires to increase again the gardens with some paths and approaches especially from the Meuthe river in order to render it more fully complete. We are agreeable to gratify him around seven swaths of land (*fauchées*) near the seats close to the Margeville Bridge...”

Des Bordes possessed, either as a commitment for moneys lent to the duke or in outright ownership, a house and garden at Nancy, the Jarville windmill and dovecote, the Triconville windmill, the taxes of Gonvaux near Neufchâteau, the fortified manor²⁰ of Zugmantel in the valley of Liepvre with the rents and revenues attached, the house and estate of Gibeauxmiex with its revenue, a portion of the estate of Mont-le-Vignoble, some vines and hemp fields at Domgermain, 1,400 francs in rent on the takings from Bar, the estate of Uruffe, the village of Callembourg and the taxes from Berstroff near Sierck, etc.²¹

Not content to enrich his favourite, Henry II filled him further with honours: 28 April 1612,²² he named him captain, warden and receiver for Boulay; some years after, 8 May 1615,²³ captain and provost for Sierck; finally, 5 December 1617, he summoned him into the heart of the council of state by letters patent whose preamble is remarkable:

“Knowing clearly, the good and sincere affection that André des Bordes, squire, lord of Gibeauxmeix and of Loupvent, carries in our service, together [with] the senses, sufficiency, jurisdiction and diligence by the good duty that he has given us and gives continually, not only near and around our person and in sound government, but also in several important charges and commissions where he has been employed by us, and in the beautiful and useful correspondence that he undertook in foreign countries for our service, in which he carefully and dutifully comported himself; wanting, for that, to invest and establish him in eminent estates and honours in order that he has greater means than here-before from us to continue, persevere and increase his service, having given him the position of councillor in our councils of state and privately... ”²⁴

Des Bordes, we see, had achieved the height of favour. As all men who Fortune raised beyond measure, he must have been dazzled, fascinated, and it could not enter into his thoughts that a day would come where all these goods and honours would cause his ruin. Also, it is probable that from this moment on, whether through his pride or through the jealousy which so rapid an elevation inspired, he made numerous powerful enemies. There was one above all who would not excuse the favourite the influence he held over his master.

In order to understand the events which it remains for me to recount, it is necessary to say some words on that which happened at the court of Lorraine, the intrigues which were entangled there and the principle persons who played a role.

Henri II, married a second time to Marguerite de Gonzague, had from this union two daughters: Nicole and Claude. His brother, François, count Vaudémont, had two sons and strongly desired to marry the elder, Charles, with princess Nicole. Henri regarded the latter the throne's true and legitimate inheritor. François, on the contrary, maintained that the daughters were not fit to rule. But, as he could not hide the weakness of the arguments which he contended in support of his opinion, he confined himself to ask for the hand of Nicole for his eldest in order to confuse, in a way, the rights and claims of the two branches. The latter claim itself met almost insurmountable obstacles. The duke, who knew the character of his brother and his nephew, feared, and with reason, seeing the crown become their inheritance. His aversion to his parents²⁵ inspired in him the thought of giving Nicole to Louis de Guise, Baron d'Ancerville, since count of Boulay and later Prince

²⁰*la maison-fief*

²¹Original footnote: These facts result either from title from the *Trésor des Chartes* or from letters patent or from a memorandum presented by des Bordes' widow to the effect of the claim for a part of her husband's goods.

²²Original footnote: Register of letters patent for the year 1612, folio 62

²³Original footnote: Ibid., for the years 1614-15, folio 172.

²⁴Original footnote: Ibid, for the year 1617, folio 315.

²⁵*son éloignement pour ses parents*

of Phalsbourg and of Lixheim, natural son of the Cardinal de Guise assassinated at Blois. However, fatigued by the obsessions, by the violence even to which he had without cease been exposed, Henri, lacking sufficient energy to resist, finally consented to the marriage of his daughter and Charles, and the contract was drafted on 22 May 1624. Regarding the Baron d'Ancerville, he would have to content himself with the hand of the princess Henriette, sister of the future duke of Lorraine.²⁶

These events had been the cause of profound dissent between the households of the duke and those of count Vaudémont: the one counselled Henri to unwavering resistance; the other had worked with all their power to bring to realisation the ambitious desires of François and his son.

Among the first to draw attention to themselves²⁷ by the obstinacy and liveliness of their opposition were André des Bordes and Melchior La Vallée. This latter was, as we said, cantor of Saint-Georges college and the duke's chaplain, and it was he who baptised the princess whose hand was so ardently coveted. Des Bordes, in his role of the Baron d'Ancerville's favourite, necessarily supported the interests of this latter, interests which were at the same time his own. Yet it is hardly supposable that he had been guided by other motives and predictions inspired by patriotism made him oppose²⁸ the accession of Charles to the throne.

Be that as it may, he did not seek to hide his hostility. Far from it. Blinded by the confidence that the duke's affection gave him, he pronounced himself loudly against the alliance in question. One recalls that Henri, having sent presents to the young newly-weds through the intermediary of the Count of Brionne, this lord said to des Bordes that joy would be great in the country through this marriage to which the other replied that this joy could not last and that one would soon see the killjoy.²⁹

Nonetheless, the double marriage took place and in circumstances and with feelings on the part of the groom which must have presaged that which would come of this union, in which politics alone had a part. Indeed, Charles, who hardly took care to hide his contempt for Nicole when she was still only his fiancée, displayed yet more disdain and coldness once she was his wife.³⁰ In order to cover with a pretext the repugnance he felt for her, he claimed that he had been ensorcelled the first night of their wedding, that someone had "fastened the goose on him,"³¹ that he found spells in the princess' bed which obliged him to often change lodgings and beds. A Jesuit, P. Fayot, "having been sent to Nicole to deliver her from this wickedness, found it impossible to deflect the effect and no one could recognise from what they were composed." Dom Calmet, who reported naively these facts,³² adds, it is true: "perhaps it was not all sorcery." We will see soon that the justice of the time would show itself to be less incredulous in this regard.

Henri II died 31 July 1624. His successor, who saw himself thus realise all the dreams of his ambition, feigned at first wanting to execute to the letter the clauses of his marriage contract: Nicole was involved in the government and enjoyed the privileges and honours of the sovereignty. But, quickly tiring of this sharing of authority, Charles IV, in concert with

²⁶"*Mémoire sur la masculinité du duché de Lorraine*", by M. Digot in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas*, 1853, p.523; *Histoire de la Réunion de la Lorraine à la France*, by M. Count de Haussonville, t.I, p.130-131

²⁷au nombre des premiers s'étaient fait remarquer

²⁸repousser

²⁹rabat-joie - killjoy, spoilsport, wet blanket. Original footnote: See Dom Calmet, t.VI, col. 42

³⁰Original footnote: See M. d'Haussonville, *ibid*, p. 133-136

³¹lui nouer l'aiguillette was and is French idiom for sexual impotence

³²Original footnote: t.VI, col 42

his father, had recourse to a shameful trick³³ in order to strip power from the woman to whom he was indebted.

It is not part of my theme³⁴ to recount the disgraceful comedy which the two princes enacted in order to carry out the plundering of the throne's legitimate inheritor. This event is in the domain of history and this would be too withering an act where disloyalty and abuse of power were equal parts. Charles IV, we know, would not stop along this road.

In the middle of the politics [being] conducted, thanks to which he reached his aim, this prince had not forgotten to exact vengeance on those who had shown themselves hostile to him under the reign of his predecessor. There was one whom he had perhaps desired to strike, for he had been his rival and had almost overcome him.³⁵ But, this former rival was now his brother-in-law. Louis de Guise, now prince of Phalsbourg, was too highly placed for one to dare attack him. Charles went therefore elsewhere to seek for a victim easier to burn and it was on des Bordes that, for the moment, he cast his eyes.

In this period, one held an every-ready accusation against the unfortunates that one wanted to ruin: it was that of witchcraft and magic. The marshal of Ancre, Eléonore Galigai, was a recent and sad example of this, to which were added later those of Urbain Grandier and of the cantor of Saint-Georges college, Melchior La Vallée.

We saw what des Bordes' conduct had been at the occasion of Nicole's marriage. Charles IV pardoned him neither his opposition nor his offensive comments — comments that, without doubt, some were pleased to enlarge and distort in order to stir up the prince's hatred for Henry II's favourite. Charles, who had not altogether let go of the sentiments of a lifetime for his father-in-law,³⁶ had no longer henceforth to maintain any moderation: des Bordes' downfall was therefore resolved.

If one could judge by a passage from the sentence that I will report before long, it appears that he had prepared with a long hand the weapon with which he proposed to strike one day. Indeed, when it took place in 1622, [at] the trial of doctor Charles Poirot, accused of having thrown spells on Madame de Ranfaing in order to make love to her, a girl implicated in this affair professed being found at a sabbat with des Bordes. Was this confession really spontaneous or, as one is allowed to suppose, had it been dictated to this unfortunate in the aim of using it when the moment came? Still, this accusation fell by itself and there was no follow up.

Be that as it may, hardly three months had elapsed since the death of Duke Henri when proceedings began against his former *valet de chambre*. In October 1624, testimony was given, secretly no doubt, by the master alderman of Nancy, Didier Dattel, and the other aldermen, Claude Guichard, Claude de Bernécourt, Charles Renaudin, Errard Maimbourg, Thiéry Maucervel and Nicolas Petitgot.³⁷ The two girls, Esther Hardouin and Jacqueline

³³*une artifice indigne*

³⁴*il n'entre pas dans mon sujet*

³⁵*il avait été son rival et peu s'en était fallu qu'il ne l'eût même emporté sur lui*

³⁶*ses sentiments du vivant de son beau-père*

³⁷Original footnote: These names are found in the accounts of the treasurer-general for the year 1624. In giving them, I wanted to rectify a gross error recorded in the *Mémoires du Marquis de Beauvau* and that most historians have reproduced. We read there, p.10: "At the start of the reign (that of Charles IV), one named Desbordes, *valet de chambre* and strongly loved by the late Duke Henri, with another man named the Cantor, one of his chaplains, and who apparently had in great part the honour of his good graces, were pursued criminally, being both suspected of witchcraft. Sir Sarazin, an alderman in the judiciary of Nancy (sufficiently gullible and severe, as we said, in this matter), was given to them as the investigator, and having judged them sufficiently suspect of this crime, condemned them to be burnt; which was done." That which I say on the subject of des Bordes' proceedings, and according to authentic documents, proves that the Marquis Beauvau was very badly informed. Melchior La Vallée was only proceeded against and executed in 1631, that is to say,

Royer, having been heard, the arrest and accusation of des Bordes was decided.

Such are, at least, the facts which come from the terms of the arrest of which I have already spoken. But, after having approached the arrest from the irrefutable documents that I have consulted, I believe I am right to think that we introduced into this judicial act particulars contrary to truth.³⁸ It was said, for example, that the commission for the arrest was granted by the aldermen of Nancy. Yet, des Bordes' arrest seems, on the contrary, to have taken place rather as a type of ambush³⁹ than as the execution of a judicial order made following the legal forms.

A junior officer⁴⁰ was charged with this commission, the gaoler of Nancy's prisons, named Nicolas Claude, who recounts the facts himself in terms perfectly explicit in a request addressed by him "to the councillors of state of His Highness and of the sovereign court of extraordinary sessions⁴¹ of Saint-Mihiel," with the aim of obtaining payment for the expenses that he incurred during the time that des Bordes had been prisoner under his guard in the prison of the Notre-Dame gate. "On the 14th day of the month of November 1624," he said in the request, "the said Nicolas Claude had been commanded expressly, *by the express command of the His Highness and of the said my lord procuror-general of Lorraine, of subtly and secretly, without fail* to apprehend the person of André des Bordes and establish him a prisoner in the prison of this place of Nancy; which was done." Nicolas Claude reclaimed the sum of four francs for the cost of the arrest.

We see that the aldermen of Nancy do not appear in the first scene of the drama. There are only three actors: firstly Charles, followed by the procuror-general, then the gaoler to execute their orders. These circumstances indicate sufficiently who the persons were who took charge of directing the actions of justice and it is, from that, easy to foresee the result of the procedure.

The duke took the principal role, under the cover of the procuror-general of Lorraine, Claude-Marcel Remy, son of the famous Nicholas Remy and, we can at least suppose, the inheritor of the dismal fanaticism which animated this infamous⁴² magistrate. Nevertheless, in order to give the procedure some judicial form, the investigation was entrusted to investigators chosen from among the members "of the court of parliament" or the Great Sessions of Saint-Mihiel, whose names figure at the bottom of the judgement. They were: Nicolas Gondrecourt and Charles Sarazin, who we find named sometimes as councillors of the state of His Highness and in the sovereign court of Saint-Mihiel; de Bloise-Amblement, Claude d'Haccourt and Barrois. They were given a clerk named François Dautrey, a notary in Nancy. The lord of the Church, lieutenant-general in the district⁴³ of Bar, was also charged with investigating in several places in his area. Finally, the four sergeants of the provost of Nancy (François l'Abbé), Clement, Denis, Vaillart and François, were equally called into play and took a greater or lesser part in this affair.

Des Bordes had been, immediately after his arrest, locked in one of the dungeons of the towers of Notre-Dame then transferred to another more solid than the first. All measures had been taken in order to render escape impossible, as evidenced by the testimonies of several workers: the prisoner had irons on feet and hands and, instead of the usual gaoler,

in the period where Charles IV, wanting to break his marriage with Nicole, claimed that this princess was a heretic, having been baptised by a sorcerer.

³⁸ *des énonciations contraires à la vérité*

³⁹ *guet-apens*

⁴⁰ *un agent subalterne*

⁴¹ *grands-jours*

⁴² *trop fameux*

⁴³ *bailliage*

he was given several guardians on whom one could rely.

During this time, the delegated investigators occupied themselves actively with the task which had been given them. Enquiries took place on all sides: in Toul, Bar, Lise-en-Rigault, Gondrecourt, Bourmont, Saint-Mihiel, Pont-à-Mousson, etc. They were going to search everywhere for witnesses and it seems that they finished by meeting in great number, to judge by the costs which this part of the procedure occasioned.⁴⁴

Two women whom I have already named, Esther Hardouin and Jacqueline Royer, had been arrested as accomplices in the diabolic works imputed to the accused and they had extracted from them, without doubt, the confession of this crime because the first was executed as a witch some time after des Bordes.⁴⁵

The surgeons were called in order to state whether this latter carried on the body any marks that the devil⁴⁷ imprinted on those who had relations with him. A first operation of this sort took place 24 December under the care of Sir Mesny, surgeon-ordinary of the late Duke Henri.⁴⁸ It was repeated later with the assistance of the surgeon, Theilleman, at the Chateau Condé.

The minutes of the depositions of the witnesses heard in this business not having been preserved, we know nothing more in this regard than that which has been received by historians. But these details, however incomplete, suffice for appreciating the value of the accusations on which the arrest was based, which condemned to the final ordeal the disgraced favourite of Henri II.

Skilled at all exercises of the body, des Bordes had, as it seems, a surprising agility. Some witnesses recounted that they had seen him make feats of strength and of suppleness which would have been impossible without the assistance of the devil. He was charged with having thrown spells on several persons in order to make them come, among other [things], to the Duke Henri. The facts reported as proof of his supernatural power were very strange: some claimed that in their presence he ordered figures in a tapestry to curtsy,⁴⁹ and they immediately obeyed him; others recalled that he had once thrown a dinner with several courses from a very small casket with compartments which he carried under the arm; or that they had seen him mounted on a barrel using it in the form of a steed. Some people were found recounting that one day in a hunting party, Duke Henri took his meal in the field not far from a place where there were three corpses hanging from a gallows. On a sign from des Bordes, the hanged came to serve at the duke's table after which they replaced the ropes around their necks. One of the witnesses told that having met Racinot outside the Notre-Dame gate and having said to him that he should like to receive a foot to the behind and be found transported to his bed, the thing happened just as he had expressed

⁴⁴Original footnote: "The expense for the witnesses heard and faced in the trial of the late Abraham Racinot, called des Bordes, is found to rise to the sum of 3,847 francs, 5 gros, not including the cost of information gained in Bar, Saint-Mihiel, Toul, Pont-à-Mousson and Bourmont. Made at Nancy, 10 March 1625: N. Gondrecourt, Claude Sarazin." The other costs are indicated in the notes of the procuror-general and in four orders that I have had printed following this piece. (See Supporting Documents I)

⁴⁵Original footnote: We read the following from the request of Nicolas Claude, mentioning the above: "Repay⁴⁶ the said Nicholas Claude who, by verbal order of the said my lords judges, he managed and conducted to the prison of the Notre Dame gate, and required by the said my lord procuror-general, a possessed girl named Ester Hardouin, who was on Shrove Sunday, 9th of the month of February until 24th of May following, that she was, the said day, executed to death by fire."

⁴⁷*le démon*

⁴⁸Original footnote: "Paid 18 francs to Sir Meny, surgeon-ordinary of the late His Highness and trustee at Nancy, for having, 20 December 1624, visited and shown the mark held suspect on the person of sir Desbordes."

⁴⁹*faire la révérence*

the wish.⁵⁰

I have already said that one woman accused des Bordes of having met her at a sabbat. It is probable that other witnesses repeated accusations of this type. It is certain that after the death of even these unfortunates, and without doubt to excuse their executioners, they invented slanders against him which would be ridiculous if similar allegations had not served as the pretext for his condemnation. One writer who collected all the acts of Providence in favour of Charles IV tells, in speaking about des Bordes and Melchior La Vallée, that this prince at half a league from Saulxures “fell seven times through the spells of sorcerers” without any harm.⁵¹

We do not know how des Bordes responded to the accusation directed against him. It is presumed that he denied [them] at first but afterwards, broken by the pain of torture, he admitted himself guilty of magic. This is, at least, that which memoirs of the time say.

The judgement which condemned him, and whose text has been preserved for us, merits being reproduced. It reads as follows:

Seen by us, judges deputed by His Highness, the extraordinary criminal trial instituted at the request of sir procuror-general of Lorraine, seeking compensation for the crime of magic, against Abraham Racinot, vulgarly called André des Bordes, lord of Gibaumé, governor of Sierck, etc, here-before the first *homme de chambre* of the late His Highness, the accused, defendant and prisoner in this case; knowing information made against Desbordes (sic.), by the lords master alderman and aldermen of Nancy, the last day of October 1624, the interviews of Ester Hardouin and Jacqueline Royer, made before the same judges; the commission for the arrest⁵² by those deputed against the said Desbordes, 14 November following, executed the same day; the Commissions of His Highness of the 20 and last of the said month of November, who carry our delegation for apprising and judging supremely⁵³; interviews of witnesses of 2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 December of the said year; personal interviews of the said Desbordes, of 7, 11, 12, 13 and 17 of the said month of December; the re-reading and confrontation of witnesses to the said Desbordes,⁵⁴ of 7 December and other subsequent days; the preliminary conclusions of the said procuror, at the end of the shaving, visitation and probing of the said Desbordes in order to discover if he had on his body any marks insensible and diabolic; the judgement passed on the said conclusions, . . . the report of the surgeons who made in our presence the visitation and search for the said marks; other information made through us at Nancy 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 22 January of the present year 1625; interrogation and responses of the said Desbordes of 8, 9, 10, 11 and 18 of the said month; sundry other information made at the places and towns of Saint-Mihiel, Bar, Toul, Pont-à-Mousson and Bourmont; the re-reading and confrontations of witnesses to the said Desbordes of 7 and 8 January and other days following, the minutes made by the lords deputy at the realisation⁵⁵ of the trial of Charles Poirot of 7 April 1622 containing the accusation of Anne

⁵⁰Original footnote: See *Mémoires du Marquis de Beauvau*, p.11; M. Haussonville, t.II, p.157; Lionnois, t.II, p.345

⁵¹Original footnote: See D. Calmet, 1st edition, t.III, pr., col.597

⁵²literally: the taking of the body - *de prise de corps*

⁵³*souverainement*

⁵⁴*recollemens et confrontations* This is a common legal process. Witness statements were re-read to them to confirm their accuracy then the statements were read to the accused in the presence of the witnesses.

⁵⁵*confection*

Marie, condemned for the crime of sorcery, against⁵⁶ the said Desbordes whom she said and maintained having known at the sabbat, both before and during the question, and still since being rigged⁵⁷ to the gallows on the point of her execution; the definitive conclusions of the lord procuror, with all that which was seen and considered in the contents of the inventory of the items fixed in alphabetical order up to P4 inclusive, even the advice and copy of the judgements put in our hands on behalf of the said Desbordes.

We, upholding the said trial, declared and declare the said Racinot (by the assumption of a surname called Desbordes) plainly attained and convicted of the crime of magic; of having, by magical and diabolic acts and works, given several types of spells⁵⁸ fully mentioned in the trial, in order to punish and repent⁵⁹ of whom we condemned and condemn to be hung and strangled by the executioner of high justice on a gallows which will be erected to this effect in a place ordered for the ordeal, and his dead body burned and reduced to ashes. We declare his goods acquired and confiscated to whom they will belong, on those taken prior the reasonable costs of justice; and we order that before the execution he will be put to the question both ordinary and extraordinary, in order to be, in the straits of which, questioned on the deeds of his accomplices and certain matters resulting from the trial, interrogations and responses, and of all indicated [in the] minutes in order to serve that which is right. Signed *N. Gondrecourt, B. de Bloise Amblement, C de Harcoul*,⁶⁰ *Sarrazin and Barrois*. Pronounced to the said Desbordes in the chamber of the Chateau Condé 28 January 1625 by *Fr. d'Autrey*, notary.

The execution took place immediately after the pronouncement of the sentence.⁶¹ Several ecclesiastics came to assist the condemned in his final moments, and among them one notes “Father Mataincourt”, that is to say the Blissful Pierre Fourier himself.⁶² What circumstances had brought the holy priest to be charged with this sorrowful mission? We do not know. But this particular, unknown to all biographers, appears to me to warrant being signalled.

A modern writer,⁶³ recounting the judicial assassinations with which Charles IV defiled the first years of his reign, made these reflections which are unhappily too true: “We would like to be able to say that public opinion was moved in Lorraine by this senseless vengeance; but there is no evidence [of this].” They conformed too much to the morals of the time for anyone to be shocked. Contemporary writers, and even those of the last century, speak of it with equal indifference: “A certain cantor,” says P. Vincent, mentioning the ordeal of Melchior La Vallée and making allusion to that of des Bordes,” a certain cantor was subsequently charged with the same filth; but he was bathed in a fire⁶⁴ and that is enough said about him.

Marquis Beauvau takes an indifferent pity on their type: “I only stop,” says he, “to touch on the example of these two unfortunates in order to see that rarely the successor of

⁵⁶à l'encontre de

⁵⁷attachée

⁵⁸maléfices

⁵⁹pour punition et réparation de

⁶⁰Harcourt

⁶¹Original footnote: See Supporting Documents II

⁶²Original footnote: Ibidem. Translator's note: Fourier or Mattaincourt is a Catholic saint known for his asceticism, work among the poor and the uneducated, and his care of the children of the region.

⁶³M. d'Haussonville, t.I, p.158

⁶⁴il fut lavé dans un cent de fagots - literally, he was washed in a hundred faggots

another prince preserves any affection for those who had too great a share in his [ie: the former's] good graces, and that the favourites who succeed them seek always the means of excluding them, or of ruining them completely if there is the least catch in their composure, rather than to suffer them charitably near the person of the prince; which also, for the suspicion that [they] were concerned with the life of his predecessor, that they are only for his interests, and the fear that they would still harm him [the new prince] after his [the predecessor's] death, cannot overcome the hatred or at least deep-seated aversion which he [the new prince] has conceived in his heart."

Dom Calmet, much less indulgent, was associated closely with the accusation against des Bordes, makes this reflection on the account of the facts which have been recalled above: "It was, if one wants, an illusion and a fascination which he caused in the eyes of the spectators; and all that could not be done without magic."

Whatever one could have said, it seems without doubt that the death of des Bordes was an act of political vengeance; one credited so little faith, in effect, in his claimed sorcery, one feared so little of being put in contact with him. Charles IV quickly assumed⁶⁵ a part of the spoils of his victim and the Duchess Nicole herself did not fear acquiring some.⁶⁶

The fortune of the disgraced favourite was pretty enough to try the greed⁶⁷ of his enemies because it was quickly seized. In vain, Marie Olivier, des Bordes' widow, went to reclaim in her name and the name of her five children, of which the youngest was still in the cradle, the share which returned to her by virtue of her marriage contract, in the goods acquired during the union. The procuror-general was opposed to the claims of this unfortunate and he consented only to leave her half of some fixed assets.⁶⁸ Regarding the children, he declared that they should be deprived of their father's fortune and that it was the treasury⁶⁹ which legally inherited it "not by reason of the said children but through an odious cause."⁷⁰

This cause was indeed odious, following the expressions of the magistrate whom the duke and duchess (for his commission was delivered by Charles and Nicole) charged with administering the confiscation of des Bordes' goods. But the treasury, and without doubt others, found here their moneys and the cost of the procedure, however considerable, only absorbed a part of the fortune amassed by Henri II's *valet de chambre*.

We do not know what became of the immovable property. For his household goods,⁷¹ they were sold at auction at the Saint-Epvre market at Nancy⁷² after Charles IV was earlier awarded a portion of his rich library.⁷³

These pieces which I publish are, for the most part, related to the sale and, if one can judge the character of a man by the nature of the objects with which he likes to surround himself, they permit us to appreciate, as it should be, the person to whom this article is dedicated.

According to that which we know about des Bordes, we are rather drawn to represent him either as a type of conjurer of good company or perhaps as a brilliant swordsman. But,

⁶⁵ *s'attribua bien vite*

⁶⁶ Original footnote: See Supporting Documents III and V

⁶⁷ *cupidite*

⁶⁸ *immeubles* - may include a variety of unmovable goods such as houses, lands, rents, etc not specified here

⁶⁹ *le fisc*

⁷⁰ Original footnote: These facts are recorded in a very curious document preserved with other pieces related to the confiscation of des Bordes' goods. This document contains the request of Marie Olivier's lawyer, the procuror-general's response, the replies one to the other, some depositions of witnesses, and finally, the conclusions of the public minister, to use a modern expression.

⁷¹ *meubles*

⁷² Original footnote: See Supporting Documents V

⁷³ Original footnote: See Supporting Documents IV

in any case, we can not figure him otherwise than as an individual uniquely gifted with remarkable physical qualities, with great skill in the handling of weapons and with a great suppleness of body.

This is a false assessment: des Bordes seems, indeed, to have possessed the advantages of which we have just spoken but he adds to them other qualities which explain the favour he achieved.

I said at the start that he had come back from Italy with the taste for arms, for letters and for the arts. It suffices, in order to recognise in him this triple inclination, to cast the eyes over the catalogue of his books and over the inventory of the paintings and other precious objects which he was pleased to collect. For the rest, his habits and manner of living were those of a gentleman: he had a large household and he gave to his children an education corresponding with the elevated position he occupied.

These particularities explain how Henri II's *valet de chambre* had captured the good graces of his master and how the latter could, up to a certain point, without compromising his dignity, bestow his confidence, lavish honours on Baron d'Ancerville's fencing teacher.

Thus envisaged, des Bordes acquires nearly the importance of an historic person. This is why I believed I should add to the collection of documents concerning him a facsimile of his writing. He played a sufficiently considerable role, his elevation and downfall present sufficient interest, that I maintain to neglect nothing that could make him known. The portrait which he took care to leave us is not calculated to inspire a very just opinion of him. I wanted to trace in it another [way] which portrays him to us as he actually was.

His career, both so brilliant and so short, is likely⁷⁴ to inspire moral reflections which are not without significance. The extraordinary favour which he enjoyed under Henry II, the barbaric suffering which Charles IV inflicted on him, paints the character of these two princes who, one through weakness, the other through his passions and his faults, tarnish the brilliance of the crown which Grand-Duke Charles III so nobly, so royally wore.

Supporting Documents

I.

The procuror-general of Lorraine certifies that in the previous year 1624, Sir Pullenoy, councillor of state of His Highness, auditor in the Chamber of Accounts of Lorraine and treasurer-general of its finances, delivered to him 1,600 francs in two orders from His Highness, which were employed in the preparation of the trial of the late André Racinot, surnamed des Bordes, executed by fire for the crime of magic, thus as hereafter.

To Daultry, notary employed in the said trial, 1289 francs 8 gros which he distributed in accordance to the order that he was given, for the account which he made,⁷⁵ which he rendered, of the handling he made of the goods of the estate of the said deceased before the lords-deputy to this effect.

And three hundred francs disbursed by the procuror to several messengers and sergeants at diverse times who were sent by the command of His Highness and at the request of the

⁷⁴*d'ailleurs de nature à faire*

⁷⁵*de quoy il en a faict estat au compte*

Fac-simile de l'écriture d'André des Bordes.

Pour servir de
quittance de la somme de quatre
Cent cinquante francs que
j'ai reçu de monsieur
~~Le~~ philippe duc de Cambre
de sa part et son argentier et ce
pour un robe de velours
suyverice que j'ai vendu audit sieur...
Ce 18 juillet 1619

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Circular Stamp]

Autre signature, au bas d'une quittance datée du 5 juillet 162.

Nancy, Lith. L. Christophe.

Figure 2: A Sample of des Bordes' Handwriting

procuror, going to Bar, Saint-Mihiel, Bourmont, Siergues⁷⁶, Pont-à-Mousson, Toul, Gibaumé, Vaucouleur and elsewhere in order to bring to this place of Nancy the lords judge-deputies by His Highness for the investigation and judgement of the trial of the deceased, and to depose the witnesses which were in the said places.

Made at the said Nancy the 24th of October 1626.

— C. M. Remy

Warrant of 5 December 1624 carrying the order to deliver 800 fr to Claude-Marcel Remy, procuror-general, to meet part of the costs which he incurred in the examination and trial begun against Sir des Bordes.

Warrant of 22 December 1624 carrying the order to the treasurer-general to deliver 1,680 fr to the councillors (N. Gondrecourt, de Haccourt, De Bloise Amblemont, Barrois, Ch. Sarazin) for the costs of the journey and of they stay in Nancy.

Warrant of last day of January 1625 carrying the order to deliver 800 fr to Claude-Marcel Remy in order to satisfy the costs which remain to be paid for the trial made of des Bordes.

Another warrant of the same day carrying the order to deliver 1,860 fr to the councillors for the previous journey and stay by them at Nancy in order to continue the procedure for which they had been commissioned.

II.

Expenses undertaken by the undersigned captain and castellan of Condé, this day 28 January 1626 for the cost of the execution of the death sentence rendered against the late Sir des Bordes.

Firstly —

For the dinner of Messrs the Attorney-General, Gondrecourt, Amblemont, Sarasin, Barrois, Hacourt, Vincent, advocate Maimbourg, governor of Marsal, Dautrey, Thillement (*sic*) and controller of Conde, all at one table. 30 fr.

At another table two Minime fathers,⁷⁷ the Mataincourt⁷⁸ father, two fathers cordelliers⁷⁹ and Sr Thibelle the Orator 12 fr. 6 gr.

And in the kitchen the clerks of the said Sirs in the number of six, three guards, a sergeant of the Provost of Nancy, four sergeants of Condé, a coachman and lackey. 20 fr.

Dinner of the Master of High Works. 2 fr.

The expense of horses to the number of fifteen 15 fr.

The said undersigned paid again 31 fr to Martin Mangeat where hangs as a sign the image of Saint Martin, the expense made by the judges come yesterday to the post with Sir Thillimen (*sic*) surgeon, a carter and two horses, including one franc for the servants, here 31 fr.

Paid to the Master of High Works 28 franc for all his uprights⁸⁰ for the question, execution to death and other [things] 28 fr.

To the carpenter who furnished the wooden things⁸¹ for the question and the gallows 5 fr.

⁷⁶Elsewhere rendered Sierck

⁷⁷Friars from the monastic order of St Francis of Assissi

⁷⁸Original footnote: the Blessed Pierre Fourier

⁷⁹Grey friars, also associated with St Francis

⁸⁰*droictz*

⁸¹*les appareilles du bois*

To the marshal who furnished the oaks, skewers, spikes and hammers 6 fr.
Cart, two francs 2 fr.

The undersigned as having charged the sirs to stop this expense with M. de Pullenoy to the sum of 500 francs.

— F. Dautrey

Lord Dautrey named above paid the last from the confiscation of the late des Bordes to Sir Pullenoy the sum here above carried.

Made at Nancy, this 5th May 1625.

III.

Inventory of the books which he should take from those of the late sir Desbordes by the command of His Highness.⁸²

The History of Paul Jove (in folio)
The Architecture of Borozio
The History of the Holy War
Icons of Bouzvo
Works of St Cyprian (befalling to Sr Jacquemin for 10 fr)
The United Arms of Lorraine⁸³
Dialogues of Emund de Boullay
Chronicles of the Dukes of Brabant
Dictionary of Three Languages
Dictionary of French and Italian
Amorum Emblemata

From the duke and duchess of Lorraine, Marquis, Duke of Calabre, Bar, Gueldres, etc.

To our very dear and trusted councillor of state and procuror-general of Lorraine, Claude-Marcel Remy, greetings. We command and order you that the books coming from the confiscation of the late Abraham Racinot, vulgarly called Desbordes, you have delivered to our beloved and trusted librarian Anthoine Coudelance, the books which have for their titles those declared in the note here above, which he charged you to put in the library of our house at Nancy. And by virtue of this our warrant, you will have done it and will discharge the said books and all others to which it will pertain to us and everywhere else that will need to be done. For thus it pleases us. Given at Nancy, 20th March 1625.

— Charles

IV.

Valuation of the Books

Drawings of Laval (quarto) 5 fr.
Cavalry de La Brosse, folio 9 fr.

⁸²Original footnote: I reproduce textually this catalog, thus that which follows

⁸³*la conjunction des armes de Lorraine*. Original footnote: *The Union of Letters and of Arms of Two Illustrious Lorraine Princes Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop and duke of Rheims, and Francois, duke de Guise, Brothers*, drawn from the Latin by M. Nicolas Boucher . . . and translated into French by M. Jacques Tigeon, Angevin. . . Rheims . . . 1579

Laurel of Naussau, folio 12 fr.
 History of Paul Jove, gilt folio 25 fr.
 History of the Holy War of Preau 15 fr.
 History of Pliny, fol 12 fr.
 History of Florimonde of Remond 6 fr.
 Architecture Barozio (*sic*), fol. copper 24 fr.
 Works of Cyprian, fol, 10 fr.
 Elements of Euclid by Connendino, fol 5 fr.
 The Description of Guiciardin, fol. XX in copper. 20 fr.
 Mathei Gribaldi's Commentary., fol 6 fr.
 The Royal Labyrinth, quarto 3 fr.
 History of Hungary, quarto 8 fr.
 History of Louis XI 7 fr.
 Vegetius. *De Re Militaire* (quarto) 8 fr.
 Plutarch, fol. 2 volumes 28 fr.
 Laval's Psalms quarto 7 fr.
 Works of Seneca, fol 9 fr.
 The Instability of All Things,⁸⁴ quarto 5 fr.
 History of Flanders 6 fr.
 History of the West Indies, fol 7 fr.
 The Marriage of Ronsard quarto 4 fr.
 John Bertaud Petragorii quarto 1 fr.
 Treaty of Sel, octavo 1 fr. 7 gr.
 Union of Weapons of Lorraine
 Dialogues of Emond Boullay,⁸⁵ fol
 Chronicles the Dukes of Brabant 10 fr.
 History of France, quarto 2 fr. 6 gr.
 Franciade of Ronsard, quarto 2 fr.
Emblemata amor[um] 4 fr.
 Defence of Women. 2 fr.
 Arithmetic of Meynior quarto. 3 fr.
 Charles III,⁸⁶ quarto 1 fr.
 Commentary of Montue, octavo 2 fr.
 Letters 1 fr.
 Life of the Virgin of Orleans⁸⁷, Latin. 1 fr. 6 gr.
 History of Drugs. 2 fr.
 Don Quixote, Spanish. 2 fr.
 Wars in the Netherlands, 1 fr.
 Funeral of Charles 3rd, folio⁸⁸ 9 fr.
 Life of Plutarch, quarto 1 volume 7 fr.
 Memoirs of Villars, octavo. 2 fr.
 Works of Seneca, octavo 3 fr.

⁸⁴The title of this book merits being remarked upon among those that des Bordes had collected in his library; more than anyone, indeed, he would cruelly test the instability of all things of this world.

⁸⁵*The Dialogues of the three estates of Lorraine, on the most joyous birth of the most high and most illustrious Prince Charles of Lorraine, eldest son of the most high and most powerful Prince François ...*

⁸⁶Original footnote: *Caroli III. Sereniss. Potentiiss. Duc Loihar. March. Duc. Calab. Barri. Gueld. etc. Makarismos Sev felicitatis, et virivivm egregio Principe diguarum coronae ...* 1069 by Charles le Pois, Dean of the faculty of medicine of Pont-a-Mousson

⁸⁷Original footnote: This is without doubt the work of Jean Hordal entitled: *Heroinae nobilissimae Joannae Darc Lotharingae vulgo Aurelianensis puellae historia* 1612

⁸⁸Original footnote: This is the funeral pomp of Charles III

Principles of the Prime, 2 volumes. 4 fr.
 Travels de Beauvau⁸⁹ 1 fr. 6 gr.
 Practice of Geometry by L'Hoste⁹⁰ 1 fr.
 Orland Furioso 1 fr.
 Dictionary French / Italian. 1 fr. 6 gr.
Apulæi, folio, old letter. 1 fr.
 Prayers from Munich 1 fr.
 Essays of Montaigne 2 fr.
 Dictionary of Three Languages, quarto 2 fr.
 Confessions of Faith by Coeffeteau 6 gr.
 Siege of Ostende. 1 fr 6 gr.
Contrelesine. 5 gr.
 The Victorious Lover. 9 gr.
 The Faithful Priest 5 gr.
 Euclides of Errard. 1 fr. 6 gr
 Pleadings of Corbin. 9 gr.
 Discourse of Monseigneur Remy⁹¹ 9 gr.
 Collection of France 6 gr.
 Warfare by Montgomery. 6 gr.
 Devotional Meditations 9 gr.
 Equicola, in duodecimo. 8 gr.
 Customs of Lorraine. 1 fr.
Trauvaux sand tranvait. 6 gr.
 The Loves of Ronsard. 8 gr.
Hecatonphile, in duodecimo 6 gr.
 Drunkenness by Mousin⁹². 7 gr.
 Rosary of the Virgin. 6 gr.
 Inventory of France. 1 fr. 6 gr.

The books in the pages here-above in the undersigned leaves have been valued by the undersigned.

At Nancy, 11th March 1625.

— C. Louys.

The said undersigned has received from my lord Daultrey for his labour five francs.

— C. Louys.⁹³

⁸⁹Original footnote: A recounting of the voyage from the Levant

⁹⁰Original footnote: Probably the work entitled: *Description and Use of the Principal Instruments of Geometry*, by Bernard L'Hoste, son of the celebrated engineer and mathematician Jean L'Hoste

⁹¹Original footnote: *Discourse of things happening in Lorraine since the death of duke Nicolas until that of duke René. 1615 by the procuror-general of Lorraine Nicolas Remy*

⁹²Original footnote: *Discourse on Drinking and Drunkenness. 1612 by Jean Mousin, councillor and ordinary doctor to Duke Henri II*

⁹³Original footnote: Claude Louis, bookseller to the court

V.

This last day of February 1625,⁹⁴ following the order of His Highness, a sale of the goods of the late Abraham Racinot, called des Bordes, was conducted in the public square and to whom, to which further, all published by Claude Senicourt, *valet de ville*, and compiled in writing by François Dautrey, undersigned, as notary in this part, and those the goods befalling, after several bids and raises, as follows:

[Translator's note: There follows a list of 425 household items from des Bordes' houses at Nancy and Pont-à-Mousson which were sold at auction. The list runs for 20 full pages and includes the sale of individual plates, pieces of cutlery and other common items, to whom they were sold (usually mentioning the buyer's job title) and how much was paid. The sale was obviously quite profitable for the new duke. Below is a sample from the end of the list.]

To Bastien Remont, a painting of Godfrey de Bouillon for six francs, three gros . . . 6 fr. 3 gr.

On the twenty first of the same month

To Sir Barrois, moneyer to my lord Vaudemont, an armoire of oak, painted in green, for twenty three francs . . . 23 fr.

To Didier Nicolas, two little books for twenty two gros . . . 1 fr. 10 gr.

To Madame, the Duchess, an icon in wood which was at the house of Sir Modo for one hundred francs . . . 100 fr.

On the seventeenth of May 1625

To the wife of Sir François Bourdon, a round watch of iron for attaching to a wall for five francs . . . 5 fr.

To her, an oval of grey marble for 25 gros . . . 2 fr 1 gr.

To the wife of Nicolas Badel, glover, a shirt of white taffeta for three francs . . . 3 fr.

To Miss Thouvenel, a pannier in which there is hemp, linen and some little thread for ten francs . . . 10 fr.

To Bastien Remont, a black curtain to enclose jewels⁹⁵ for eighteen gros . . . 1 fr 2 gr.

Sum total: six thousand three hundred and thirty one francs, one gros, eight deniers.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>.

⁹⁴Original footnote: This piece, as will be noted, is not only curious as a complete inventory of the goods of a gentleman interested in the arts and precious objects; it is also interesting in that it makes known the names of a large number of people occupying public functions or attached in the service of the duke

⁹⁵*une custode noire à resserrer joyaux*