

The Joyeuse Ancestry of the Couvents

John P. DuLong

Version 1, 26 February 2023

Many French-Canadians can trace their ancestry back to the Joyeuse de Champigneulle family through the Couvent sisters, Anne and Charlotte. According to the research of Roland-Yves Gagné and Laurent Kokanosky, the Joyeuse de Champigneulle family is descended from the Joyeuse, counts of Grandpré, family and thus back to the kings of France.¹ Whenever a royal gateway ancestry is proposed it needs to be critically evaluated. This is particularly the case when the crucial connection is not found in standard published works on French nobility. This is the case here. The evidence Gagné and Kokanosky submit to prove this royal gateway depends on an unpublished genealogy compiled in 1733.² Regarding this reported royal gateway, Charles Cawley at Medieval Lands has made several critical observations concerning the de Joyeuse portion of this lineage that must be considered.³

Cawley's critique boils down to two main issues: (1) a tight chronology between Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, his son François de Joyeuse, and his grandson Jean I de Joyeuse; and (2) doubts concerning the trustworthiness of the 1733 genealogy of the Joyeuse family found in the papers of the royal notary Pierre Hanonnet. In February 2021 I exchanged emails with Roland-Yves Gagné regarding Cawley's critique. Gagné remains confident in the exhaustive research he did with his colleague Laurent Kokanosky.⁴ I also showed Gagné earlier drafts of this paper to get his feedback, but these observations remain mine as do any mistakes or misunderstandings.⁵

Before proceeding, I should point out that I am friends with Gagné and followed his Amiot and Couvent research closely. Having had the pleasure of working with Gagné on other projects,

¹ Roland-Yves Gagné and Laurent Kokanosky, "Les origines de Philippe Amiot (Hameau), de son épouse Anne Couvent et de leur neveu Toussaint Ledran," *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne-française* 58, no. 1, issue 251 (Spring 2007): 17-58. An English translation of this article was published in *Michigan's Habitant Heritage*, Part 1, vol. 42, no. 1 (Jan. 2021): 11-25; Part 2, vol. 42, no. 2 (Apr. 2021): 71-84; Part 3, vol. 42, no. 3 (July 2021): 169-180; and Part 4, vol. 42, no. 4 (Oct. 2021): 218-229. Translated by Marie-Pierre Lessard and John P. DuLong.

² Pierre Hanonnet, "Du dit jour acte de généalogie de la maison de Joyeuse fait à la requete de M^e Jean Baptiste de Joyeuse passe par devant hannonet notaire à Verdun le 20 mars 1733 reçû dix sol," Departmental Archives of Meuse, 12 E 188, Contrôle des actes, C 3499, f. 130v. Gagné kindly furnished me a copy of the photographs he took of this document, which are a little blurry. The Department Archives of Meuse sent me a very clear digital copy. Subsequently, I hired an excellent paleographer, Baptiste Étienne, to transcribe the document.

³ Charles Cawley, "Medieval Lands: Champagne Nobility Porcien, Rethel, Grandpre," <https://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/champorret.htm?fbclid=IwAR1ol8dOeq2oOEjhxkAoLONMliu6-5PlpjyvC-yKGH6CC4Bav-MBMxlWEcc#FrancoisJoyusedied1556B> (accessed 9 Jan. 2023).

⁴ Not Kokanovsky as Cawley consistently misspells the surname.

⁵ I want to also thank David E. Kearns for reading over an earlier draft of this paper and making some very helpful suggestions.

I have always been impressed with his dedication to the truth and his thorough work as a researcher. Nevertheless, because I have several royal gateway ancestors, I am not threatened with the loss of a particular royal gateway. I am more interested in the truth than any particular claims to ancestry.

To follow what I will be discussing please see the attached Table 1 showing the connection between the Joyeuse de Champigneulle family and the counts of Grandpré. There are several characters over several generations involved in this analysis and a visual aid will be helpful in sorting the players out. I strongly recommend that you read Gagné and Kokanosky's article and Cawley's comments before reading my observations. Otherwise, I am afraid you will get lost trying to follow my points.

From my perspective, the key question is: has sufficient evidence been found to accept that François de Joyeuse *dit* de Champigneulle was indeed the son of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, and Marguerite de Barbançon?

I would like to make the following observations regarding this issue:

1. The chronology between three generations is indeed tight. While we might find it difficult to believe that François de Joyeuse married twice at a very young age, it is not impossible. François was probably born as a second son at the earliest in late 1521 as his father Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, signed a marriage contract on 15 July 1519. François' son Jean I de Joyeuse married in January 1563/4. If Jean was between 20 and 25 when he married, then he would have been born between 1538 and 1543 making his father François from age 17 to 22 at the time of his birth. Clearly, the former age is possible but problematic for a person to have had two marriages by that age, but the latter age is more realistic. This likely chronology, while indeed tight, does not preclude the proposed connections between these generations.
2. According to the 1733 genealogy, François's first marriage was below his station in life and was not approved by his parents. He would have been very young when he wed his first wife who died without producing a child and this allowed him to marry his second wife still at a young age. This is exactly the kind of impetuous behavior that would get a young nobleman disinherited.
3. According to Mousnier: "Abductions and clandestine marriages, without parents' knowledge and against their will, occurred very frequently."⁶ He goes on to say:

⁶ Roland E. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy 1589-1789: Society and the State* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974), 61. I highly recommend Mousnier's work to understand the structure and function of French society during the *Ancien régime*. He is particularly valuable in explaining the nobility and the operations of the French crown.

When good marriages were made, the lineage rose in the social hierarchy, while bad marriages dragged it down. Consequently, families lived in terror of a “misalliance”—a marriage between a man and a woman so unequal in social position and wealth that a factor was thereby introduced in the socially superior family which might spoil its homogeneity and drag it down.⁷

The declaration of 1639 confirmed Henry II’s edict of 1556, which permitted the fathers and mothers of persons still of minor status ... who had married without their consent, to disinherit them and revoke any gifts they had made to them. The guilty would be deprived, as regards inheritance, of all benefit of the laws and customs of the realm and could be punished as the judges say fit.⁸

According to Diefendorf, misguided youthful marriages without parental consent were not just a plague to great noble houses but also the bourgeois magistrate families of Paris. She observed that:

The threat of disinheritance had been used informally as a sanction against undesirable marriage since medieval times. The edict of 1556, however, made the threat of disinheritance more effective by easing the parents’ burden of proof. Previously parents had been required to demonstrate ingratitude and gross misbehavior on the part of the child as well as marriage without permission. Now proof of marriage without permission sufficed. Also the edict denied the child the right to challenge the disinheritance in court.⁹

Misalliances and clandestine marriages did happen with some frequency especially before 1556 and were a serious problem for noble and bourgeois families who wanted to preserve the honor of their family. Being disinherited was a likely outcome of such a misadventure especially if the child was particularly rebellious. The story that François de Joyeuse disobeyed his parents, wed a woman below his social status, and was disinherited for it is not beyond the possible in France at that time.

4. Both of François’s marriages would have been done without the approval of his parents. The legal age of majority in France since 1556 was 12 for girls and 14 for boys, but this was supposed to be with the consent of the parents.¹⁰ Before 1556, to wed without parental consent the bride must be 17 and the groom 20 years old. After 1556 the age to wed without parental consent was raised to 20 for females and 30 for males.¹¹ However, even if François wed before the age of 20 without the approval of his parents, the church would still find his clandestine marriage valid. Canon law and French law eventually

⁷ Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, 59.

⁸ Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, 65.

⁹ Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth-Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), 161.

¹⁰ Hélène Lamarche and Guy Desjardins, “Majorité matrimoniale et majorité civile,” *Mémoires de la Société généalogique canadienne française* 56, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 31.

¹¹ Charlotte Christensen-Nugues, “Parental Authority and Freedom of Choice: The Debate on Clandestinity and Parental Consent at the Council of Trent (1545–63),” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 45, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 55.

made it more difficult to have clandestine marriages recognized.¹² Nevertheless, in the early sixteenth century François could have gotten away with marriage at a very early age even against the will of his parents.

5. While a misalliance leading to being disinherited was not uncommon in sixteenth century France, Cawley is still correct to point out that this story is suspicious because it is found in a document that he believes was submitted to prove noble status. Any documents involving claims of nobility should be handled with caution. It was not uncommon for people pretending to be noble to alter or forge documents to support noble claims. At a minimum there was a financial incentive to falsely claim noble status as nobles paid less in taxes. According to Lacroix: “The fabrication of false titles of nobility was an art which had been carried to a high pitch of perfection at this period; and it was practiced almost with impunity beneath the severe eyes of the most respectable genealogists.”¹³ I myself have seen cases in the *Cabinet des titres* of fraudulent records. Furthermore, Gagné is well aware of fake documents being submitted to prove nobility claims and would not be naïve enough to accept a document without considering this possibility. I am sure Gagné would agree that it is indeed advisable, as Cawley suggests, to compare any noble claims with other documents and information *if possible*. It is also important to verify if contemporary authorities approved or rejected the claim.
6. In particular, Cawley recommends that the 31 December 1561 marriage contract between Jean I de Joyeuse and Nicole des Ancherins and the 20 September 1556 partition of the estate of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, should be examined to see if they support or contradict the 1733 genealogy.¹⁴ This would indeed be prudent. However, these records most probably no longer exist.
7. Because these documents were prepared by notaries, it is important that you understand the French notary's legal role. He was a public official who prepared private legal agreements between people. French notaries do not simply witness signatures like an American notary public. They draft the legal documents that the parties sign. These documents must be as accurate as possible because they are legally binding.¹⁵ Notarial documents were typically signed by two notaries, the notary who prepared the document and a partner or colleague who countersigned the document. Alternatively, the document could be signed by the notary who prepared it and two or more witnesses who also sign it. Notarial acts often refer to

¹² Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, 61-66.

¹³ Paul Lacroix, *France in the Eighteenth Century: Its Institutions, Customs and Costumes* (1876, reprint ed., New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963), 52.

¹⁴ See the appendix for the key quotes regarding these two documents.

¹⁵ “In France, a notarial document and the facts included therein, are automatically admissible into evidence and only upon judicial declaration of invalidity does the document lose its executory nature.” Pedro A. Malavet, “Counsel for the Situation: The Latin Notary, a Historical and Comparative Model,” *Hastings International and Comparative Law Review*, 19, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 444.

previous documents done by other notaries. The notary's registry of acts as well as his repertory and index were sold or passed to the notary taking over his business. Since 1979, notarial documents older than 100 years were to be transferred to the local departmental archives. However, overtime some collections for a number of different reasons were lost and not deposited.¹⁶ This short review is to prepare you to understand that the professionalism of French notaries and the preservation of their acts is going to play an important part in this case.¹⁷

8. The 1561 marriage contract was prepared by Jean Lallement, a royal notary of Ste-Ménéhould. This record should have normally been in the Departmental Archives of Marne.¹⁸ However, a search of the archive's website reveals that it does not hold any of the records of Jean Lallement.
9. As this crucial 1561 marriage contract is mentioned in the 1733 genealogy with an exact date, place, and names of the notaries, it is very likely that Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse showed it to the two royal notaries when they were compiling the family history. Notaries were accustomed to review the acts of other notaries and to extract important information from these acts. It is unlikely that royal notaries would have misunderstood the importance of this document or would have accepted it if it appeared suspicious.¹⁹
10. The 1733 genealogy indicates that the 1561 marriage contract of Jean I de Joyeuse mentions that his grandfather Robert belatedly granted as an inheritance 1,000 gold *ecus* to his father François and this was ratified by his uncle Foucault de Joyeuse.²⁰ It would indeed be interesting to examine the original marriage contract to see what additional information it contains. Nevertheless, what is recorded about this act in the 1733 genealogy establishes the connection between Robert and François as father and son. In the absence of the actual act,

¹⁶ Some notaries did not comply and turn over the older records of previous notaries. These records are still in the private hands of present-day notaries. As you can imagine, these notarial records are extremely difficult to locate and use.

¹⁷ To learn more about notaries in France and New France see: W. W. Smithers, "History of the French Notarial System," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (1911), https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7217&context=penn_law_review (accessed 8 Feb. 2023). Patrick Pontet, *Ancestral Research in France* (Andover, UK: Privately printed, 1998), 103-118. John P. DuLong, "The Notarial Acts of Québec: Their Genealogical Value and Use," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (Mar. 1994):5-16.

¹⁸ The online search form for Marne notaries is found at: <https://archives.marne.fr/search/form/147ed973-b8fb-4d45-9213-25b09e697d42> (accessed 19 Jan. 2023).

¹⁹ The observant reader will have noticed that the marriage contract was signed on 31 December 1561 and yet the couple did not wed until January 1563/4. No explanation is offered for this delay, but it was undoubtedly because a particular condition had to be met, perhaps the bride or groom had to reach a certain age or a special financial arrangement had to be completed. It was customary for the marriage contract to be signed before the wedding, but the time between these events in New France was usually measured in days not years. Gagné has warned me that during this period in France he has seen the time measured in months, not days.

²⁰ An *ecu d'or* was worth 2 *livres 2 sous* in 1561. Léo Jouniaux, *Généalogie: Pratique-Méthode-Recherche* (1991), 215.

the summary and verification of it by two qualified royal notaries would suggest that the 1733 genealogy is reliable.

11. The 1556 partition of the estate of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré was prepared by the notaries Charlot and Lallement, of Ste-Ménéhould.²¹ As with Lallement, so too with Charlot, there are no records for notaries of these surnames from the sixteenth century preserved at the Departmental Archives of Marne.²² In general, across France, surviving notarial acts from the sixteenth century are relatively rare.
12. The only record we have of the 1556 partition is found in the work of Caumartin.²³ Only three sons of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, are named in this act, Foucault, Nicolas, and Antoine.²⁴ Caumartin's summary of the partition fails to mention Robert's daughter Isabeau and his son François.
13. It is also interesting to note that both the 1556 partition and the 1561 marriage contract involved the royal notary Jean Lallement of Ste-Ménéhould (with Charlot on the partition). Families often relied on the same notary over time. It is unlikely that Lallement would have alienated the count of Grandpré by fabricating a false document to appease a pretender. He would have known the count's family and would have easily grasped how François de Joyeuse fitted into that family.
14. Although most partitions are done after death, the partition of Robert de Joyeuse's estate in 1556 was apparently done while he and his wife were still alive.²⁵ It is clear that the partition was made by both Robert and Marguerite de Barbançon. François is not named in the summary of this partition and neither is his sister Isabeau. Before his death, Robert would

²¹ Cawley refers to this act as a testament. Wills are relatively rare in France since marriage contracts and customary law usually determined how estates were to be settled. Moreover, a will is made by an individual, not a couple. This act was done by a couple. This is a partition of an estate which was usually, but not always, done after death and following the terms of a person's marriage contract, the customary law, or occasionally a will.

²² Cawley did find some biographical details regarding Jean Lallement. I have been unable to find anything relating to the backgrounds of the two notaries associated with Lallement, namely, Charlot and Jean Sivry.

²³ Louis-François Le Fèvre de Caumartin, "Généalogie de la maison de Joyeuse," 1669, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet de titres, Nouveau d'Hozier, 195: 268/439-269/439. Available online at Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>). Caumartin was the intendant of Champagne. In 1666 he was directed to research usurpation of noble status in Champagne. *Notes de M. de Caumartin sur la recherche des nobles de la province de Champagne en 1673, d'après le manuscrit inédit de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1883), 1.

²⁴ The summary of the 1556 partition does not indicate how the estate was divided, but Foucault received Grandpré and Alleux. St-Lambert was a co-seigneurie held between Foucault and Nicolas. Antoine received Montgobert and Verpel. Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France ...* (Paris, 1723-1733), 3:841. Jours. J. Jailliot, "Le Protestantisme dans le Rethelois & dans L'Argonne," *Revue d'Ardenne et d'Argonne* 11 (1903-1904): 30 and 35.

²⁵ He is not recorded as late or defunct in Caumartin's summary of the partition. However, Miroy pegs his death as in 1556, but does not provide evidence for this date. M. Miroy, *Chronique de la ville et des comtes de Grandpré selon l'ordre chronologique de l'histoire de France* (Grandpré: Malicet, 1839), 105-106 and 206-207,

have made arrangements for his daughter Isabeau by a dowry.²⁶ And François was disinherited. Consequently, Isabeau and François were not involved in the partition of Robert's estate because the former had already received her share and the latter because he was disinherited.

15. The 1733 genealogy states: "He [François de Joyeuse] had married in the first place, against the sentiment and will of his father and mother, a girl of very low extraction. which led them, as they did, to disinherit him and leave all their goods to Foucault de Joyeuse, their eldest son, who was thus their sole heir and only his name and sword remained to François."²⁷ We know this is partially incorrect. Foucault was indeed the eldest son, but he was not their sole heir. His brothers Nicolas and Antoine were also heirs.
16. According to the 1733 genealogy, Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré "being unable to revoke what he had done," that is, disinheriting his son François, decided instead to give him 1,000 gold *ecus*. I agree with Cawley that this phrasing is clumsy and unclear. Cawley suggests that perhaps François was deceased before his son Jean's 1561 marriage contract was signed and hence why the disinheritance could not be revoked. Unfortunately, we have no evidence regarding the death date of François to verify this suggestion.
17. I believe it is more likely that Robert de Joyeuse was not able to revoke the disinheritance because he had already distributed his seigneuries by way of the 1556 partition to Foucault, Nicolas, and Antoine. Once the property was disposed of it would be difficult if not impossible to recall it. Hence the reason for a cash gift of 1,000 gold *ecus* to François after he was reconciled with his father rather than one of the family seigneuries.
18. The 1561 marriage contract specifically says that the gift of 1,000 gold *ecus* was bequeathed to François de Joyeuse in a testament done by his father Robert. Therefore, this implies that Robert had a will prepared sometime between 1556 and 1561. It would appear that the terms of this will were not fulfilled for some unknown reason until 1561 when Robert's eldest son, Foucault, ratified the gift. If Robert was still alive in 1561, he would have ratified the gift, therefore he died between 1556 and 1561.²⁸

²⁶ Isabeau de Joyeuse married first about 1543 Robert d'Averhoul, seigneur of Tourteron and Guillaucourt and secondly Claude d'Anglure, seigneur de Jours. Jailliot, "Le Protestantisme dans le Rethelois & dans L'Argonne," 35. "A daughter taking a dowry at marriage in essence took an early distribution of her inheritance, forfeiting any further claim to her parents' property." Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 119.

²⁷ My translation. I believe the text "d'hésiter et laisser" (hesitate and leave) should be "deshériter et laisser" (disinherit and leave), this makes more sense. Punctuation added.

²⁸ We only have indirect evidence for the existence of a will. We do not have a place, date, or notary name for this possible will. It would be extremely difficult to find this testament given that we lack direct evidence for it and the condition of notarial records in this part of France.

19. It is frustrating that these original documents are probably beyond our reach. While it is possible that these notarial records still exist in private hands, this is very unlikely. Alternatively, another document or publication might emerge that mentions these documents and provides more information. It is still worthwhile keeping an eye on projects that are digitizing publications and records created before 1914 or 1940. These works might capture valuable information that was destroyed later on in the world wars, but this too is rather doubtful.
20. Furthermore, Gagné and Kokanosky did a thorough search in all the surviving records involving this family. The area of France they were researching was the scene of some of the most brutal and destructive fighting in World War I and World War II. Many records were lost or destroyed.²⁹ We are fortunate that the 1733 genealogy of the Joyeuse family survived in the Departmental Archives of Meuse given the ravages of time and war especially at and near Verdun. Calls for the 1556 partage or the 1561 marriage contract to be found and reviewed are likely futile. Had these documents survived, Gagné and Kokanosky would have undoubtedly found them and reported on them. Therefore, we have to go with the information they found, namely the 1733 genealogy and the supporting documents they include in their article.
21. Whether or not we judge the 1733 genealogy to be valid before its approval by the imperial court depends on whether or not we trust the honesty, accuracy, and motivations of at least four people: (1) Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse, seigneur de Petit-Xivry, who requested that the genealogy be compiled to prove his lineage, (2) the royal notary Pierre Hanonnet of Verdun who prepared the genealogy, (3) Toussaint Thiebaud the royal notary who countersigned the genealogy, and (4) Jean Anne Gédéon de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, who allowed access to his family papers and acknowledged that the genealogy was accurate.
22. The introductory section of the 1733 genealogy is very clear about the motives of Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse for having the genealogy created. It was not in response to a specific challenge and need to prove his nobility to a French or Holy Roman Empire official. Rather, it was for two reasons: (1) he feared losing his original family papers documenting his lineage if he took them to the foreign lands in which he was serving; and (2) he wanted a record of the large number of documents regarding his family found in the Château of the count of Grandpré which agreed with the various historians and which he could not retain.³⁰

²⁹ Many records relating to nobles and seigneuries were also destroyed during the French Revolution.

³⁰ These reasons are clearly set forth by Gagné and Kokanosky at 46-47 of the original French language article and 179 of the English language translation of this article.

Establishing his place in the *lignage* he belonged to was important to him.³¹

23. If Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse just needed to establish his nobility, then he probably only had to demonstrate a few generations as being nobles. He did not have to go back seven generations to Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré in the sixteenth century, to verify his nobility, and certainly did not have to trace the family history back to fourteenth century. If officials at the court of the Holy Roman Empire demanded Jean-Baptiste establish his noble credentials, then certainly the less risky approach would be to just show that his immediate three or four generations of paternal ancestors were nobles, which could be easily done.³² The fact that he went beyond this and made contact with the then current count of Grandpré to use his family papers and to ask him to acknowledge his findings indicates he was fairly certain that there was a connection and that he was of that *lignage*.
24. Reviewing the whole 1733 genealogy it is clear that it is written in two hands. The first three introductory pages are written in one hand and the rest of the document, the genealogy, is in another hand. Gagné and Kokanosky identify a single author, namely Pierre Hanonnet, and indeed the document is found in this notary's papers. However, it would appear that this document was prepared by Hanonnet and his notarial colleague Toussaint Thiebaud. Perhaps one of them wrote the introduction and the other the rest of the document, but both of them signed it.
25. Pierre Hanonnet, was not a simple *tabellion* (scribe) or seigneurial notary, but a royal notary of the bailiwick and *siège présidial* (presidial jurisdiction) of Verdun in 1733. He was a bailiff of justice in the county of Grandpré and a *juge syndic* [a community judge of first instance] in 1755. At the time of his death in 1766 he was an advocate in Parlement.³³ Less is known about his colleague Toussaint Thiebaud (or Thiébaud) except that he too was a royal notary.³⁴
26. Hanonnet and Thiebaud would have understood the notarial acts and documents that were used to compile the 1733 genealogy. Like all people writing about genealogy, they could

³¹ *Lignage* translates as lineage, but it means more than just a line of ancestors, it includes everyone who descends from a particular ancestor. Members of the *lignage* could expect the protection and help from the head of the *lignage* and in turn would be expect to help other members of the *lignage*. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, 48-50.

³² Depending on the official and the reason for inquiring, in France, usually to prove nobility you only had to show three or four paternal generations were nobles. In some cases, for particular orders or honors, you had to prove your family were nobles for a certain number of years or beyond a specific year. And the most demanding test was to submit 16 quarters of noble ancestry, that is, all you ancestors back to your 16 great-great-grandparents were nobles. Edmond du Roure de Paulin, "Le juge d'armes de France et les généalogistes des ordres du roi," *Revue héraldique, historique, et nobiliaire*, 4th ser., 25 (Nov. 1907): 265-267.

³³ *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Ardennes, séries C, D, E & F* (Charleville, 1905), 3: part 1, 292. Archives départementales de la Meuse, "Fonds des notaires répertoire numérique détaillé sous-séries 9-78 E," (Bar-le-Duc, 2015), 32, oddly he is listed as François Hanonnet in this guide.

³⁴ Archives départementales de la Meuse, "Fonds des notaires," 33.

make small mistakes. However, given their training, they were unlikely to make many gross mistakes connecting generations in processing these documents.

27. Hanonnet and Thiebaud are very clear in the introductory comments of the 1733 genealogy that they “examined and extracted them [the family documents] with all possible fidelity and exactness” and that “after several days of research and scrupulous examinations drawn up a genealogy of the family of Joyeuse and the filiation of my said sieur [Jean-Baptiste] de Joyeuse.” They did not just blindly accept what was placed before them.
28. As part of their due diligence, Hanonnet and Thiebaud mention in the introduction that in preparing the 1733 genealogy they also consulted the work of historians. In particular they mention M. Baugier. This would be the local historian Edmé de Baugier, the author of *Mémoires Historiques de la Province de Champagne*.³⁵
29. Hanonnet and Thiebaud understood the central importance of the 1561 marriage contract because it is the only contract in the 1733 genealogy that is identified with a date, place, and notary name. Other vital events mentioned in the 1733 genealogy that may have involved notarial contracts are not so thoroughly identified. Clearly, the fact that this document made clear that François de Joyeuse was the son of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, shows that the notaries understood how important this contract was to establish how the Joyeuse de Champigneulle branch fits into the *maison de Joyeuse de Grandpré*. By recording the specific date, place, and notary name, they also would have made it easy for contemporaries to double check this contract.
30. In general, notaries took their professional conduct seriously and would not fabricate or misinterpret documents. It is unlikely that Hanonnet and Thiebaud would violate their professional rules of conduct. Moreover, they were probably aware that some people submitted phony documents to prove nobility claims and would have been alert to such a possibility. Were there dishonest scribes and notaries involved in submitting bogus nobility claims? Undoubtedly yes. However, most notaries were honest. We have no reason to suspect that Hanonnet or Thiebaud were dishonest and would fabricate a genealogy or were prone to misinterpreting the documents used to compile the 1733 genealogy. There is no evidence that they were paid enough to violate their professionalism as notaries or that they were incompetent in the handling of documentary evidence.
31. The crucial fact is that on 24 September 1740 Jean Anne Gédéon (also known as Jean Gédéon André or Gédéon Anne) de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, met with Jean-Baptiste de

³⁵ This is a two-volume work (Chaalons: C. Bouchard, 1721). The relevant Joyeuse pages are 2:335-336 and 384. Baugier died in 1728. Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse must have consulted him before his death and shared what Baugier had to offer about the history of the family with Hanonnet and Thiebaud.

Joyeuse at his château, reviewed the 1733 genealogy and “the titles providing evidence of its contents,” approved it, and specifically acknowledged that François de Joyeuse was the second son of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, and Marguerite de Barbançon. The royal notaries Pierre Golzar and Jacques Chenet prepared a statement to this effect.³⁶ The notaries then returned Jean-Baptiste’s documents back to him. Jean-Baptiste went out of his way to ensure that the head of the *maison de Joyeuse de Grandpré* officially acknowledge his place in the *lignage* based on the 1733 genealogy and the documents he submitted for review. The 1561 marriage contract was undoubtedly one of these documents since it was referenced in the 1733 genealogy.

32. Cawley dismisses this endorsement because several generations had passed, no one in 1733 had firsthand knowledge of these events, and he doubts that the count would have had the data and the necessary knowledge to check it. But if that was the case, it would have been far easier for the count to simply say he could not verify the 1733 genealogy. Why would this important titled noble agree to a legal statement verifying the 1733 genealogy if it was false or uncertain? Nobles took pride in their family history, their *lignage*, and would be more likely to reject false claims as they would damage the family’s honor and legacy. Moreover, the count of Grandpré would have had access to family papers that he could have used to verify the 1733 genealogy.³⁷ Indeed, mention is made that Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse consulted the papers and titles relating to his ancestors held by the count of Grandpré at his château and submitted this information to Hanonnet and Thiebaud for their review.
33. Jean Anne Gédéon de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, would be the fourth cousin, twice removed of Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse, seigneur de Petit-Xivry.³⁸ See Table 1. Many people living today do not know their fourth cousins, but those with an interest in genealogy often

³⁶ This important confirmation document is found in Vienna at the Austrian State Archives and is quoted by Gagné and Kokanosky at 43-45 of the original French language article and 173-176 of the English language translation of this article. The citation for this document is Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives], AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 415.10 Joyeuse, Johann Baptist von, k.k. Kämmerer und Generalfeldwachtmeister, Grafenstand, “Hoch- und Wohlgeboren”, 1754.02.27 (Akt (Sammelakt, Grundzl., Konvolut, Dossier, File)), <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=5203100> (accessed 10 Feb. 2023). The Austrian State Archives will not let this document be reproduced. Gagné had to visit Vienna and carefully transcribe the document. The document does not appear in the surviving notarial papers of Golzar and Chenet back in the Departmental Archives of Marne.

³⁷ Even bourgeois families kept records regarding their *lignage*, usually in an account book called a *Livre de raison*. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France*, 50-51. The minor noble de Marle family kept a *Livre de raison* that tracked seven generations and several branches of the family. Gail F. Moreau and John P. DuLong, in collaboration with René Jetté, “The de Marle *Livre de Raison*: Gateway Document to a Royal Lineage,” *The American-Canadian Genealogist*, 19:1 (Winter 1993):4-8, 19:2 (Spring 1993):42-45, 19:3 (Summer 1993):116-125, and 19:4 (Fall 1993):153-158. A major titled noble, such as a count, would be even more likely to keep a muniment room full of family and property papers if not out of pride in his *lignage* than to at least have evidence to prove the right to land and to resolve inheritance claims.

³⁸ Petit-Xivry is pronounced as Petit-Sivry and would suggest it is part of Sivry-lès-Buzancy in Champagne, but it is actually 33 miles away and in Lorraine. This can be confusing because Claude de Joyeuse, Jean-Baptiste’s father, is sometimes called the seigneur of Sivry, when clearly he was the seigneur of Petit-Sivry.

do, and many nobles were keenly interested in genealogy.

34. Jean Anne Gédéon de Joyeuse would have been particularly well aware of his family history and his cousins because he became the count of Grandpré when his third cousin, Jules de Joyeuse, donated the county of Grandpré to him. Jules was childless and he decided to transfer the county to his three cousins: Daniel, Louis, and Jean Anne. The latter made an agreement with his two older brothers to become the count of Grandpré on 31 March 1712 and this was ratified on 8 February 1718. He also became the lieutenant-general of the government of Champagne, bailiwick of Reims, after the resignation of Jules from this position.³⁹ Knowing his third cousins, it would not be much of a stretch to figure out a relationship with a fourth cousin even one removed by two generations.
35. For nobles, the *lignage* was of prime importance and included everyone who descended from a common ancestor. It is not beyond reason that after consulting his family papers and the documents Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse presented, the count of Grandpré would have been able to establish how they were related. I seriously doubt the count of Grandpré would willy-nilly agree to bring a pretender into his *lignage* and probably would not be susceptible to a bribe to allow such a corruption of his *lignage*.
36. Cawley believes "... that the 1733 act should not necessarily be taken at face value without corroboration." I agree. I would argue that the count of Grandpré provided corroboration. Acting as the head of his *lignage*, reviewing the available documents in his own collection and those submitted by Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse, he pronounced in a notarized document that the 1733 genealogy is valid. Of course, I would prefer to review the original documents myself, but given that is likely impossible, I am willing to settle on a reliable witness who would not be motivated to deceive testifying to their accuracy.
37. Now the optimist among the readers might think perhaps the Joyeuse family papers consulted by Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse and the count of Grandpré still exist at the château of the count (see Figure 1). I checked the France Archives: Portail national des archives and found only one mention of the château of Grandpré and this involves restoration of historical monuments in the Ardennes and the oldest document in this collection is from 1830.⁴⁰ A search at the website of the Departmental Archives of the Ardennes reveals several items concerning the château but nothing relating to the papers of the Joyeuse counts.⁴¹ In 1791 the château passed from the Joyeuse family to the Sémonville family. The château was damaged by a fire in 1834 and further destroyed in World War I. Only a portion of the original château still stands,

³⁹ Père Anselme, *Maison royale de France*, 3:843-844.

⁴⁰ France Archives: Portail national des archives, <https://francearchives.gouv.fr/fr/findingaid/5cc50d2f287c75d32cb1e67f31007e1e9810ae1c> (accessed 4 Feb. 2023).

⁴¹ The online search form for the Ardennes archives found at: https://archives.cd08.fr/arkotheque/client/ad_ardennes/base_recherche_en_ligne/index.php (accessed 4 Feb. 2023).

the *Porte de la Justice* and a few outbuildings.⁴² Given the history of the château it is unlikely that these family papers have survived intact.

38. The count of Grandpré's 1740 attestation of the 1733 genealogy was certified on 10 February 1754 in Vienna by Toussaint the Advisor and Secretary to His Imperial Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor. Toussaint is the Baron François Joseph Toussaint, a financial minister and cabinet secretary to François Étienne, the former duke of Lorraine, who became emperor Franz I and was the husband of Marie Thérèse Hapsburg, empress of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴³ Toussaint was not a court appointed herald or genealogist. He was a close advisor to the emperor and a major figure in the administration of the empire's financial operations. Acknowledging someone as a noble had financial implications because nobles paid less in taxes, hence the involvement of a financial official. Toussaint would be inclined to deny noble recognition if submitted documents were suspicious to save money for the empire. In this case, he was satisfied that the count's attestation and the 1733 genealogy established that Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse was a noble, *Hoch- und Wohlgeboren* (high and well born), and he was made *graf von Joyeuse*.⁴⁴ On 7 March 1754 he was granted *inkolat* for a lordship in Bohemia.⁴⁵ This is a specific term that means he was admitted into the landed gentry in Austria and Bohemia and could obtain noble landed estates, partake in state councils, and apply for offices held in reserve for members of the Austrian or Bohemian Estates.⁴⁶ He became the lord of Mesic (Měšice) in the Tabor district of Bohemia in the modern-day Czech Republic.⁴⁷

39. If indeed Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse was able to convince two royal notaries, Pierre Hanonnet and Toussaint Thiebaud, to prepare a bogus genealogy for him in violation of their notarial training, then for this conspiracy to work he had to also convince the count of Grandpré and an important Imperial official to accept this bogus genealogy as well. But this is really an

⁴² Wikipedia, "Château de Grandpré," https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Grandpr%C3%A9 (accessed 4 Feb. 2023).

⁴³ Wien Geschichte Wiki (Vienna History Wiki), "Francois Joseph Toussaint," https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Fran%C3%A7ois_Joseph_Toussaint (accessed 18 Jan. 2023).

⁴⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 415.10 Joyeuse, Johann Baptist von, k.k. Kämmerer und Generalfeldwachtmeister, Grafenstand, "Hoch- und Wohlgeboren", 1754.02.27 (Akt (Sammelakt, Grundzl., Konvolut, Dossier, File)), <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=5203100> (accessed 10 Feb. 2023). Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse was a major general in the imperial army and also a chamberlin to the emperor. It was not uncommon to see nobles originating in foreign lands migrate to the Holy Roman Empire to serve in the military and eventually assimilate. Apparently, during the reign of Franz I and Marie Thérèse military officers who were not already nobles were ennobled, some for a fee. There is no evidence that Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse paid a fee to be ennobled, his nobility was recognized not awarded. Jerzy Lukowski, *The European Nobility in The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 14-15, 25, and 31-32.

⁴⁵ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 415.11 Joyeuse, Johann Baptist Graf von, Inkolat im Herrenstand für Böhmen, 1754.03.07 (Akt (Sammelakt, Grundzl., Konvolut, Dossier, File)), <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=5203101> (accessed 10 Feb. 2023).

⁴⁶ Wikipedia, "Inkolat," <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inkolat> (accessed 10 Feb. 2023).

⁴⁷ E. Duvernoy, "Une épitaphe Lorraine en Bohême" *Revue historique de la Lorraine* (1911): 18-20. Rudolf Johann Meraglia-Crivelli, *Der böhmische Adel* (1885), 128-129.

oversimplification of how many people handled the 1733 genealogy and could have objected to it. See Table 2 showing the processing of this document and the number of notaries and officials involved. This process went on from 1733 to 1754. To corrupt or fool all these people over 21 years would be an impressive accomplishment for a charlatan. This could easily have fallen apart because the 1733 genealogy referred to documents that may no longer exist today but did exist at the time and could have been consulted to confirm or deny this lineage. This supposed conspiracy goes beyond the simple transcription and modification of a few existing records by a willing dishonest scribe. This conspiracy is too elaborate involving too many players over too long a time to be realistic.

40. There is no reason to suspect the honesty or motivation of these gentlemen. While it is indeed true that proofs of nobility were submitted by unscrupulous people, we cannot assume that all proofs are dubious especially if no contradictory documents are uncovered. The fact that the head of the Joyeuse de Grandpré family endorsed the 1733 genealogy should be given serious consideration. The minor discrepancies or awkward phrasing we find in the 1733 genealogy, unless proven otherwise, are more likely just simple mistakes and not fraudulent statements or alterations.
41. Cawley points out that neither Nicole Françoise de Beauvais, the daughter of François de Beauvais and wife of François de Joyeuse, nor Nicole de Beauvais, the daughter of Jean de Beauvais and Louise de Corbon and the wife of Pierre I de Joyeuse, are found listed in Pellot's work on the de Beauvais, seigneurs of Autruche, family.⁴⁸ While the missing of a person in a published genealogy can be problematic, it is not necessarily a disqualifying factor. Unfortunately, genealogies involving Medieval and Early Modern families often neglect to cover women, younger children, cadet branches of families, and less important members of families. Are these wives missing from the published de Beauvais genealogy concerning? Yes. Does it overturn the 1733 genealogy? No.⁴⁹
42. Cawley confirms that the seigneurie of Champigneulle was once part of the count of Grandpré's estate. He wonders how this seigneurie would have passed to François de Joyeuse

⁴⁸ Paul Pellot, "La famille de Beauvais," *Revue d'Ardenne et d'Argonne*, 7th year (1899/1900).

⁴⁹ Cawley ponders if perhaps Nicolle Françoise is related to François de Beauvais, seigneur of Landreville and Andevanne, the husband of Lucie de Chamisso, and the son of Jean de Beauvais and Claude de Noirfontaine. Given that François de Beauvais and Lucie had a daughter Guillemette who wed Pierre de Maillart (a cousin of the Joyeuses via their common Issenart ancestry) in 1563, it would appear that Nicolle Françoise and François are the same generation. Nevertheless, this is indeed intriguing as both Landreville and Andevanne are near Sivry-lès-Buzancy and Champigneulle. A search of the *Cabinet des titres* and other standard reference works has so far failed to find anything more about this branch of the Beauvais family and if they are related to the Beauvais family of Autruche. Albert Bernard, *Histoire de Landres* (Chalons-sur-Marne: Robat, 1911), 71-72. F. Houzelle, "Branche des de Chamisso à Brouenne et Bronel," *Société des naturalistes et archéologues du nord de la Meuse*, (1906), 18:98. Raoul de Meixmoron, "L'origine de la famille de Chenery," *Revue historique Ardennaise* (1910), 17-18:103.

if he had been disinherited.⁵⁰ This is not a problem and Cawley even hints at the solution. According to the 1733 genealogy, Francois de Joyeuse, *dit* (called) de Champigneulle, “took the name of seigneur of Champigneulle,” but it was his son Jean I de Joyeuse who became the actual seigneur and it was via his wife Nicole des Ancherins and not via his grandfather Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré.⁵¹ Nicole was the great-granddaughter of Geoffroy Issenart, the seigneur of Landres, Sivry, St-Georges, *Champigneulle*, and other places, and Béatrix de Grandpré.⁵² These lands passed from the Issenarts to the Monthois to the Ancherins, thus, Sivry-lès-Buzancy and Champigneulle both came to a cadet branch of the Joyeuse family through this path and not via the counts of Grandpré.

43. Thiriette d’Isnard (Issenart), the wife of Gratian de Maillart, was the sister of Nicole Issenart (the wife of Jean de Monthois and the grandmother of Nicole des Ancherins). They were the daughters of Geoffroy Issenart and Béatrix de Grandpré. Thiriette’s *dot* (dowry) brought Landres, Cornay, Fléville, Sommerance, *Champigneulles* [sic], Sivry, Bayonville, and other places to her marriage.⁵³ Now at this point a reader might object that two sisters cannot both inherit Sivry-lès-Buzancy and Champigneulle at the same time. However, unlike some other parts of France that practiced primogeniture, Champagne, since the Middle Ages, practiced partible inheritance and both of these seigneuries were in that province.⁵⁴ This means that

⁵⁰ It is indeed true that seigneuries normally pass between generations via inheritance, but they could also be exchanged, purchased, or simply gifted. Moreover, people had a tendency to use the name of a seigneurie implying that they owned the whole location when in fact they owned a portion of it. In these cases, it is not always clearly stated that the family only owns a part of a seigneurie. Also, you will find that not all the seigneuries a family owned will be consistently listed especially when they had numerous seigneuries. Records to trace seigneurie ownership are often spotty at best. Sorting out who owned which seigneuries at a particular time and how these lands passed from one family to another can be a challenge.

⁵¹ Champigneulle is not listed among the seigneuries owned by the Joyeuse, Counts of Grandpré, family in Père Anselme, *Maison royale de France*, 3:840-841.

⁵² Gabriel de Pouilly, *Historique sur Cornay et son ancien château* (Mézières, 1865) 12, n. 2. In a recent email exchange, Gagné has confirmed that he believes Champigneulle came to the cadet branch of the Joyeuse family not through Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, but via the Issenart and Ancherins families. While researching in the Departmental Archives of the Ardennes he too found that Champigneulle and Sivry-lès-Buzancy had both been Issenart seigneuries. The observant reader will note that Béatrix is a Grandpré. She is the granddaughter of Édouard II, count of Grandpré. This was before that title of count of Grandpré passed to the Joyeuse family. Gobert de Grandpré, the son of Edouard II, count of Grandpré, left his lands to his two daughters: Jeanne who received Cornay, Lançon, Fléville, and Binarville, and Béatrix who received Landres and all his other seigneuries, which would have included Sivry-lès-Buzancy and Champigneulle. Grandpré did not come to the Joyeuse family through inheritance but purchase. According to Miroy, Henri de Borzelle and his sister Anne sold Grandpré to Jeanne (de la Clite) de Comines, dame of Hallwin, and by an agreement with her children in 1487 it was recognized that this acquisition had been made for Isabeau de Hallwin, her daughter, who was married to Louis II of Joyeuse who became the count of Grandpré. Miroy, *Chronique de la ville et des comtes de Grandpré*, 84-85. However, de Bartélemy claims that Louis II de Joyeuse purchased the county of Grandpré from Walfart de Borzelle. Edouard II, count of Grandpré, had sold the county to Quentin le Bouteiller in 1462 for 1,572 livres 10 sous, and Quentin resold it to Walfert. Anatole de Barthélemy, “Notice historique sur la maison de Grandpré,” *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 11-16 (1880-1884), 12:96, n. 1.

⁵³ H. Vincent, *Épigraphie ardennaise les inscriptions anciennes de l’arrondissement de Vouziers* (Reims: H. Matot, 1892), 253. Bernard, *Histoire de Landres*, 60-61.

⁵⁴ Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300*, 119-123.

while the eldest son typically inherited the major seigneurie intact, the remaining minor seigneuries would be divided or shared among his siblings. In other words, siblings could be co-seigneurs of the same place in part (*en partie*). This is the case with Sivry-lès-Buzancy and Champigneulle. So, Jean I de Joyeuse, was the seigneur of Sivry-lès-Burancy and Champigneulle only in part through his wife Nicole des Ancherins.⁵⁵

44. Cawley points out that Pierre I de Joyeuse is not listed among the heirs of Jean I de Joyeuse in the 1617 settlement with the Abbey of Belval regarding the farm at Sivry (not to be confused with the seigneurie of Sivry-lès-Buzancy). Cawley suggests that perhaps Pierre was not included because he was illegitimate. The 1733 genealogy clearly states he is the second son of Jean I de Joyeuse and Nicole des Ancherins. It is unlikely that he was illegitimate because he becomes the seigneur of Champigneulle and Sivry-lès-Buzancy which would come to him from his maternal ancestors. It is probably the case that he sold, transferred, or gifted his interest in the farm at Sivry to his siblings before 1617 for some now unknown reason.
45. The fact that Jean I de Joyeuse made an important marriage with a member of the locally prestigious Ancherins of Verdun supports that he was the grandson of the count of Grandpré and not a member of some remote and distant branch of the Joyeuse family or not part of the *maison de Joyeuse de Grandpré* at all. The reconciling between his grandfather Robert and his father François, along with the gift of 1,000 gold *ecus*, would have made this marriage more attractive to the parents of Nicole des Ancherins.
46. Champigneulle and Sivry-lès-Buzancy are near Grandpré (see Map 1). They are 3.8 and 8.1 miles from Grandpré respectively. This suggests that the count of Grandpré may have been aware of the neighboring Joyeuse de Champigneulle family even before he was approached by Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse regarding his ancestry. It was a small world among neighboring provincial noble families.
47. Cawley observes that the arms used by Claude de Joyeuse de Champigneulle are different from those used by Jean Anne Gédéon Joyeuse, count of Grandpré (see Figure 2).⁵⁶ While this is indeed true, it is also right and proper. Claude was from a cadet branch of the family and by the rules of heraldry he was not entitled to the exact same arms as his cousin the count of Grandpré.⁵⁷ Claude's arms retain the distinctive and unusual three mythological hydras

⁵⁵ In addition, the Gillet family were also seigneurs of Sivry-lès-Buzancy through the marriage of Jean de Gillet to Elisabeth de Joyeuse *dite* des Ancherins, the sister of Jean de Joyeuse, Pierre I de Joyeuse de Champigneulle, and Louise de Joyeuse, and thus the daughter of Jean I de Joyeuse de Champigneulle and Nicole des Ancherins. Caumartin, "Généalogie de Gillet," 1669, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet de titres, Nouveau d'Hozier, 155: 180/412. Available online at Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>).

⁵⁶ Père Anselme, *Maison royale de France*, 3:836.

⁵⁷ That said, this rule of heraldry was often violated by French families who would use the ancient arms of their family surname and not difference them even if they were a cadet branch.

found on the count of Grandpré's arms, but removes them from chief and places them atop three pillars.⁵⁸ Thus, he alludes to his relationship to the count's family while differencing his arms. In fact, Claude's son, Jean-Baptiste, in Bohemia and Austria, would revert back to using the count of Grandpré's arms with the only subtle differences being he changed the tincture of the fleur-de-lises surrounding the St-Didier quarter from *Or* to *Argent* and reversed the tincture of the pales from *Or* and *Azure* to *Azure* and *Or*.⁵⁹ The differenced arms used by Claude do not disprove a link between him and the counts of Grandpré. In fact, the similarity of retaining the three hydras, a rare charge (see Figure 3), indicates a relationship.⁶⁰

48. While it does not help establish the validity of the earliest generations in the 1733 genealogy, there is information that confirms the existence of the last four Joyeuse de Champigneulle generations found in several works published before 1919. In particular, Claude de Joyeuse's family can be reconstructed using information found in the *Inventaire sommaire* for Meurthe-et-Moselle⁶¹ Furthermore, the *Inventaire sommaires* for the departmental archives of the Ardennes and Marne mention Jean II de Joyeuse and his wife Anne de Raincourt as well as Pierre II de Joyeuse and his wife Jeanne de la Croix.⁶²

49. I also compared the whole 1733 genealogy to the Joyeuse tables in *Europäische Stammtafeln*.⁶³ The 1733 genealogy starts with Bernard de Joyeuse and Alexandre Le Payre. There are the inevitable younger children that are not mentioned in a few generations, one marriage with a different named wife,⁶⁴ some minor name changes, the seigneurs of Verpel

⁵⁸ Charles-René d'Hozier, "Armorial général de France," Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 32228, Alsace, 1:532 for the Joyeuse de Champigneulle arms. Available online at Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>).

⁵⁹ For a colored illustration of these arms see <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=5203100> (accessed 10 Feb. 2023). I wonder if these arms were meant to be differenced or if the changes of tincture were merely a mistake made by an Austrian herald. Also see Meragiglia-Crivelli, *Der böhmische Adel*, 129, plate 64. This plate shows paly of five, not six, and the hydras as well as the lilies are *Argent* not *Or*.

⁶⁰ Compared to other charges, the seven headed hydra is extremely rare in heraldry. De Renesse only noted four other families besides Joyeuse that use the hydra as a charge: Amat, Belsunce, Garrault, and Millet. Théodore de Renesse, *Dictionnaire des figures héraldiques* (Brussels: O. Schepens, 1894-1903): 3:126.

⁶¹ *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Meurthe et Moselle, série E supplément* (Nancy, 1896), 7:168, 181, 182, 186, 195, and 196. Also see *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Meuse, série C* (Bar-le-Duc, 1918), 2: 181, 608, and 617. Cawley mistakes Marie Thérèse, countess of Joyeuse, as the wife of Jean-Baptiste de Joyeuse. She was his sister, being baptized on 7 July 1705 at Petit-Failly. She was buried on 12 Dec. 1770 at Petit-Xivry. Her brother Jean François also uses the title of count when it appears that only Jean-Baptiste held this title in the Holy Roman Empire. Jean François served as a captain of dragoons in the service of the empire.

⁶² *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Ardennes, série C, D, E, & F* (Charleville, 1905), 3: part 1, 426 and 352-353. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Marne, série G* (Reims, 1900), 1:239.

⁶³ Detlev Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, Neue Folge* (Marburg: Verlag von J. A. Stargardt, 1980-2013), 14: tables 174-177.

⁶⁴ The 1733 genealogy reports that Jules de Joyeuse, the count of Grandpré, married Françoise d'Orzay, while *Europäische Stammtafeln* records his wife as Guillemette Angélique des Reaux. *Europäische Stammtafeln* is correct as Guillemette is mentioned in a 1705 document as the wife of Jules. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Ardennes, série C, D, E, & F*, 3: part 1, 470.

cadet branch is ignored, and the parents of Jean Anne Gédéon de Joyeuse are oddly not mentioned, but despite these flaws, overall, it pretty much matches what is found in *Europäische Stammtafeln*. Furthermore, there are a few younger children mentioned in the 1733 genealogy that are not found in *Europäische Stammtafeln*.⁶⁵ This is likely due to these children being recorded in the consulted records held by the count of Grandpré that were not available to Detlev Schwennicke. And of course, *Europäische Stammtafeln* does not mention the Joyeuse de Champigneulle branch which is covered in the 1733 genealogy. The differences between the 1733 genealogy and *Europäische Stammtafeln* should be further studied, but at this point it is not clear if the few mistakes were made in 1733 or in our time. And in any case, these minor differences do not jeopardize the portion of the 1733 genealogy dealing with the Joyeuse de Champigneulle ancestors of the Couvents.

50. Gagné and Kokanosky point out there is a contemporary point of contact between the two branches of the de Joyeuse family. Louise de Joyeuse, dame of Sivry and wife of Charles de Longueval, resided at the home of Suzanne, daughter of Foucault de Joyeuse, married to François des Marins, seigneur of the Queue-au-Bois (near Villegruis, Seine-et-Marne), after the death of her husband Charles. It is unlikely that Louise would be invited to live near Suzanne's family unless she was a relative. Suzanne de Joyeuse would be the first cousin once removed of Louise.
51. Gagné and Kokanosky mention the farm at Sivry that the Joyeuse de Champigneulles rented from the Abbey of Belval, but they neglected to mention another point of contact between the branches of the Joyeuse family.⁶⁶ Nicolas de Joyeuse, the son of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, and Marguerite de Barbançon, was the abbot of Notre-Dame de Belval from 1545 to 1587.⁶⁷ Jean I de Joyeuse de Champigneulle would have interacted with his uncle when he leased the farm at Sivry from the abbey for 18 years on 26 December 1573. When his children were sued by the abbey over their continued occupation of the farm in 1617, the current abbot was Antoine François de Joyeuse, their 2nd cousin.⁶⁸
52. Lastly, on the Internet I have seen several people criticize the work of Gagné and Kokanosky because the Joyeuse de Champigneulle branch they found in the 1733 genealogy is not

⁶⁵ For example, the 1733 genealogy mentions Abraham de Joyeuse, the son of Charles Françoise de Joyeuse and Henriette Louise de Comminges. This is missing in *Europäische Stammtafeln*, but it is recorded in Père Anselme, *Maison royale de France*, 3:844.

⁶⁶ Gagné and Kokanosky at 39-40 of the original French language article and 170-171 of the English language translation of this article.

⁶⁷ Vincent, *Épigraphie ardennaise*, 93. It must have made for difficult family reunions during the French Wars of Religion when Foucault and Antoine, who were Huguenots, met their brother Nicolas the Catholic abbot. We do not know what religion François practiced. Jailliot, "Le Protestantisme dans le Rethelois & dans L'Argonne," 28 and 35.

⁶⁸ Père Anselme, *Maison royale de France*, 3:843.

mentioned in Caumartin, Père Anselme, La Chenaye-Desbois,⁶⁹ or Schwennicke. This criticism assumes that these authors are infallible and complete, which is not the case. A new royal gateway is exactly that, new. If it could be easily found in the standard works dealing with French noble and royals, then it would logically not be a new discovery. This criticism mystifies me. As much as I admire and rely on these reference works, I know that they make mistakes and do not always cover all the descendants. Not being listed in one of these works does not automatically disqualify a proposed new royal gateway especially one backed with documentation not seen by these authors.

The 1733 genealogy of the de Joyeuse family is not a perfect document meeting our modern-day standards for a genealogical report. It fails to report all descendants, for example, the sisters of Pierre I de Joyeuse including Louise de Joyeuse are missing. Some names are mixed up. And there are few dates and places recorded for vital events. Nevertheless, considering when it was written, it is a valuable document and it is rather amazing that it has survived the ravages of history. Most importantly its validity is attested by the count of Grandpré, the contemporary head of the *maison de Joyeuse de Grandpré*.

In conclusion, the chronology is tight, but not impossible, and the 1733 genealogy while so far it has not been confirmed by other documents neither has it been contradicted. It was endorsed by the count of Grandpré. It is unlikely, given the destruction and loss of records in France and the thorough search Gagné and Kokanosky did of the surviving records, that any other documents confirming or denying the 1733 genealogy will come to light. However, as more and more resources are digitized in France, we should not abandon keeping an eye out for possible information to confirm or deny this lineage.

I would like to point out that my attitude towards any lineage extending back to the Middle Ages is that it is always open to review as new evidence or arguments are considered. The world of Medieval genealogy is cluttered with royal gateways that overtime have been modified or disproven. Cawley raises concerns but does not offer sufficient evidence to reject the 1733 genealogy.

I strongly believe there is enough evidence to support that François de Joyeuse *dit* de Champigneulle was the son of Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, and Marguerite de Barbançon based on the 1733 genealogy, that Jean Anne Gédéon de Joyeuse, count of Grandpre, endorsed it, and the imperial court accepted it. Hence, for now, I am inclined to continue accepting the Joyeuse ancestry of Anne and Charlotte Couvent.

⁶⁹ Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois, François-Alexandre, et Jacques Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogies, l'histoire et la chronologie des familles nobles de France*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Schlesinger, 1863-1876), for Joyeuse see 11:127-143.

Appendix:

Because we lack the original documents, we are left only with these key quotes regarding the 1556 partition and the 1561 marriage contract:

1556 Partition

Partage du 20 septembre 1556, signé Charlot et Lallemand, notaires en la Prevosté de Ste. Menehould, fait par honoré et puissant Seigneur Messire Robert de Joyeuse, Chevalier Comte de Grand-Pré, Seigneur de S. Lambert, et de Verpel, et par Dame Margueritte de Barbançon sa femme, Dame de Montgobert, à Mre. Foucault de Joyeuse Écuyer, Guidon de la Compagnie de Mr. de Jamets, à Mre. Nicol de Joyeuse, Abbé de Notre-Dame de Belval, et à Antoine de Joyeuse Écuyer, leurs enfans.

Partition of 20 September 1556, signed by Charlot and Lallemand, notaries in the Provostship of Ste. Meinhoud, made by the honored and powerful Seigneur Messire Robert de Joyeuse, Knight count of Grand-Pré, Seigneur of Saint Lambert, and of Verpel, and by Dame Margueritte de Barbançon his wife, Dame de Montgobert, to Master Foucault de Joyeuse Squire, Guidon of the Company of Mr. de Jamets, to Mre. Nicol de Joyeuse, Abbot of Notre Dame de Belval, and Antoine de Joyeuse Squire, their children.⁷⁰

1561 Marriage Contract

De son mariage sortit Jean de Joyeuse[,] seigneur de Champigneulle[,] qui épousa, au mois de janvier 1563, Nicolle des Ancherins, dame de Cierge et Bandeville en partie. Robert de Joyeuse, compte de Grandprez[,] son ayeul, voyant qu'il se comportoit avec honneur dans l'exercice des armes[,] ne pouvant revocqué ce qu'il avoit fait, luy donna par contrat passé pour testament et luy legua une somme de mils écus d'or[.] Laquelle donation fut ratiffié par Foucault de Joyeuse, son frere, dans le contrat de mariage dudit Jean de Joyeuse[.] Du dernier decembre 1561, passé par devant Lallemand[,] notaire en la prevôté de Sainte Manehoult[.]

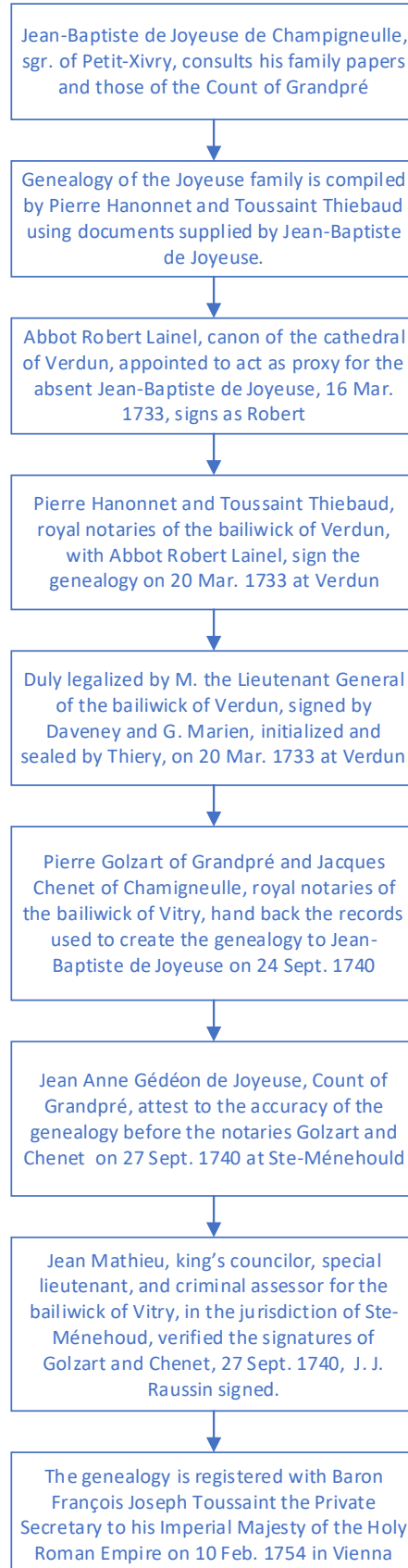
From his marriage [François de Joyeuse and Nicole de Beauvais] came Jean de Joyeuse, seigneur of Champigneulle, who married, in January 1563/4, Nicolle des Ancherins, dame of Cierge and Bandeville in part. Robert de Joyeuse, count of Grandpré, his grandfather, seeing that he [François⁷¹] behaved with honor in the exercise of arms, being unable to revoke what he had done, gave him by contract passed as a will and bequeathed to him a sum of a thousand gold ecus. Which donation was ratified by Foucault de Joyeuse, his brother, in the marriage contract of the aforementioned Jean de Joyeuse. From the last December 1561, passed before Lallemand, notary in the provostship of Sainte Manehoult.⁷²

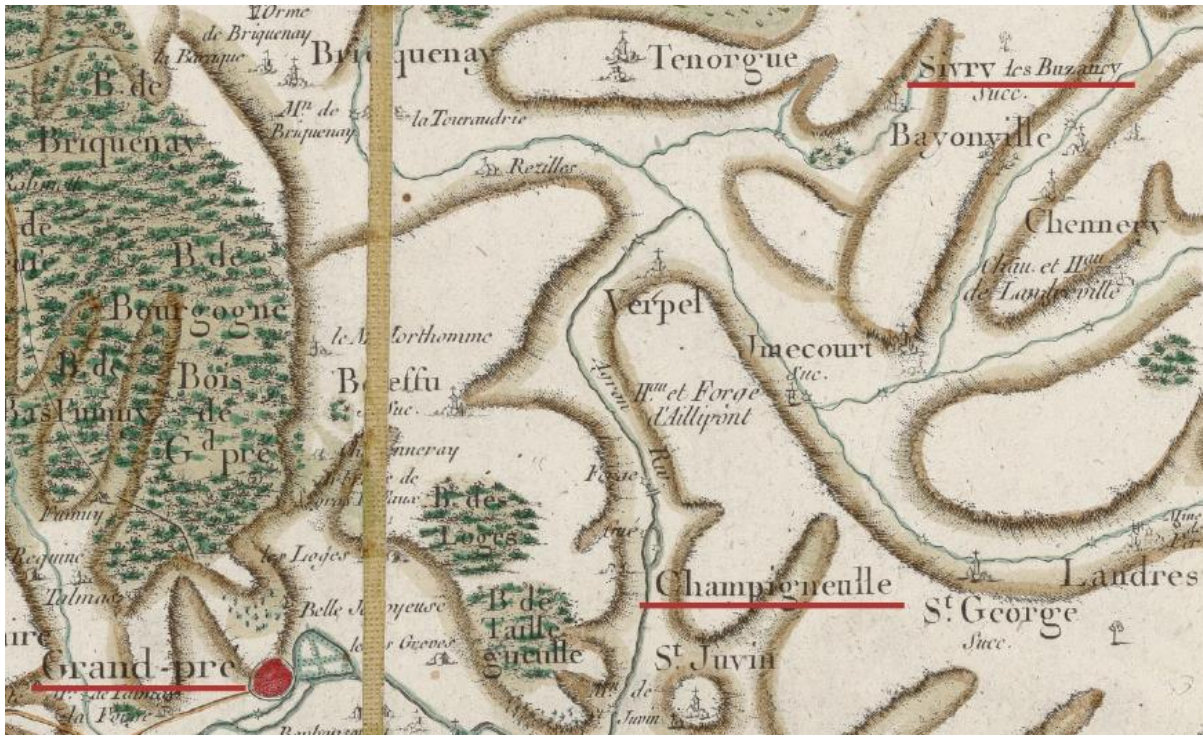
⁷⁰ Caumartin, "Généalogie de la maison de Joyeuse." My translation.

⁷¹ This must refer to François because later on Foucault is called his brother, if it was Jean, then Foucault would have been called his uncle.

⁷² Hanonnet, "Du dit jour acte de généalogie de la maison de Joyeuse ... 20 mars 1733," Departmental Archives of Meuse, 12 E 188, 7th image. My translation.

Table 2: The Multiple Step Process for Creating and Registering the 1733 Genealogy of the Joyeuse Family





Map 1: Grandpré, Champigneulle, and Sivry-lès-Buzancy.⁷³

⁷³ Carte générale de la France. 079, [Reims]. N°79. Fille 39, compiled under the direction of César-François Cassini de Thury, François Pasumot, cartographer, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530951918> (accessed 10 Jan. 2023).

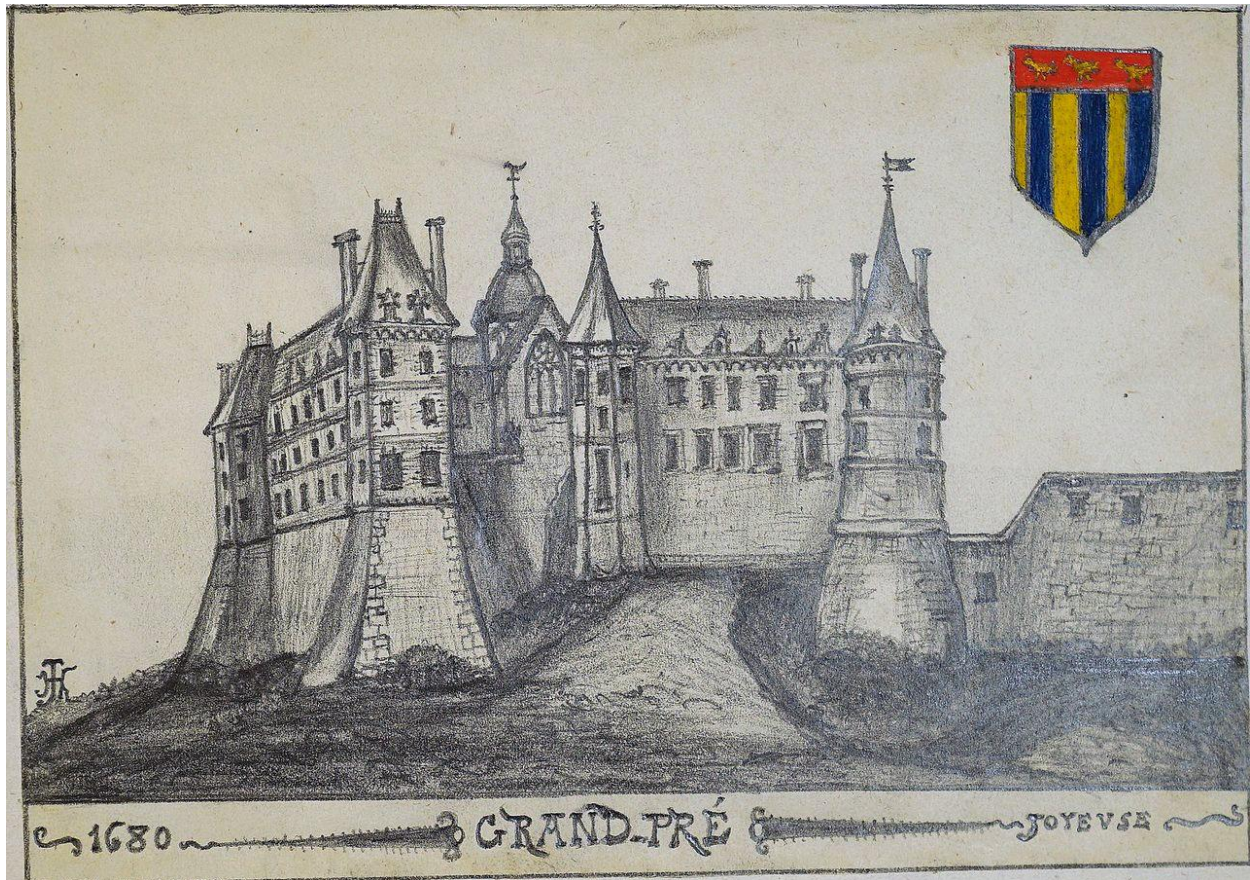
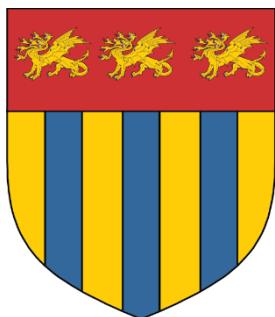
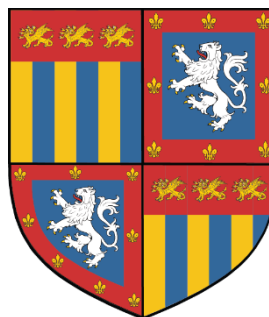


Figure 1: Château de Grandpré⁷⁴

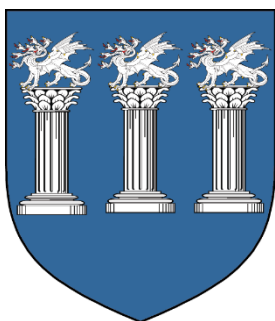
⁷⁴ Nicolas Tassin, artist,
https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Grandpr%C3%A9#/media/Fichier:Chateau_rand_pr%C3%A9_16188.jpg (accessed 4 Feb. 2023).



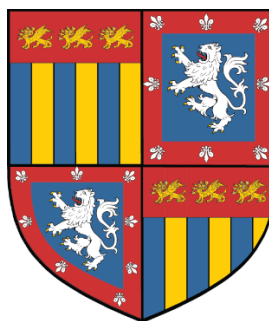
Arms of Joyeuse
Pallé d'or et d'azur de sept pièces, au chef de gueules, chargé de trois hydres d'or.



Arms of Joyeuse, quartered with St-Didier as used by the Counts of Grandpré
Ecartelé, au 1 & 4, palé d'or et d'azur a six pièces au chef de gueules, chargé de trois hydres d'or de Joyeuse, au 2 & 3, d'azur au lion d'argent à la bordure de gueules, chargé de huit fleurs de lys d'or, qui est St-Didier.



Arms used by Joyeuse de Champigneulle
D'azur, à trois hydres sur trois pillers, le tout d'argent.



Arms used by the count of Joyeuse in Bohemia and Austria
Geviertet, 1. u. 4. unter rothem Schildeshaupt, in diesem drei rechts schreitende goldene Hydren sechsmal von Blau und Gold gespalten; 2. u. 3. in Roth blauer aussen mit acht silbernen Lilien besetzter Schild, in seibern ein silberner Löwe.

Figure 2: Joyeuse Arms

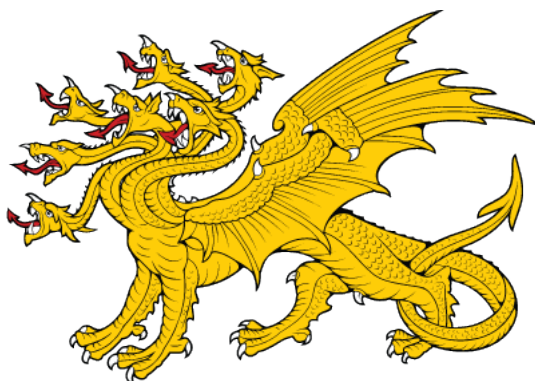


Figure 3: The Joyeuse Hydra