

The Arms of Coucy in Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass

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TWO MATCHING ROUNDELS with coats of arms, on loan to the Corning Museum of Glass, have been in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art since the bequest of George D. Pratt in 1935 (Figure 1).¹ The Pratts were chiefly interested in medieval armor, and the stained glass which went to the Metropolitan Museum from their Long Island house, in Glen Cove, had been a decorative accessory to their fine display of arms and armor. They probably bought all of their stained glass from the English dealer Roy Grosvenor Thomas, but they seem to have kept no records of the purchases.

The roundel designs framing these two coats of arms are modern, perhaps added by the dealer. The two shields, on the other hand, are rare examples of thirteenth-century stained-glass heraldry. They have hitherto been dated, again probably by the dealer, in the fourteenth century. Though they bear no painted designs, which would facilitate a stylistic attribution to one period or the other, the glass of which they are made is clearly thirteenth century. The European stained-glass art achieved a number of technical improvements during the generation spanning the year 1300. Fourteenth-century glass is thinner, with fewer imperfections, and it comes in larger pieces.² The glass of the Metropolitan Museum's pair of shields predates that development.

The shields display the coat of arms of one of the most powerful families of medieval France, the house of Coucy:³ barry of vair and gules. In heraldic blazon that describes a pattern of horizontal bands, alternately of vair and of red (gules). Vair is a blue and white design presumed to represent the common medieval fur, squirrel. While in heraldry it often has

the appearance of a series of small interlocking bells or shields, the glazier who made the Metropolitan Museum panels has simplified the form. The glass cutting and leading required to produce a classic vair would have been a formidable if not impossible task with thirteenth-century techniques and on such a small scale. Stripped of their modern surrounds, the Coucy shields are not quite seven inches high.

The lords of Coucy were crusaders and adversaries of the Capetian kings, and they and their great château in Picardy figured in medieval literature as well as history. Guy de Couci, a twelfth-century troubadour, not only wrote lyrics but was himself the hero

1. MMA 41.170.76 and 41.170.77, catalogued as English, 14th century. I would like to thank William H. Forsyth, who was Assistant Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum when the Pratt bequest entered the collection, for his memory searching, and also Barbara Drake Boehm for her help from the Metropolitan Museum files. The arms are there tentatively identified as Beaumont (County Devon) or Thomas Coucy. Beaumont, however, bore barry of gules and vair, the reverse of the tinctures of the roundels; the English family of Coucy-Vervin, which included a Thomas II (d. 1276) and Thomas III (d. 1302), differentiated the Coucy arms with an added gold bend or baston not present in the roundels.

2. The changes begin to appear in the 1280s. See Meredith Lillich, "Gothic Glaziers: Monks, Jews, Taxpayers, Bretons, Women," *Journal of Glass Studies* 27 (1985), esp. the conclusion.

3. The arms of Enguerrand IV, sire of Coucy from 1250 to 1312, are found on both the Wijnbergen Roll, no. 876, and the Chifflet Roll, no. 65. For Wijnbergen, see Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, "Un Armorial français du XIIIe siècle: L'Armorial Wijnbergen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 65 (1951) pp. 49–58, and 68 (1954) p. 60, no. 876. For Chifflet, see Max Prinnet, "Armorial de France composé à la fin du XIIIe siècle ou au commencement du XIVe," *Le Moyen Age*, 2nd ser., 22 (1920) p. 23, no. 65; Gerard J. Brault, *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms*



1. Arms of Coucy in a pair of heraldic shields, 13th century (in modern surrounds). Stained glass, diam. 10½ in. (26.7 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George D. Pratt, 1935, 41.170.76,77



2. Cast of the seal of Enguerrand IV de Coucy, 1273. Paris, Archives Nationales S2204 counterseal (photo: Archives Nationales)



of a late thirteenth-century Picard French romance with later metrical versions in English.⁴ The actual power of the Coucy can be surmised from their motto: “Roy ne suis, ne prince ne duc, ne comte aussy; je suis sire de Coucy.”

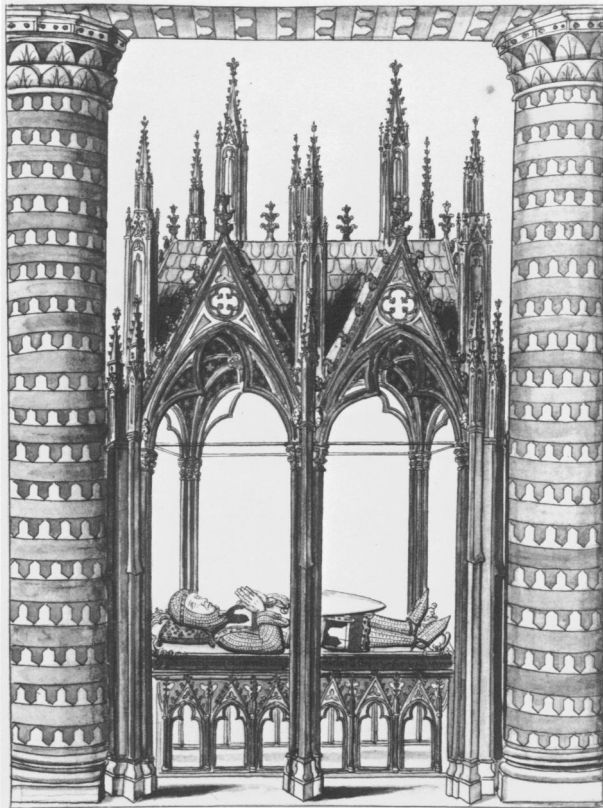
The seal of Enguerrand IV, sire of Coucy from 1250 to 1312, shows the arms of the Metropolitan Museum’s roundels (Figure 2).⁵ Since stained-glass heraldry seems to have been used no earlier than the clerestory of Chartres, it is safe to assume that the roundels present the arms of Enguerrand IV or of his ancestor Enguerrand III le Grand, formidable baron who took part in the Albigensian crusade in 1209, fought at Bouvines in 1214, played an active role in the barons’ rebellion in the late 1220s, and died falling from a horse in 1242 or 1243. His son Raoul II joined the crusade of St. Louis soon thereafter and died a hero’s death at Al-Mansura in 1250. The name of his heir, Enguerrand IV, whose long career stretched into the early fourteenth century, has come down in history in scandal, as protagonist of an incident exemplifying the justice of St. Louis.⁶ Sometime in the late 1250s three adolescent poachers were caught on his lands at Coucy and, at his order, per-

in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon (University Park, Pa., 1973) pp. 9–10, 80 no. 66. For Coucy genealogy, see E. de Lépinos, *Histoire de la ville et des sires de Coucy* (Paris, 1858) pp. 130–143; Jules Moreau, *Notice sur les sires de Coucy*, rev. 2nd ed. (Chauny, 1871) pp. 248–257.

4. Guy was probably not lord of Coucy but the castle’s châtelain from 1186 to 1203. His songs were edited by Fritz Fath in 1883. A Picard French romance of the late 13th century, “Le Châtelain de Coucy et la dame de Fayel” by “Jakemon Sakesep,” features Guy as fictional hero and retells the folk legend of the “coeur mangé” in which a betrayed husband (the sire of Fayel) feeds his wife the heart of her lover (Coucy). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. “Coucy, Le Châtelain de”; Max Prinnet, “Les Armoiries dans le roman du châtelain de Coucy,” *Romania* 46 (1920) pp. 161–179.

5. L. Douët-d’Arcq, *Collection de sceaux* (Paris, 1863–68) no. 1905 bis, counterseal dated 1273 (Archives Nationales S2204).

6. The two-part article by J. Tardif, contrary to its title, does not discuss the famous trial but does provide detailed lives of Enguerrand III (pp. 414–441) and his part in the barons’ re-

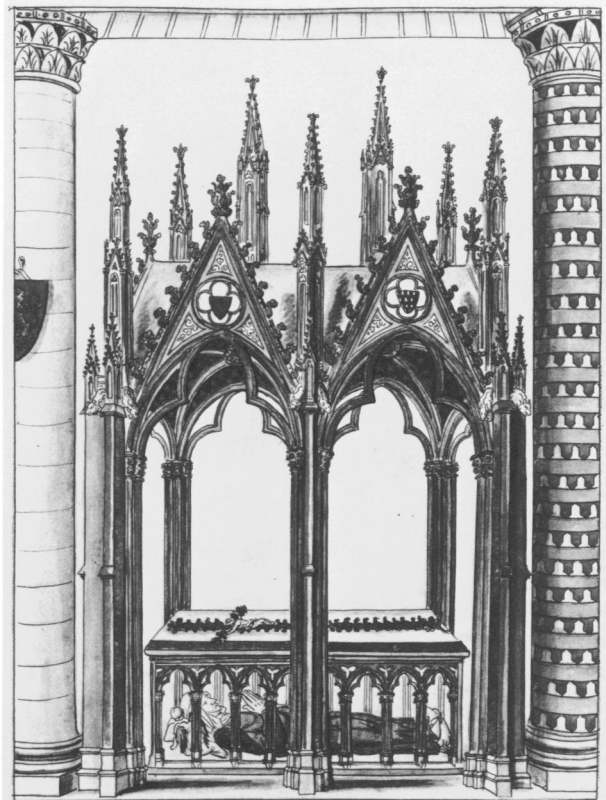


TOMBEAU de pierre, peint entre deux piliers a gauche du grand Autel de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de Longpont.

3. Seventeenth-century drawing of the tomb of Enguerrand IV de Coucy (d. 1312), in the now-ruined abbey of Longpont, between two piers to the left of the high altar. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Drw.-Gaignières, vol. 13, fol. 91r (photo: Bodleian Library)

emptorily hanged. They happened to be aristocratic young Flemings sent to learn French at the nearby abbey of St.-Nicolas, of which their kinsman was abbot, and the family's complaints roused Louis IX to bring the powerful baron of Coucy to heel in a fa-

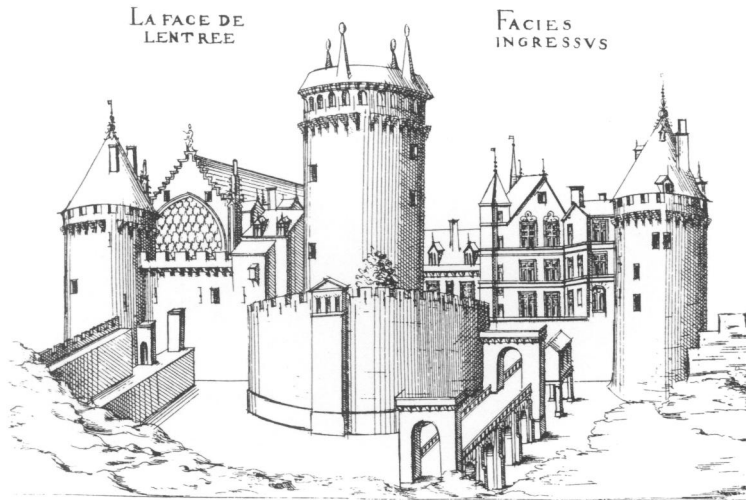
bellion, Raoul II (pp. 442–444), and Enguerrand IV (pp. 444–454): J. Tardif, "Le Procès d'Enguerrand de Coucy," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 79 (1918) pp. 5–44 and 414–454. Sources on the trial are collected by William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979) p. 209 n. 156. In addition to his references, see René Mouterde, "Un Procès sous Saint Louis," *Université Catholique* (Lyons) n.s. 6 (Jan. 1891) pp. 105–124.



TOMBEAU de pierre a tenant du precedent entre deux piliers a gauche du grand Autel de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de Longpont.

4. Seventeenth-century drawing of the tomb of Marie de Montmirail, dame de Coucy (d. 1271), in the abbey of Longpont, between two piers to the left of the high altar. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Drw.-Gaignières, vol. 13, fol. 93r (photo: Bodleian Library)

mous trial at which the angered nobility of France argued in vain on his behalf. Enguerrand IV was stripped of *haute justice* and of the woods where his victims had been arrested, and the land was donated to the abbey; he was fined ten thousand pounds *parisis*, required to erect a memorial chapel and to endow perpetual masses for the young men, and ordered to go on crusade to the Holy Land for three years, a vow he was later able to buy off for an additional twelve thousand pounds. The chronicler Guillaume de Nangis relates that St. Louis spent the Coucy money building the Maison-Dieu of Pontoise, the dormitory of the Paris Dominicans, and the monastery of the Paris Franciscans.



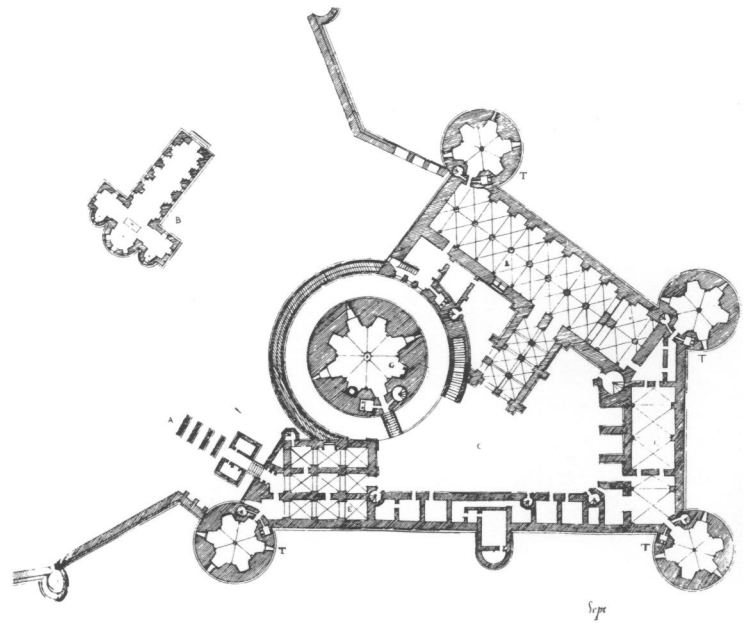
5, 6. The Château of Coucy ca. 1575, view from the entrance and plan, from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le Premier Volume des plus excellents bastiments de France* (Paris, 1576). Syracuse University, George Arnts Library (photo: Syracuse University)

The chapel, behind the donjon in the inner court, opened onto the great hall and was vaulted in square bays supported on central piers, resembling the refectory of St.-Martin-des-Champs in Paris, ca. 1235.

Where might these two small stained-glass shields have come from? The tombs of the Coucy family were in the Cistercian abbey of Longpont, and seventeenth-century drawings show the extravagant display of the family heraldry which surrounded them (Figures 3, 4).⁷ There is no evidence, however, that stained glass formed part of this array, although thirteenth-century tombs elsewhere were occasionally accompanied by heraldry in the windows.⁸ Other Coucy ancestors were buried in the now destroyed Benedic-

7. Buried at Longpont were Enguerrand IV, his mother, Marie de Montmirail (d. 1271), and her father, Jean de Montmirail (d. 1217), who had entered that monastery and died there after a lifetime as a knight. See Marcel Aubert, "Les Tombeaux de l'abbaye de Longpont," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 78/1911, pt. 2 (1912) pp. 308–310. The drawings made for Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715) are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Jean Adhémar illustrates the 19th-century copies made for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in "Les Tombeaux de la collection Gaignières," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 84 (July–Sept. 1974) no. 327 (Marie) and no. 580 (Enguerrand IV), also no. 64 (Jean de Montmirail, no heraldry included).

8. The Benedictine abbey of Evron (Mayenne) housed the



tine abbey of Notre-Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, which was largely rebuilt around 1663 and totally gone by 1865.⁹ The windows of the lost abbey of St.-Nicaise at Reims are said to have contained stained-glass arms of Coucy, according to the *Almanach historique de Reims* of 1772, written after the destruction of the glass in 1760–64,¹⁰ but that identification is a mistake. Dom Marlot, writing in 1660–63, identified Coucy arms painted in the church with a 1338 foundation and clearly described the stained-glass escutcheon as that of the shield of Châtillon, a house related to the Coucys only in the late fourteenth century.¹¹ In any event the early and total destruction of these abbeys and their glass and the absence of any documentation of stained-glass heraldry of Coucy within them produce no leads toward hypothesizing an institutional, reli-

tomb of Renaud de l'Isle and also a stained-glass panel of his coat of arms, both now lost. Their original relationship in the church, if any, cannot be reconstructed.

9. Anne Prache and Dominique Barthélemy, "Notre-Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, une abbaye bénédictine disparue," *Bulletin Monumental* 140 (1982) pp. 7–8.

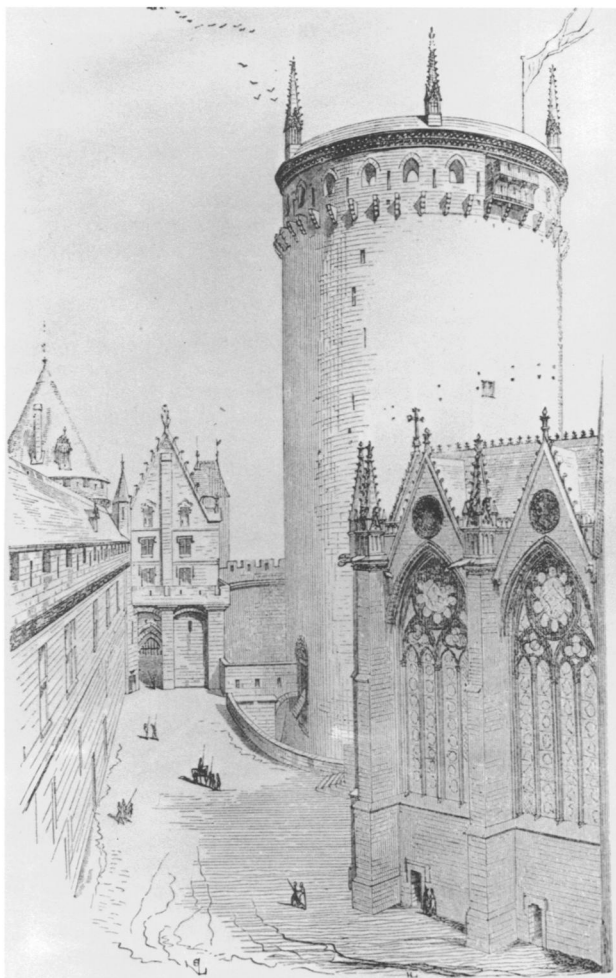
10. Léon Maxe-Werly, "Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicaise de Reims," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 2 (1884) p. 123 and n. 1.

11. Dom Guillaume Marlot (1596–1667), *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims . . .*, 4 vols. (Reims, 1846) III, pp. 336–337. The Châtillon arms are gules, three pales vair, a chief or—i.e., the bands are vertical, not horizontal as in the Coucy arms.

gious origin for the Metropolitan Museum glass shields.

The small scale of these shields, moreover, suggests a private origin. The famous and lavishly decorated château of Coucy was once considered the most beautiful in Europe (Figures 5, 6). The ruins were blown up by the retreating German army in 1917 with twenty-eight tons of dynamite but still offer an impressive appearance. The extensive studies published by the restorer Viollet-le-Duc in 1875 and by Lefèvre-Pontalis are only two among numerous descriptions of Coucy-le-Château from the fifteenth century to its twentieth-century destruction.¹² The original château was constructed by Enguerrand III (d. 1242/43), and the foundation of its chapel still stood in the early twentieth century. Viollet-le-Duc's drawings show the chapel of Coucy in the image of the Ste.-Chapelle (Figure 7), but according to Lefèvre-

7. Viollet-le-Duc, Coucy: hypothetical reconstruction of the inner court, donjon, and chapel, from *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, 1895. Syracuse University, Bird Library (photo: Syracuse University)



Pontalis it was a design of earlier and somewhat heavier Gothic style. He based this judgment on a carved foliage keystone and fragments of window traceries composing quatrefoil and cinquefoil patterns. Even such scant information calls to mind a comparison with the chapel of the royal château at St.-Germain-en-Laye (ca. 1238), while the vaulting on central supports resembled that of the Parisian refectory of St.-Martin-des-Champs (ca. 1235).¹³ In 1386–87, under Enguerrand VII, came the next period of construction at Coucy, a campaign for which the receipts were studied by Broche before their loss in the First World War.¹⁴ Handsome late Gothic living quarters were built then, including a famous “hall of worthies” decorated with statues of the *Neuf Preux* and *Neuf Preuses*.

In 1400 the duke of Orléans purchased the château of Coucy, and it remained in the possession of the house of Orléans until 1829. It is the “Orléans connection” which, as we shall see, makes possible a hypothesis that links the Metropolitan Museum roundels with Coucy-le-Château. Following his purchase in 1400, Louis d’Orléans added a kitchen, stables, and other structures.¹⁵ After his assassination the great fortress changed hands several times and was held briefly by the Burgundians and the English between 1411 and 1423, but by 1442 it was back in the

12. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Le Château de Coucy*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1928); idem, “Coucy-le-Château,” *Congrès Archéologique de France* 78/1911, pt. 1 (1912) pp. 296–308; Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1875) III, esp. pp. 107–117. There is an attractive modern guidebook: François Enaud, *Coucy*, Petites Notes sur les grands édifices, rev. ed. (Paris, 1978).

13. St.-Germain-en-Laye, now in the western suburbs of Paris, is illustrated in pls. 41, 42, 56, and 60 of Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965); St.-Martin-des-Champs, pls. 55, 86.

14. On Enguerrand VII see Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (New York, 1978). Lucien Broche discovered, purchased, and published a manuscript of the receipts (Oct. 1, 1386–Sept. 30, 1387) kept by Jean Plançon, *receveur* of Enguerrand VII. The manuscript was E672 in the Archives Départementales de l’Aisne, where Broche was archivist; it disappeared in World War I. See Lucien Broche, “Notes sur d’anciens comptes de la châtellenie de Coucy (1386–1387),” *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon* 32 (1908) pp. 339f.

15. On the modifications to Coucy made by Louis d’Orléans, see Jean Mesqui and Claude Ribéra-Pervillé, “Les Châteaux de Louis d’Orléans et leurs architectes (1391–1407),” *Bulletin Monumental* 138 (1980) pp. 298, 310–312, 316, 336ff.

possession of the house of Orléans.¹⁶ In 1556 the Renaissance architect Philibert de l'Orme began repairs on Coucy.¹⁷ It fell to the Calvinists in 1567, and in 1652 during the civil war of La Fronde Cardinal Mazarin decreed its destruction by mines. The massive medieval pile with its twenty-eight towers and huge donjon had been reduced to a quarry long before 1829, when the duke of Orléans finally sold it. In 1856 the French government took possession and in due time restored it under the architects Viollet-le-Duc and Boeswillwald.

By the time Viollet-le-Duc went to Coucy the only part of its decoration that remained was painting in the vaults of the towers, of sixteenth-century date. Our information about the rest of the château's rich fittings comes from a long Latin poem written about 1440 by Antoine d'Asti (Astesan), secretary of Duke Charles d'Orléans, collected under the title *Lettres héroïques*. Stained glass is mentioned only once, in Astesan's verses describing the thirteenth-century chapel of Enguerrand III:¹⁸

Capella (lines 474–494)

Hoc castro est factum divino in honore sacellum,
 Dives imaginibus petrae variisque figuris;
 Aurea cui superest non parvo facta decore
 Testudo, variis varie insignita figuris.
 Sed nichil hoc vidi praestantius ipse sacello,
 Quamvis multa forent pulcherrima digna relatu,
 Quam varia in vitreis posita ornamenta fenestris,
 Ditia imaginibus, vario preciosa colore,
 In quibus integras veteris spectare novique
 Testamentorum vel nostra aestate licebat
 Historias. Heu! Heu! Sed longi tempore belli
 Hostiles illam non parva ex parte prophanæ
 Diripuere manus; namque illo tempore castrum,
 Quod capere armorum potuisset nulla potestas,
 Perfidia interior crudeli subdidit hosti.
 Quanti autem fuerint dicta ornamenta valoris,
 Dux Bituricensis regali e stirpe Johannes,
 Qui pro praedictis, quae longe optabat habere,
 Aurea scutorum voluit dare milia bis sex,
 Atque illas iterum puro redimere fenestras
 Vitro, monstravit, aliis ne testibus utar.

(In this castle a chapel was built to the glory of God, embellished by stone statues and various images; the vault above is magnificently gilded and decorated with various figures. But nothing in this chapel—though many very beautiful things could be mentioned—seemed as remarkable to me as the diverse ornaments of the glass in the windows, enriched with images in a multitude of col-

ors, in which one could see stories from the Old and New Testaments and from our own era. Alas! Alas! During a long period of war, the filthy hands of the enemy destroyed a large part of them. At that time, no armed force had been able to seize the castle, but inner treason delivered it to a cruel enemy. As for the value of these treasures, the duke Jean de Berry, of the royal house, proved their great worth: he had long wanted to acquire these windows, and offered to pay 12,000 gold crowns and to replace them in the window spaces with new white glass [grisaille]. I will not give other proof.)

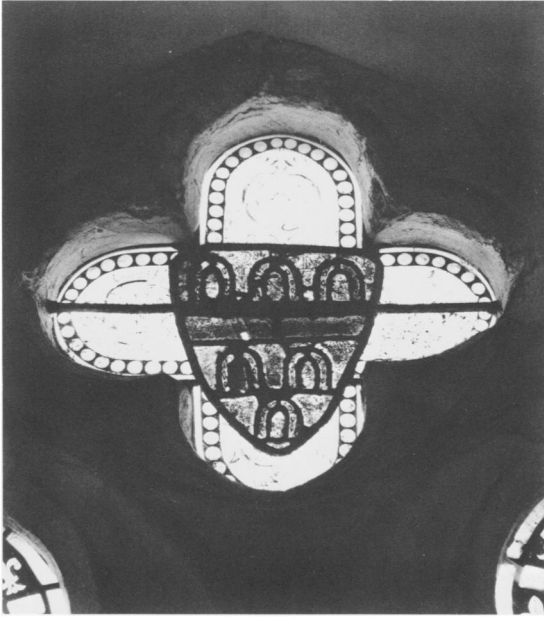
This remarkable passage does indeed justify Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction drawing of the château's chapel in the image of the Ste.-Chapelle of Louis IX: embellished with stone statues, a gilded and painted vault, and precious, multicolored stained glass presenting stories of the Old and New Testaments and of "our era." In fact, on the basis of Astesan's description, the chapel of Coucy moves into contention as one of the major sources of inspiration of St. Louis's famous Parisian chapel—a source completed in the decade immediately preceding the Ste.-Chapelle and without any doubt known to the king. Enguerrand III had nurtured ambitions to unseat the Capetians and rule France as king and had plotted against Louis IX during his minority. Enguerrand is even said to have worn a gold crown and royal regalia in his own court.¹⁹ Louis IX received his vow of fealty following

16. Toussaints Du Plessis, *Histoire de la ville et des seigneurs de Coucy* (Paris, 1728) p. 178. Tuchman's summary of the fate of the château thereafter (*A Distant Mirror*, pp. 595–596) is more or less accurate.

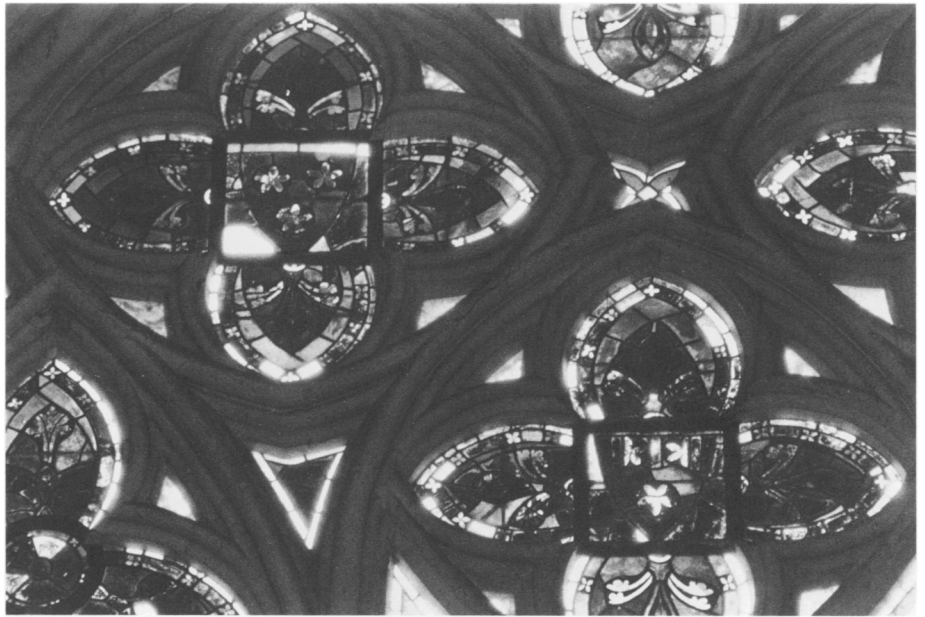
17. Anthony Blunt, *Philibert de l'Orme* (London, 1958) p. 68 n. 3 and p. 151.

18. The description of Coucy-le-Château by Astesan is available in two publications: Antoine Jean Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1867) pp. 552–563; and L'Épinois, *Histoire de la ville et des sires de Coucy*, pp. 354–367. Each prints both the Latin text and a French translation; neither of the latter is precisely accurate, though L'Épinois makes the more blatant error in misidentifying Jean, duke of Berry (line 490) as "Le chef des Anglais Jean, de la famille royale." L'Épinois's mistake was repeated in several 19th-century accounts of Coucy, for example Moreau, *Notice sur les sires de Coucy*, p. 301. My thanks to Helen Zakin for checking the English translation.

19. On the baronial rebellion during Louis IX's minority, see Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille, reine de France* (Paris, 1895) p. 121, and Sidney Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (Baltimore, 1937) p. 61. Louis IX had reason to be suspicious of the house of Coucy, since Enguerrand III married his eldest daughter, Marie, first to the king of Scotland and then to the son of the king of Jerusalem.



8. Arms of de La Ferrière in traceries of the chapel of Aunou-sur-Orne (photo: Piel)



9. Arms of du Merle in traceries of the south choir clerestory of Sées Cathedral (photo: Lillich)

the failure of the barons' rebellion, but the king knew the political power of art and it is reasonable to assume that his Ste.-Chapelle was intended—among other goals—to outshine the glory of Coucy.

The text of Astesan also tells us that the stained glass of Coucy was coveted by the famous art patron Jean, duke of Berry (1340–1416), who offered to pay twelve thousand gold crowns for it and to replace it in the chapel windows with grisailles.²⁰ And finally, Astesan's account makes clear that by the 1440s, when the house of Orléans was again in possession of Coucy, the chapel's stained glass had suffered recent war damage.

The duke of Berry, a rival and antagonist of the duke of Orléans, would hardly have wished to acquire glass depicting emblems or images of Orléans. So, although Astesan's poem omits the date of the Coucy chapel windows, the interest of the duke of Berry in them confirms the likelihood that they were installed under the Coucy family. In a private chapel of early Rayonnant design stained-glass shields of such small scale might be expected in traceries; in the Ste.-Chapelle, for example, one occasionally finds fleurs-de-lis and castles of Castile, emblems of the French king. Figure 8 shows a rare example of such Gothic

glazed traceries in a family chapel which retains its patrons' thirteenth-century coats of arms. They are considerably smaller than those in the contemporary glazing of the cathedral nearby (Figure 9).

While we have no information about when the remains of the chapel glass might have been removed for safekeeping, it was the action of Mazarin in 1652 which rendered Coucy uninhabitable. The duke of Orléans in that year was the brother of Louis XIII, the unfortunate Jean-Baptiste-Gaston (d. 1660), who had little opportunity or desire to spend any time at Coucy; neither did the next (fourth) house of Orléans, inaugurated by Philippe II (d. 1701), brother of Louis XIV, or his descendants. These were: Philippe III (d. 1723), who governed France during the minority of Louis XV; Louis (d. 1752 in retirement at the abbey of Ste.-Geneviève); Louis-Philippe (d. 1785), governor of the Dauphiné; Louis-Philippe-Joseph, known as Philippe-Egalité (d. 1793 on the

20. Jean, duke of Berry, was the uncle of Louis d'Orléans but outlived the latter's assassination in 1407. It is impossible to know whether he had made his offer to Enguerrand VII, to his daughter, to Louis d'Orléans, or to the king who took over Coucy following the assassination.

scaffold of the Revolution); and Louis-Philippe (d. 1850), who became king of France in 1830. Coucy had been sold the previous year, and its Gothic glass had no doubt been moved from the château long before.

Moved where? Ultimately, it seems probable, the remnants of the ancient heraldic glass of Coucy decorated Orleans House, home of the exiled Orléans family near Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill²¹ at Twickenham (Middlesex). Orleans House was built in the reign of Queen Anne by James Johnston ("Secretary Johnston") and augmented in the 1720s with an Octagon designed by the architect James Gibbs; the Octagon remains, the rest of the house having been pulled down in 1927.²² Louis-Philippe, duke of Orléans, lived in the house from 1800 to 1814 and again during 1815–17; and his great-grandson Philippe (1869–1926), duke of Orléans, was born there. Orleans House is known to have had a collection of stained glass, moved there from France and—following a somewhat mysterious sale—eventually returned to France.²³

The sale that put some of the Orleans House stained glass on the English art market cannot be documented, but the Coucy shields were certainly for sale in the early twentieth century, and George Pratt may well have bought them from the English dealer Roy

Grosvenor Thomas. Some of the Pratt glass had come from a "castle" which, according to a reminiscence over forty years later by William H. Forsyth, was built "in the neo-gothic style by the English ambassador to France, and decorated with glass brought from France at the time of the Revolution."²⁴ Allowing for the often intentional vagaries of dealers' stories about their wares, as well as those of time and recollection, that "castle" was probably Orleans House.

In this study I have constructed a hypothesis from some solid data and their plausible implications: the pair of stained-glass roundels now in the United States, a reattribution of the shields to the thirteenth century, the identification of their heraldry with the powerful house of Coucy, the description of the thirteenth-century chapel of Coucy-le-Château about 1440 when in the possession of Charles, duke of Orléans, and the possibility that the stained-glass coats of arms were purchased by Pratt from the English dealer Roy Grosvenor Thomas. If, as I have suggested, they once decorated the chapel built at Coucy about 1225–35 by Enguerrand III le Grand, they are a precious remnant of medieval feudal glory which is all but lost to us save for the tales of the poets and chroniclers who were there.

21. Walpole (d. 1797) was the son of the English Whig prime minister Robert Walpole. Certainly his enthusiasm for medieval stained glass had been known to the French nobility, since Walpole visited Chantilly in 1739, and in 1763 received at Strawberry Hill a visit from the aged duke of Nivernais. See Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1962) chap. III; W. S. Lewis, "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 5 (1934–36) esp. pp. 68–83; Jean Lafond, "Le Commerce des vitraux étrangers anciens en Angleterre au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles," *Revue des Sociétés savantes de Haute-Normandie, Histoire de l'art* 20 (1960) p. 9; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Middlesex, The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, 1951) p. 161–166.

22. Pevsner, *Middlesex*, p. 160.

23. Letter of March 22, 1983, from D. Michael Archer, Victoria and Albert Museum, to whom I would like to express my warm thanks. I am also grateful to Miss Patricia Astley-Cooper, Assistant Curator of Orleans House Gallery, for the following information: the duke of Aumale, Louis-Philippe's son, took possession of Orleans House in 1855 and added an art gallery and library for his large art collection; in 1871 he returned to France, where he spent his last years at Chantilly. A print by E. Pingret published in the Gallery's brochure shows King Louis-Philippe visiting Orleans House in 1844.

24. Letter to the author, Apr. 1, 1981.