

**Royal Women, Intercession, and
Patronage in England,
1328-1394**

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Abstract

Recent scholarship on medieval queenship has focussed to a great extent on 'exceptional' queens such as Isabella of France and Margaret of Anjou. This study bridges the gap between those queens by focussing on the inconspicuous queens Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia, with comparison to Joan of Kent, not a queen but the mother of Richard II. Comparison of queens with the mother of a king allows for examination of the queenly offices, such as the uses of influence with the king. This thesis focusses on the areas of intercession and patronage in particular in order to investigate queenly use of 'soft power' and influence.

The first chapter analyses literary depictions of intercession with its focus on motherhood, while the next chapter compares the petitionary activity of queens, finding that despite the emphasis of literary instances on pregnancy and childbirth, Philippa in particular actually participated in less intercessory activity during those times. The third chapter focusses on the queen's revenues, particularly the custom of queen's gold, which maintained an indirect link between intercession and the queen's benefits, by which she could fund her patronage activities. The next chapters focus on material culture, such as jewellery, and queenly representations including seals, effigies and depictions in manuscripts. The use of symbols and heraldry, as well as gift-giving, demonstrates that although queens were expected to assimilate into their new marital families, in practice they maintained links and identities with their birth families. Finally, the thesis examines queenly literary patronage in the late fourteenth century and the lasting legacies of Philippa, Anne and Joan.

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DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, 1234-1396</i> (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1896-1925).
CPL	<i>Calendar Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1521</i> , ed. W. H. Bliss et al, 20 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1893-2005).
CPMR	<i>Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London</i> , ed. A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, 6 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1926-61).
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1413</i> (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1891-1905).
JRULM	John Rylands University Library of Manchester
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , ed. J. E. E. S. Sharp et al, 23 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1904-2004).
SA	Shropshire Archives

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Introduction

This thesis will investigate the factors affecting the agency and influence of medieval queens, with reference to royal women in late fourteenth-century England. A comparative study of the queens Philippa of Hainaut, Anne of Bohemia and the princess Joan of Kent, this thesis will investigate the importance of coronation for a queen by comparing one almost queen and mother of a king with two crowned queens. It will examine the ways in which women of lesser but still royal status were able to participate in the traditional queenly customs such as intercession, and whether it was motherhood that gave power to a queen, her lineage, her crown, or a combination of factors. Although scholars including Marion Facinger and Paul Strohm have argued that the power of queenship decreased from the twelfth century to the fourteenth, such theories often disregard the importance of patronage and intercession for medieval queens as a route for exerting agency.

In exploring the queenship and power debate in relation to late fourteenth-century queens, this study will fill the lacuna between Lisa Benz St John's recent work on the consecutive queens Margaret of France (1279-1318), Isabella of France, and Philippa of Hainaut, and Joanna Laynesmith's study of late fifteenth-century consorts, but taking a comparative approach to the area of intercession and patronage, rather than focussing on authority and the crown.¹ Chronologically, this thesis will primarily focus on the years between 1328, when Philippa of Hainaut married Edward III, and 1394, the year of Anne of Bohemia's death. Concentrating on the duration of each woman's marriage and Joan's widowhood will allow for comparison between Joan's influence, through her son as king, and Philippa and Anne's influence as the wives of

¹ Lisa Benz St John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

kings. St John's study, in addition to Barbara Lake's broad thesis on the five Plantagenet queens and Lisa Hilton's chronological account of every medieval queen, all focus on queenly modes of power and agency in a political context.² In contrast, this thesis will focus on the uses of intercession, gift-giving and patronage to promote influence at court, which earlier historians, such as Marion Facinger, implied were less important than the use of direct power. These royal women became more prominent in inspiring and supporting writers and artists, suggesting a different channel for power through cultural influence, rather than direct authority, and all three participated in intercessory activity. Intercession was itself a kind of patronage, and the two aspects combined in the process of petitioning, ultimately to the benefit of the queen or queenly figure herself, whether intangibly through her reputation or legacy, or through money or objects.

The study will focus particularly on types of patronage, including intercessory, literary, and artistic, and the aspects which affected a queen's choice of patronage, including the three women's different background influences and their subsequent networks. Likewise, this study will consider the importance of coronation, especially for Joan of Kent, who was neither a queen consort nor a dowager, yet still fulfilled some queenly duties. Joan was also of the native nobility rather than foreign birth, although Theresa Earenfight argues that not only the queen's 'foreignness' whether through place or status of birth set her apart, but also her closeness to power and link to the next generation through her role as mother.³ This thesis will be unique in analysing the queen's role at court as transactional, whereby she accumulated wealth from land, rights and traditions, such as queen's gold in return for intercessory

² Barbara J. Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England: Theoretical and Actual Authority', (unpubl. PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1992); Lisa Hilton, *Queens Consort: England's Medieval Queens* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2008).

³ Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 27.

activities, and in turn funded artists and writers, as well as material culture through the purchase of objects such as books.

The queen's influence not only extended to the king and royal court, but also to wider artistic and literary culture, especially when considering Marguerite Keane and Therese Martin's argument that the 'maker' of an artwork could include the commissioner or recipient, the person without whom the work would not exist, thus widening the range of objects associated with an individual's influence.⁴ In many ways, queenly influence in these areas represented soft power, especially important at a time when direct authority was less accessible for women, even those of a royal status. However, as Earenfight argues, women could effect power indirectly when accessed through a powerful family.⁵ Studying the indirect power of queens is therefore as important as studying their authority, and particularly so when for many medieval women, indirect power was the only type accessible to them.

Queenship and Historiography

Whilst most scholarly historians have concentrated upon politics and government, and the corresponding men in charge, the study of queenship has been an expanding field since the nineteenth century. Victorian authors such as Agnes Strickland produced popular biographies of queens, although their works tended towards emotional, narrative accounts, with Parsons noting that Strickland in particular was blinkered by her strong Anglican faith and tendency to moralise on the medieval Catholic queens from her own Protestant viewpoint.⁶ The Victorian period witnessed an increase in

⁴ Marguerite Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th-century France: The Testament of Blanche of Navarre (1331-1398)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 3; Therese Martin, 'Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History', in Therese Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 6.

⁵ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 12 and 25.

⁶ Agnes Strickland, *The Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, 12 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1840-1848); John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-*

works on medieval queens as society sought to situate their own queen regnant within the context of past queen consorts. Queen Victoria herself dressed as Philippa of Hainaut for a fancy dress ball in 1842, depicted in a portrait by Edwin Landseer, with the Prince Consort costumed as Edward III.⁷ However, even modern historians have relied on Strickland, for many years the leading if not only biographer of medieval queens, despite her questionable use of medieval sources, resulting in the acceptance of myths and rumours as facts.⁸ A lack of other scholarship on fourteenth-century queens for many years has exacerbated the problem, with Rosemary Mitchell comparing the historiographical treatment of Eleanor of Aquitaine, perceived as a ‘bad queen’, with that of Philippa, whose Victorian image as a pious, ‘good’ queen remained essentially stagnant.⁹ This thesis therefore seeks to reassess Philippa, Anne and Joan not through the simplistic lens of ‘good’ and ‘bad’, but rather through the range of factors which affected their actions and reputations.

From the mid-twentieth century onwards, the shift towards social history and women’s studies, as well as the political influence of feminism, heralded a new interest in the lives of queens, with a more analytical focus on the office of queenship, rather than the person.¹⁰ For example, Facinger’s 1968 article on Capetian queenship, often

Century (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 242-3; Rohan Maitzen, “‘This Feminine Preserve’: Historical Biographies by Victorian Women”, *Victorian Studies* 38, 3 (1995), pp. 371-93.

⁷ Rosemary Mitchell, ‘The Red Queen and the White Queen: exemplification of medieval queens in nineteenth-century Britain’, in Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (eds.), *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 169.

⁸ For example, Jeanne E. Krochalis, ‘The Books and Reading of Henry V and His Circle’, *The Chaucer Review* 23, 1 (1988), pp. 50-77.

⁹ Mitchell, ‘The Red Queen and the White Queen’, p. 174.

¹⁰ Theresa Earenfight, ‘Highly Visible, Often Obscured: The Difficulty of Seeing Queens and Noble Women’, *Medieval Feminist Forum* 44, 1 (2008), p. 87; Works include Marion Facinger, ‘A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987-1237’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), pp. 3-48; Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, ‘The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500-1100’, *Feminist Studies* 1, 3/4 (1973), pp. 126-141; Jo Ann McNamara, ‘Women and Power through the Family Revisited’, in Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 17-30; John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994);

hailed as a landmark in the field of queenship studies, theorised that from the tenth century onward the queen functioned as the king's partner in governing, reaching the height of power in the twelfth century. Subsequently, Facinger argued, the office then degenerated into indirect power channelled through influence over the king and other avenues such as patronage and motherhood. Facinger blamed the growing royal bureaucracy and the siphoning of power into the government for the transition of the queen's power.¹¹ Many historians, including Strohm, agree with Facinger's hypothesis, despite the work of scholars such as Parsons and Margaret Howell arguing that thirteenth-century queens, including Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) and Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), were capable of more direct power, in addition to Laynesmith in her study of fifteenth century queens.¹² Pauline Stafford argues that

Theresa M. Vann (ed.), *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995); Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997); Louise Olga Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); L. Huneycutt, 'Medieval Queenship', *History Today* 39, 6 (1989), pp. 16-22; Elizabeth Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr: The Reign and Disputed Reputation of Johanna I of Naples* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner (eds.), *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre (eds.), *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Theresa Earenfight, 'Medieval Queenship', *History Compass* 15, 3 (2017); Theresa Earenfight, 'Where Do We Go From Here? Some Thoughts on Power and Gender in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51, 2 (2016), pp. 116-131; Zita Eva Rohr and Lisa Benz (eds.), *Queenship, Gender, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Simon Maclean, *Ottonian Queenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Phyllis G. Jestice, *Imperial Ladies of the Ottonian Dynasty: Women and Rule in Tenth-Century Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Penelope Nash, *Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda: Medieval Female Rulership and the Foundations of European Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Lois Huneycutt, 'Queenship Studies Comes of Age', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51, 2 (2016), pp. 9-16; Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *Queens in Medieval France, 1300-1500*, trans. Angela Krieger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Amy Victoria Hayes, 'The late medieval Scottish Queen, c. 1371-c. 1513', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2016);

¹¹ Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship', p. 40.

¹² Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, p. 66; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, p. 5; Gaude-Ferragu, *Queens in Medieval France*, p. 78.

Facinger's thesis is an oversimplification, and that the continuing personal nature of medieval politics meant that a queen could still have influence through her relationships, such as with her husband, children and wider kin.¹³ Likewise, Miriam Shadis argues that Facinger was limited in her view of medieval politics through her focus on charters.¹⁴ Rather, queens experienced surges and declines of power and influence, which took various forms, and which were affected by their personalities and the state of their relationships with others, as well as by outside forces such as political events and movements. Aside from regional variations, Earenfight argues that queenship remained essentially steady over the medieval period in terms of rule through a patriarchal family, particularly due to the influence of Christianity.¹⁵ Compared to Isabella of France (1295-1358), and the women of the Wars of the Roses, Philippa, Anne, and Joan of Kent appeared lacking in power, yet were still able to exercise agency through patronage in its various forms, the focus of this thesis.

Ladies of the nobility and royalty were the closest women to power and the men who exerted authority, but confined as they were by prescribed gender roles and expectations, few even of these 'exceptional women' were able to effect political change, or exert real power.¹⁶ The term 'power' itself also raises difficulties. Sandy Bardsley defines 'power' as the ability to effect change, and 'authority' as legitimate power, which few medieval people were able to access, regardless of gender.¹⁷

¹³ Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1998), p. 195.

¹⁴ Miriam Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument', in Kathleen Nolan (ed.), *Capetian Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 140.

¹⁵ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Amalie Fölsel, 'The Political Traditions of Female Rulership in Medieval Europe,' in Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 68; J. W. Scott, 'Gender: A useful category of historical analysis', *American Historical Review* 91, 5 (1986), pp. 1053-75.

¹⁷ Sandy Bardsley, *Women's Roles in the Middle Ages* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), p. 195.

Bardsley's definition of 'authority' often coincides with forms of public power, whether religious or political, and official offices were almost always the domain of men in the medieval period, with the exception of, for example, some female sheriffs.¹⁸ By contrast, soft power, such as that often wielded by women, through influence or patronage, produced less surviving evidence in the form of official documents, as well as fewer references in chronicles and histories.¹⁹ This study focusses on 'soft' power, because queens such as Anne and Philippa have attracted less attention than those queens who attempted to access 'hard' power in the political arena. Earenfight also suggests that the emphasis on personal agency through political power and authority reduces awareness of larger factors in culture and society, and other practices classifiable as 'political', including intercession and patronage.²⁰ This thesis therefore seeks to redress the balance of previous scholarship focussing on queenly authority through an assessment of their indirect power and influence.

Earlier historical thought of the nineteenth century, now largely dismissed, also argued that queens inhabited a private, domestic sphere, and men the public world in which politics took place, disregarding the idea that queens could exert political authority and the very office of queenship.²¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, in his study of medieval kingship, suggested a duality comprised of the king's body and the royal office, and the secular and priestly functions of rulership.²² Earenfight criticises

¹⁸ Louise J. Wilkinson, 'Women as Sheriffs in Early Thirteenth Century England', in Adrian Jobson (ed.), *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 111-24.

¹⁹ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, p. 4.

²⁰ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 25-7.

²¹ John Carmi Parsons, 'The Intercessionary Patronage of Queens Margaret and Isabella of France', *Thirteenth Century England* 6 (1997), p. 145; John Carmi Parsons, 'Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship', in John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), p. 9; Janet Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', in Linda E. Mitchell (ed.), *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York: Garland, 1999), p. 181.

²² Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 9.

Kantorowicz's theory, arguing that such modes totally exclude queenship from office.²³ Others have suggested similar dualities for queens. For example, emphasising the importance of royal motherhood, Shadis posits that pregnant queens embodied both themselves and the physical link between dynastic generations.²⁴ In addition, attempting to define queenship by applying universalised theories to all queens throughout the medieval period is problematic. Unlike medieval kingship, queenship was dynamic and flexible, especially due to the gaps produced between the deaths of queens and the coronation of the next, whereas the office of kingship passed directly from one to another, with no time lapse.²⁵ In this case, Joan of Kent overlaps the queenships of Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia, fulfilling some of the queenly customs in the absence of a crowned queen, but lacking the same status and gravitas. Unlike other famed mothers of kings, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204) and Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), Joan was not a queen dowager. Studying queenship is therefore more complex and has been perceived as less important than kingship, although this has begun to change in the past few decades, with more modern scholars such as Earenfight and Elena Woodacre arguing for the study of the king and queen as a partnership in rule.²⁶ Philippa and Anne form ideal cases for investigation and comparison given their harmonious relationships with their husbands, and in the example of Anne, Richard's attempts to give his wife prominence, such as in the novel design of their joint tomb. In many ways Philippa fulfilled the functions of an

²³ Earenfight, *The King's Other Body*, p. 12.

²⁴ Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 13.

²⁵ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 6.

²⁶ Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens, and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19, 1 (2007), p. 10; Elena Woodacre, 'Contemplating Royal Women's Access to Power and the Transition Between the Middle Ages and the "Monstrous Regiment" of the Early Modern Era', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51, 2 (2015), p. 64

archetypal medieval queen, given her reputation as an intercessor and her production of multiple heirs.

Recent historians have disproved the traditional argument that women were confined to the private, domestic sphere and that men inhabited the public, political arena.²⁷ The royal household was the centre of government, so therefore both private and public by necessity. For example, in her study of the gendered spaces of royal architecture, Amanda Richardson found that the queen's apartments were generally farther removed from the public areas of the court, although this layout was due to general ideologies about women, rather than physically gendered areas.²⁸ Often the link between queens and their intimacy with the king allowed them access not available to others, and the opportunity for intercession, through influence based on the relationship between king and queen.²⁹ Women were both expected not to raise their voices and yet also to act as mediators, especially in the case of noblewomen, in order to foster social harmony.³⁰ The concept of women and queens inhabiting only the private sphere may have been an ideal, but an impossible one, because queens especially played an unavoidable role in the public eye, and both spheres intersected

²⁷ Amanda Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history', *The Historical Journal* 36, 2 (1993), pp. 383-414; Felicity Riddy, 'Looking Closely: Authority and Intimacy in the Late Medieval Urban Home', in Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 212-28.

²⁸ Amanda Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160-c. 1457: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), p. 163.

²⁹ W. M. Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Peasants' Revolt', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann Hutchinson, Carol Meale and Lesley Johnson (eds.), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 277-92.

³⁰ Carolyn P. Collette, *Performing Polity: Women and Agency in the Anglo-French Tradition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 2-3; Shawn D. Ramsey, 'The Voices of Counsel', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 42, 5 (2012), pp. 472-89; Sharon Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum* 61, 3 (1986), pp. 517-43; Judith Bennett, 'Queens, Whores and Maidens: Women in Chaucer's England', *Hayes Robinson Lecture Series* 6 (Egham: Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), p. 15.

in the royal court, leading Earenfight to suggest replacing the term ‘monarchy’ with ‘rulership’. The latter leaves space for queens rather than the perception of ‘monarchy’ as rule by a single male figure. Likewise, rather than separate spheres, Earenfight argues that public and private formed rather a continuum, and power centred on the family where the queen had an important role. Although her power was indirect, the fact that her family was powerful made her indirect power powerful.³¹ The queen’s power changed in form over time, but did not necessarily become lesser.

In addition to the debate over public and private spheres, the theory of diminishing power for queens also has further problems. For example, Facinger’s study focussed upon the French Capetian queens, but the experience of queens varied geographically, as more recent scholarship on Iberian queens suggests.³² Neither is Facinger’s hypothesis necessarily applicable to Norwegian or Danish queens, or even to all French queens, with Janet Nelson highlighting Blanche of Castile and Isabeau of Bavaria in particular as anomalies.³³ Although the English court had many similarities with the French one, particularly in literature and language, the evolution of queenship differed. Howell argues that the style and form of the office of queenship changed over the medieval period, but that the importance of queenship within England did not necessarily decline.³⁴ Changes in the office of queenship were also

³¹ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 12 and 25.

³² Zita Eva Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381–1442): Family and Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Zita Eva Rohr, ‘Lessons for My Daughter: Self-Fashioning Stateswomanship in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon’, in Laura Delbrugge (ed.), *Self-Fashioning and Assumptions of Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 46-78; Elena Woodacre (ed.), *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Theresa Earenfight, *The King’s Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Nuria Silleras-Fernandez, *Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

³³ Nelson, ‘Medieval Queenship’, pp. 201-2.

³⁴ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 261.

endemic of wider shifts in society, including an anxiety to establish gender roles, which might therefore further limit the activities of queens and noble women. For example, Earenfight outlines four phases in the history of queenship, with Philippa in particular overlapping the eras including 1100-1350, when the rise of bureaucracy limited the queen's political power as the same time as the development of queens' coronations provided them with an official position. The next period of 1350-1500 saw dynastic crises across European reigns, the context for Anne of Bohemia's childlessness.³⁵ Studying Philippa and Anne therefore has wider ramifications for the study of queenship and medieval monarchy in general due to changes in queenship as an office.

The experiences of individual queens also had an impact on queenship. The apparent decrease in power of the twelfth century coincides in England with the queenship of Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), known for her lack of involvement in the government of her second husband, Henry II (1133-1189), despite attracting a considerable quantity of historiography in comparison to other medieval queens.³⁶ Howell suggests that Eleanor's unhappy marital relations and her imprisonment accounted more for her lack of influence in politics than the measures that Henry II

³⁵ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 19-20.

³⁶ For example, W. W. Kibler (ed.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976); J. Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine', in J. L. Nelson (ed.), *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth* (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1992), pp. 17-50; D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Legend* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); B. Wheeler and J. C. Parsons (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); R. C. DeAragon, 'Do We Know What We Think We Know? Making Assumptions About Eleanor of Aquitaine', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 37 (2004), pp. 14-20; Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (eds.), *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005); Jean Flori, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel*, trans. Olive Classe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Michael R. Evans, *Inventing Eleanor: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Image of Eleanor of Aquitaine* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

took towards formal government administration.³⁷ In another example from the fourteenth century, Isabella of France, Philippa of Hainaut's immediate predecessor, led a coup against her husband, with W. M. Ormrod emphasising Philippa's contrasting lack of political ambition.³⁸ Anne and Philippa both had apparently loving, companionate relationships with their spouses, providing a contrast to queens such as Isabella. In Edward III's reign, his mother Isabella as well as his mistress, Alice Perrers, were both ambitious women at court.³⁹ Joan of Kent, in accompanying her husband and acting as a representative on his behalf, may also have had the opportunity to exercise power if she had chosen, and was especially known for her influence with her son. As a royal figure, she offers the opportunity to compare the influence of the king's wife and his mother. The opportunity for queens to exert power depended also on the nature of the respective king and kingship, with Richard II practising a kind of monarchy centred on the perception of his divine right to rule. Facinger's hypothesis of queenship decreasing in power is thus not individually applicable to all medieval queens.

Alongside Facinger's theory of diminishing queenship, Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple's key 1973 article also argues that medieval European women as a whole experienced their greatest level of power in the twelfth century, because the power of the family correspondingly rose between the decline of the Roman Empire and the twelfth century, with McNamara later amending this to the eleventh century.⁴⁰

³⁷ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 261.

³⁸ W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 127.

³⁹ C. Given-Wilson, 'Perrers [married name Windsor], Alice (d. 1400/01), royal mistress', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21977>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁴⁰ McNamara and Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family', pp. 126-41; McNamara, 'Women and Power through the Family Revisited', pp. 17-30.

Similarly, Madeline Caviness posits that the patronage of women, both literary and ecclesiastical, reached its height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when women were able to make grand public donations and to dictate the nature of these gifts.⁴¹ Despite historians differing in their dating of this shift in power, all agree that by the fourteenth century, highborn women such as queens and noblewomen appeared relatively powerless due to the shift in power from the family to the state, despite the physical closeness of queens to power in the person of the king. However, closer examination of royal women such as Philippa, Anne and Joan demonstrates that their powerlessness was a simplistic view when other forms of power, such as intercession and influence, are taken into consideration, types of power also available to women outside of queens.

Marian imagery, from which ideologies of queenship drew much of their significance, also transformed from the twelfth century. In the earlier Middle Ages, depictions of the Virgin depicted her wielding a sceptre, changing to an intercessory figure wearing only a crown without an accessory of authority after the twelfth century.⁴² However, as McNamara and Wemple argue, wealthy women of the late Roman Empire were capable of exercising substantial private power despite being wholly legally barred from the clearly defined realm of Roman public power, and so might medieval queens.⁴³ In England especially, queens rarely functioned as official

⁴¹ Madeline H. Caviness, 'Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?', in June Hall McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 143.

⁴² John Carmi Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500', in Louise Olga Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), p. 66; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 292; Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 51-65; Catherine Oakes, *Ora pro nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

⁴³ McNamara and Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family', p. 127.

regents, until the context of the Wars of the Roses once again forced royal women into the political spotlight.⁴⁴ To all appearances, then, the queens of the later fourteenth century lived in the nadir of women's political power in the medieval period. A study focussing on Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia is thus an important contrast to queens such as Isabella of France and Margaret of Anjou, in order to investigate the forms of power accessible to royal women in this period.

Historical Writing on Philippa, Anne and Joan

No full biography of Philippa exists, with the exception of a much earlier work by Blanche Hardy, an example of the romantic narratives mentioned above, in addition to the single chapter in Strickland's eight volumes.⁴⁵ One aspect of Philippa's tenure that has attracted consideration is her intercessory activity, with Parsons identifying a link between motherhood and childbirth, and depictions and elements of coronation rituals for queens drawing on traditional Marian symbology. However, Parsons' argument was based mainly on literary examples, such as Jean Froissart, who emphasised this link in his description of Philippa as heavily pregnant when interceding for the burghers of Calais. Both Parsons and Strohm argue that queenly

⁴⁴ In addition to Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*; J. L. Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses', in K. J. Lewis, N. J. Menuge, and K. M. Phillips (eds.), *Young Medieval Women* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 47-68; M. E. Díez Jorge, 'Elizabeth of York: Mother of the Tudor Dynasty', in Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 47-58; Michael A. Hicks, *Anne Neville* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011); J. L. Laynesmith, 'Constructing Queenship at Coventry: Pageantry and Politics at Margaret of Anjou's "Secret Harbor"', *Fifteenth Century* 3 (2003), pp. 137-47; P.-A. Lee, 'Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship', *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986), pp. 183-217; H. E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); A. N. Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); A. F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, "'A Most Benevolent Queen": Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation, Her Piety, and Her Books', *The Ricardian* 10, 129 (1995), pp. 214-45; Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485-1547* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁴⁵ Blanche C. Hardy, *Philippa of Hainault and Her Times* (London: J. Long, 1910); Strickland, *The Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. I, pp. 591-614.

intercession had become artificial by the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ Other studies of Philippa consider her finances, spending and the construction of her image, as well as relations with religious figures.⁴⁷ For example, Veronica Sekules argues that Philippa's tomb monument was an innovative design that situated her family within European royalty, although one which, as Ormrod points out, also served the ambitions of her husband.⁴⁸ Also considering the imagery of Philippa as a mother, Caroline Shenton posits that her churching celebrations provided Edward III with opportunities for him to present a stable image of his family after the instability of Edward II's deposition.⁴⁹ The scarcity for Philippa contrasts with the considerable quantity of historiography on her immediate predecessor, Isabella of France.⁵⁰ Such a disparity evidences the

⁴⁶ John Carmi Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood', in John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering* (New York, 1996), pp. 42-7; Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', pp. 64-8; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 95.

⁴⁷ T. D. Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews in Ely Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 41 (1948), pp. 60-6; C. Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households, 1360-9', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51 (1978), pp. 183-7; D. A. Trotter, 'Walter of Stapeldon and the Premarital Inspection of Philippa of Hainault', *French Studies Bulletin*, 49 (1993), pp. 1-4; Frédérique Lachaud, 'Vêtement et pouvoir à la cour d'Angleterre sous Philippa de Hainaut', in Patrick Henriot and Anne-Marie Legras (eds.), *Au cloître et dans le monde: Femmes, hommes et sociétés* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris, 2000), pp. 217-33; Chris Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns: Philippa of Hainaut, Possessions and the Queen's Chamber in Mid XIVth-Century England', *Micrologus* 22 (2014), pp. 201-28.

⁴⁸ Veronica Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony in the Self-Construction of an English Queen: Philippa of Hainault and her Images', in John Mitchell and Michael Moran (eds.), *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Andrew Martindale* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), p. 174; W. Mark Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency: the Commemoration of Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainault', in Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (eds.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2010), p. 103.

⁴⁹ Caroline Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III', in Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (eds.), *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), p. 121.

⁵⁰ Recent works on Isabella of France include Sophia Menache, 'Isabelle of France, queen of England— a reconsideration', *Journal of Medieval History* 10, 2 (1984), pp. 107-24; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France', *Speculum* 63, 3 (1988), pp. 573-95; Suzanne Lewis, 'The Apocalypse of Isabella of France: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms Fr. 13096', *The Art Bulletin* 72, 2 (1990), pp. 224-60; Carla Lord, 'Queen Isabella at the Court of France', in Chris Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 45-52; Anne Rudloff Stanton, 'The Psalter of Isabelle, Queen of England 1308-1330: Isabelle as the audience', *Word & Image* 18, 4 (2002), pp. 1-27; Anne Rudloff Stanton, 'Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-58', in Kathleen Nolan (ed.), *Capetian Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 225-52; Michael Robson, 'Queen

attraction of Isabella as a queen acting in a disruptive manner in her support of a rebellion against the king, in contrast to Philippa and Edward III's relatively harmonious relationship.

Anne of Bohemia also occupies one chapter in Strickland's memoirs, and two shorter works address the reasons behind Philippa and Anne's marriages.⁵¹ Kristen L. Geaman has investigated the probability and effects of her infertility on English kingship and queenship, arguing that after her death Richard II transformed Anne's intercessory activity into compensation for her lack of children and compared Anne's positive reputation with that of Margaret of Anjou, another queen who, like Isabella of France, challenged expected womanly behaviour. Geaman argues that their marriage was not chaste but rather that Anne may have suffered a miscarriage at one point and that the couple may have sought to cure their infertility.⁵² Parsons also questioned whether the mother of the king or his wife was the more suitable intercessor, a concept Ormrod explored with regards to Anne of Bohemia and Joan of

Isabella (c.1295/1358) and the Greyfriars: An Example of Royal Patronage Based on Her Accounts for 1357/1358', *Franciscan Studies*, 65 (2007), pp. 325-48; Laura Slater, 'Queen Isabella of France and the Politics of the Taymouth Hours', *Viator* 43, 2 (2012), pp. 209-45; Lisa Benz St John, 'In the Best Interest of the Queen: Isabella of France, Edward II and the Image of a Functional Relationship', in J. S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth century England VIII* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 21-42; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*.

⁵¹ Strickland, *The Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. I, pp. 543-90; Karl Petit, 'Le mariage de Philippa de Hainault, reine d'Angleterre', *Le Moyen Age*, 87 (1981), pp. 373-85; Marek Suchý, 'England and Bohemia in the Time of Anne of Luxembourg: Dynastic Marriage as a Precondition for Cultural Contact in the Late Middle Ages', in Zoë Opačić (ed.), *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions* 32 (2009), pp. 8-21.

⁵² Kristen Lee Geaman, 'Childless Queens and Child-like Kings: Negotiating Royal Infertility in England, 1382-1471', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013), pp. 274-7; Kristen L. Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', *English Historical Review* 128, 534 (2013), pp. 1086-94; Kristen L. Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', *Social History of Medicine* 29, 2 (2016), pp. 1-21; Kirsten L. Geaman, 'Beyond Good Queen Anne: Anne of Bohemia, Patronage, and Politics', in Heather J. Tanner (ed.), *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100-1400: Moving beyond the Exceptionalist Debate* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 67-89; Lynn Staley, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Objects of Ricardian Kingship', in Jenny Adams and Nancy Mason Bradbury (eds.), *Medieval Women and Their Objects* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), pp. 97-122.

Kent, arguing that Joan only had ability as an intercessor when there was no queen consort due to her lower status. However, Joan's intercessory activity did continue even after Richard's marriage. Among other differences to in Parsons' investigation of Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile, Joan of Kent was not herself a formerly crowned queen.⁵³ Katherine Allocco, however, did investigate a similar example in the case of a petitioner who could have approached either Philippa or Isabella of France and ultimately chose the dowager, suggesting that age and seniority also factored.⁵⁴ By necessity, this thesis also includes some comparisons to the immediate predecessor and successor of Philippa and Anne, Isabella of France, who maintained a prominent role in the early years of the reign of Edward III, and Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), the second wife of Richard II.

The lack of academic biographies for Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia reflects the perceptions of these women as, for Philippa, a domestic queen and mother, and in the case of Anne, one who died childless at the age of twenty-eight and was mostly overshadowed by her husband. Despite her lesser rank, Joan has attracted two modern biographies by Penny Lawne, based on Lawne's thesis, and Anthony Goodman.⁵⁵ Other studies focus on her scandalous marriages, probably due to her status as a figure of chivalric myth.⁵⁶ This thesis seeks to compare Joan as an 'uncrowned queen', a term used by Laura Tompkins in reference to Alice Perrers, with

⁵³ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', pp. 277-92.

⁵⁴ Katherine Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina, Convicted Murderer', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51, 1 (2015), pp. 41-72.

⁵⁵ Penny Lawne, *Joan of Kent: First Princess of Wales* (Stroud: Amberley, 2015); Penelope Joan Lawne, 'Joan of Kent, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock: Royal Kinship and Marriage in the Fourteenth Century', (PhD diss., University of London, 2006); Anthony Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent: A Fourteenth-Century Princess and her World* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017).

⁵⁶ Karl P. Wentersdorf, 'The clandestine marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', *Journal of Medieval History* 5, 3 (1979), pp. 203-231; Joanna Chamberlayne, 'Joan of Kent's Tale: Adultery and Rape in the Age of Chivalry', *Medieval Life* 5 (1996), pp. 7-9.

actual queens, rather than taking a chronological view of her life as in prior biographies, and concentrates on Joan's actions as king's mother rather than her bigamy.⁵⁷ All three women have also attracted consideration as patrons of writers and the inspiration for works of literature, particularly in connection with Froissart, Geoffrey Chaucer, and other poets and contemporary writers.⁵⁸ This thesis seeks to incorporate a range of representations of the royal women through literature, artistic evidence and administrative documents in order to explore different types of patronage as influence, as well as their depiction in both contemporary art and literature.

Sources

The focus of this thesis is on the intercessory activities and patronage of Philippa, Anne and Joan. The use of artistic evidence, whether seals, effigies or illustrations in manuscripts, can therefore answer questions about how queens represented themselves, or were represented. Similarly, literature including chronicles, poetry and romances, often portrays expectations related to the actions and duties of queens. In contrast, administrative records, whether letters, accounts or charter rolls, demonstrate the daily life of queens and their spending habits, and evidence such as papal registers

⁵⁷ Laura Tompkins, 'The uncrowned queen: Alice Perrers, Edward III and political crisis in fourteenth-century England, 1360-1377', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2013).

⁵⁸ Richard Barber, 'Edward III's Arthurian Enthusiasms Revisited: *Perceforest* in the Context of Philippa of Hainault and the Round Table of 1344', in Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson (eds.), *Arthurian Literature XXX* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 55-74; Carolyn P. Collette, 'Joan of Kent and Noble Women's Roles in Chaucer's World', *The Chaucer Review* 33, 4 (1999), pp. 350-62; Melissa M. Furrow, 'The Politics of Queen Philippa's Mottoes: Five English Words', *Modern Philology* 114, 3 (2017), pp. 503-23; Margaret Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 1 (1947), pp. 13-50; Michael A. Michael, 'A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III', *The Burlington Magazine* 127, 990 (1985), pp. 582-99; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', pp. 277-92; Andrew Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 19 (1997), pp. 95-119; Alfred Thomas, *A Blessed Shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (New York, 2007); Alfred Thomas, *Reading Women in Late Medieval Europe: Anne of Bohemia and Chaucer's Female Audience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Michael Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', *Medium Ævum* 78, 2 (2009), pp. 231-60; Walter A. Weese, 'Alceste and Joan of Kent', *Modern Language Notes* 63, 7 (1948), pp. 474-7.

indicates their relationships with other political figures. This thesis will be unique in the use of such a variety of sources and their implications, contrasting the images of queens created through artistic representations and literature with the evidence of administrative documents, and analysing their control over such portrayals.

In a reflection of Philippa's longer life and tenure in comparison to Anne, and her relative status compared to Joan of Kent, more official records in the form of petitions and household accounts survive for Philippa than for Anne or Joan. After Philippa's marriage in 1328, she was crowned in 1330 and remained queen consort until her death in 1369.⁵⁹ In comparison, Anne was married and crowned in 1382, dying at the age of 28 in 1394.⁶⁰ Joan of Kent survived her last husband, the Prince of Wales, whom she married in 1361, living into the reign of her son Richard II until her death in 1385, meaning that her life overlapped with the tenures of both Philippa and Anne.⁶¹ Philippa appears often in the Close and Patent Rolls of her husband, and both Anne and Joan in the rolls of Richard II, which supplies evidence for the royal women as intercessors on an everyday basis. Royal women also appear in petitions, as well as calendars of pleas and the papal registers, although not all instances of the queen's intercession may be recorded, or unsuccessful attempts. Such records however demonstrate social practice in comparison to literary examples, particularly Froissart's

⁵⁹ Juliet Vale, 'Philippa [Philippa of Hainault] (1310x15?-1369), queen of England, consort of Edward III', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22110>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁶⁰ Nigel Saul, 'Anne [Anne of Bohemia] (1366-1394), queen of England, first consort of Richard II', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-555>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁶¹ Richard Barber, 'Joan, *suo jure* countess of Kent, and princess of Wales and of Aquitaine [called the Fair Maid of Kent] (c. 1328-1385)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14823>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

narration of Philippa's intercession at Calais, and the subsequent emphasis in literature of childbearing on intercession.⁶² Other archival material includes the writs for queen's gold in the case of Philippa, also published for Philippa and Anne in William Prynne's *Aurum Reginae*, which evidences the problems that the queen's officials faced in claiming her gold, and by extension the difficulties encountered in her revenues.⁶³ Philippa's household accounts also survive for a year, signifying her spending, the main concerns of her household and its impact on her revenue flow.⁶⁴ Such documents are, however, often at a remove from the queen herself, and were usually managed by her council and administrators.

This thesis will also consider material objects linked to the royal women in order to examine their cultural patronage and influence. Some of these represent the women themselves and may even reflect their own method of self-representation to a certain extent, such as surviving seal images, and the effigies which survive for Philippa and Anne in Westminster Abbey. Keane builds upon Martin's argument that the 'maker' of an artwork can extend to include the commissioner or recipient, a person without whom the object would not have been created. Such a person could affect the formation of the object, whether through the imposition of their aesthetic tastes, or, if a gift, the intention to flatter or educate.⁶⁵ One particular object which intersects with several themes explored in the course of the thesis is the Munich crown,

⁶² *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1234-1396* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1896-1925); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1413* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1891-1905); *Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1521*, ed. W. H. Bliss et al (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1893-2005); *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, 6 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1926-61); *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896).

⁶³ TNA E 5/347, E 5/349, E 5/352, E 5/354 and E 5/355; W. Prynne, *Aurum reginae: or a compendious tractate and chronological collection of records concerning the queen's gold* (London: Ratcliffe, 1668); W. Prynne, *An additional appendix to Aurum reginae* (London: Ratcliffe, 1668).

⁶⁴ Manchester, JRULM Latin MS 235.

⁶⁵ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*, p. 3; Martin, 'Exceptions and Assumptions', p. 6.

also known as the crown of Blanche of Lancaster.⁶⁶ The crown, although linked with Parisian craftsmanship, accompanied Anne of Bohemia on her marriage, and bears similarities to the crown of the Pearl Maiden in the poem *Pearl*.⁶⁷ The journey of the crown from Paris to Bohemia, England and finally to Bavaria in the dowry of Blanche of Lancaster illustrates medieval attitudes towards the value of jewels, the ownership of objects, and the transmission of cultural values in works of art. The crown also appears in the Treasure Roll of Richard II, also a source for many non-surviving objects linked with Anne and some with Philippa and Joan, which provides evidence for the symbols associated with all three women, the types of objects they owned, and to an extent their influence through the use of their symbols and badges by others, including after death.⁶⁸ Symbols on objects as well as effigies and seals meant a way for royal women to some extent control their own self-representation and legacy.

Manuscripts function as objects as well as literature, bearing representations or personal marks of the royal women. Philippa is associated with one manuscript in particular which she probably presented to Edward at their marriage or betrothal, as well as to a lesser extent other manuscripts, such as the Taymouth Hours.⁶⁹ The *Liber Regalis* also offers much information for medieval coronations, as well as containing

⁶⁶ Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schösser, Gärten und Seen, no. 16.

⁶⁷ John M. Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage: Fashion and Texts at the Court of Richard II', *Pacific Coast Philology* 30, 1 (1995), p. 15; John M. Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl: Court Poetry in the Age of Richard II* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), p. 106; Elizabeth Harper, 'Pearl in the Context of Fourteenth-Century Gift Economies', *The Chaucer Review* 44, 4 (2010), p. 421.

⁶⁸ Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), p. 43; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 24; John Gough Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices Discovered on the Effigies of Richard the Second and his Queen in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 29 (1842), pp. 32-59; Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 69-82.

⁶⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS français 571; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturgy. f. 3 and MS Bodley 264; Prague, Národní Muzeum KNM V H 36; London, British Library Royal MS 2 B VII, MS Harley 2899 and Yates Thompson MS 13; London, Dr Williams's Library, MS Ancient 6.

images of a queen with visual similarities to images of Anne of Bohemia.⁷⁰ The three women also appear in contemporary chronicles, such as the *Anonimale Chronicle*, Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* and Knighton's *Chronicle*, which demonstrate contemporary expectations and opinions of queens.⁷¹ Philippa is most associated with Jean Froissart, whom she knew personally, and who also originated from her native county of Hainaut.⁷² Poets also created works for, about or inspired by royal women, including epigrams for Anne, Richard Maidstone's *Concordia*, written about the reconciliation pageant of Richard II with the city of London, the anonymous *Pearl* poem, and certain works by Chaucer.⁷³ All three examples posit the various women, or characters inspired by the women, as intercessors, thus providing a point of comparison for their activity through petitioning, and the way in which their reputations grew. Likewise, Philippa's intercessory nature inspired the anonymous poem *The Vows of the Heron* and possibly the late fourteenth-century *Athelston*, another anonymous poem, which demonstrate the ways in which queenly intercession had essentially become a literary trope.⁷⁴ Although many manuscripts and objects had tenuous links with their suggested owners, artistic representations such as seals and

⁷⁰ London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38.

⁷¹ *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1307-1334: from the Brotherton Collection MS 29*, ed. Wendy R. Childs and John Taylor, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1863-4); *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁷² Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 24 vols. (Brussels: V. Devaux, 1867-1877).

⁷³ Richard Maidstone, *Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard with London)*, trans. A. G. Rigg and ed. David R. Carlson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2003), pp. 50-80; *Pearl*, ed. Sarah Stanbury (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2001); Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁷⁴ 'The Vows of the Heron', in Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard II, Vol. I* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), pp. 1-25; 'Athelston', in Ronald B. Herzman, Graham Drake and Eve Salisbury (eds.), *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelston* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1997), pp. 349-71.

effigies can portray the ways in which royal women wished to be regarded, whereas chronicles and other contemporary sources reveal the ways in which others perceived them.

Structure

A queen's marriage formed familial bonds through her husband and his kin, as well as through their own children, which was the key purpose of marriage. The queen herself represented a diplomatic gift through her role in often securing political alliances, and in turn could become an active participant in gift-giving and disseminating cultural values through her marital country. Motherhood linked a queen to her other key role of intercession, reflecting Marian imagery, in which the Virgin, as Queen of Heaven, was able to intercede with her son on behalf of her petitioners. Intercessory patronage often took place on a personal level, with the queen interceding for her personal acquaintances as well as for groups of people, such as the city of London. Intercession reflected a court culture of gift-giving, funded by traditional prerogatives such as queen's gold, which indirectly resulted in payments to the queen for her intercessory activity, and her dower lands. In turn, the queen acted as patron of literature and art, converting her economic capital, earned partially through intercession with its links to motherhood, into cultural. Although seemingly a selfless act, the queen profited from her intercessory activity, whether materially through money or gifts, or through the benefit to her reputation and legacy. A study of intercession in late fourteenth-century England provides a contrast to queenly power before and after, a magnification of the influence also available to lower status women, often the only kind of power accessible to them.

Chapter I will consider motherhood and intercession, the most important duties of medieval queenship, and the ways in which the two roles intersected. Philippa of

Hainaut forms the archetypal queen for both of these aspects of queenly behaviour, due to her multiple children and her famed intercession at Calais in 1347, where, according to Froissart and Jean le Bel, she threw herself to her knees in order to request mercy from the king for the burghers of the town.⁷⁵ Despite debates over whether Philippa was pregnant, as Froissart claimed, or whether the incident happened at all, the real value of the story is as an indicator of contemporary attitudes towards queenship and intercession. Where the power and authority of the queen has been disputed and depicted as changeable, the queen's influence with the king is undeniable, due to her unique and intimate relationship with her husband. Intercession, where the queen acted as a mediator between the king and his subjects, therefore formed a key part of her role.

Intercession and motherhood often intersected, debatably in the figure of the pregnant queen, such as Philippa at Calais, portrayed as a particularly empathetic intercessor. The range of literary depictions, including poetry inspired by Philippa, demonstrates the dichotomy in which a queen seemingly exerted power through intercession, but her success ultimately depended on the king.⁷⁶ Anne of Bohemia, in contrast to Philippa's multiple offspring, produced no living children, leading to a scholarly debate over whether the marriage had been chaste, perhaps in imitation of Edward the Confessor, or whether the couple were infertile.⁷⁷ Parsons also posits that

⁷⁵ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', pp. 39-61; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 95-105; Gillian Lucinda Gower, 'The Iconography of Queenship: Sacred Music and Female Exemplarity in Late Medieval Britain', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of California, 2016); St John, *Three Medieval Queens*; Colette, *Performing Polity*.

⁷⁶ Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick: Women's Agency in Athelston', in Corinne Saunders (ed.), *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 149-58; Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic and the Miscarriage of Justice in Athelston', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 17 (1995), pp. 79-98; B. J. Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', *Speculum* 20, 3 (1945), pp. 261-278.

⁷⁷ Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', pp. 1-21; Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', pp. 1086-94; Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', pp. 231-60; Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later*

intercession could supply prestige in the absence of motherhood.⁷⁸ As Joan was not a queen, only motherhood, and her position as the mother of the king, gave her a special status with which to intercede with Richard II, and on occasion with Edward III as a prospective queen, but there are no records of her interceding with the Black Prince. The example of Joan versus Anne in the role of intercessor also defies Parsons' suggestion that the mother of the king was a more acceptable intercessory figure than his wife, depending also on other factors such as Joan's uncrowned status.⁷⁹ Examples of the childless Anne of Bohemia performing intercession thus provide a contrast to Joan and Philippa, both of whom drew on their influence as mothers to intercede.

Continuing the theme of intercession, the second chapter will investigate petitionary intercession, in comparison to the previous chapter's emphasis on literary examples, where the queen regularly interceded with the king on behalf of his subjects not only for mercy, but also for the relief of rents and for other petitions, such as requesting the award of grants, positions and other rewards to members of her household. Analysis of petitionary pardons demonstrates that the concept of pregnant queens as intercessors, such as Philippa at Calais, was mainly a literary trope, and

Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 29; Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', in Dillian Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London: National Gallery, 1993), p. 15; Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage', p. 16; W. M. Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages', in P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 181; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', pp. 277-92; R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1983); Charles T. Wood, 'Froissart, Personal Testimony, and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381', in Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 40-49; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 48; Helen Lacey, 'Grace for the rebels: the role of the royal pardon in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381', *Journal of Medieval History* 34, 1 (2008), pp. 36-63; *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, p. 114; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 412; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 1, p. 459; *Knighon's Chronicle*, p. 210; Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices', pp. 517-543; Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos', in Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (eds.), *Power of the Weak: Essays in the History of Medieval Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 126-146.

⁷⁸ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 150.

⁷⁹ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149.

disproves Parsons' suggestion that childbirth provided a particularly effective moment for the queen to request intercession.⁸⁰ Neither Philippa's nor Joan's pregnancies or childbirths coincided with particularly high numbers of recorded pardons, presumably because they had other priorities. Likewise, despite her lack of children, Anne was the most frequent intercessor with her husband Richard II, whereas Philippa was only the most frequent female intercessor with Edward III among a large number of male intercessors, evidencing the importance of surveying numbers of pardons between the queen and others over time. Anne's high level of activity as an intercessor, fuelled partly by responses to the Peasants' Revolt, is also illustrative of Richard's court, where there were more female intercessors than that of his predecessor, and many of these women were associated with Richard's creation of the Ladies of the Garter.⁸¹ Such links persisted throughout the court, with members of the queen's household and kin often recipients of pardons and gifts of land or honours.⁸² A consideration of the queen's intercession and grants positions her as a central figure in the social bonds of the royal court.

Outside of the king, the queen could also use her position to intercede for others with the pope, and with the king on behalf of the pope.⁸³ In addition to interaction with

⁸⁰ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', pp. 42-7; Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', pp. 64-8; Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', pp. 41-72; Anthony Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning in Late Medieval England', in W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd, and A. Musson (eds.), *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 156-72; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*; Helen Lacey, *The Royal Pardon: Access to Mercy in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009); Lacey, "Grace for the rebels", pp. 36-63; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 292.

⁸¹ James L. Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 17, 3 (1985), pp. 259-78; Nicola F. McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, Ladies at Court and the Female Reader', *The Chaucer Review* 35, 1 (2000), pp. 22-42.

⁸² Caroline Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies? Philippa of Hainault's Female Attendants', *Medieval Prosopography*, 31 (2016), pp. 175-208.

⁸³ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51; John Carmi Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England', in Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (eds.), *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), p. 154.

popes and other religious figures, royal women also made donations of land or money to religious institutions.⁸⁴ Although religious donation by queens is often obscured by that of their husbands, religious patronage was also a form of intercession, and a way in which queens could spread their influence and create their own reputations, perhaps for the use of future generations. Queens could follow the patterns of previous queens in bestowing religious patronage, and also donated to institutions with a personal link. Philippa provides an example of combining both when she reformed the Hospital of St Katharine's by the Tower, to the extent of challenging the choice of her predecessor as master of the Hospital and by extension cementing her position as the queen consort. Wives became responsible for the preservation and bequeathing of memory in their marital families, but queenly ownership of objects and the patronage of artisans and household members demonstrates that royal women also continued the memories of their natal families.

Chapter III will further explore the links between intercession, the queen's household, and her finances. Placing a symbolic value on intercession, the petitionary figure of the queen could request a tenth of each fine paid to the king, in a traditional prerogative known as queen's gold, and meaning that the queen's role as intercessor was recognised on a wider scale. The greater number of writs issued for queen's gold under queens who had a larger number of children, such as Philippa, also suggests a link between the two factors. Queen's gold could provide a lucrative source of

⁸⁴ Laura Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London, c. 1300-58', *Gender & History* 27, 1 (2015), pp. 53-76; C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen: British Society of Franciscan Studies, 1915), p. 165; Christian Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540', in Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (eds.), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 117-42; William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of London: Volume 1, London Within the Bars, Westminster and Southwark* (London: Victoria County History, 1909), pp. 525-530; Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews', pp. 60-66.

revenue, but collection was often made difficult by those refusing to pay, not as a challenge to the queen's right to her gold, but rather arguing that not all fines were liable for the tax.⁸⁵ Studying queen's gold under Philippa's long tenure suggests how the custom was supposed to work under an amicable relationship between king and queen, demonstrating that the mechanism of collection was inefficient and perhaps contributing to Philippa's problems with debt. Together with the queen's dower lands, rights such as queen's gold and the profits from wrecks formed the chief sources of her household revenue.⁸⁶ Philippa's household was absorbed into that of her husband in the 1360s, leading to historiographical debate as to the reasons behind the merger, such as Philippa's inability to pay her own debts, Edward's own expenditure, and the convenience of the already close couple spending many of their later years together.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Hilda Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval History: The Wardrobe, The Chamber and the Small Seals, Vol. V* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930), pp. 231-89; Hilda Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in James F. Willard and William A. Morris, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336, Vol. 1: Central and Prerogative Administration* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1940), pp. 250-99; Prynne, *Aurum reginae*; Prynne, *An additional appendix to Aurum reginae*; Kristen Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession: The Case of Eleanor of Aquitaine', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 46, 2 (2010), pp. 10-33.

⁸⁶ Anne Crawford, 'The Queen's Council in the Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review* 116, 469 (2001), pp. 1193-211; Margaret Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort', *The English Historical Review* 102, 403 (1987), pp. 372-93; R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor (eds.), *The History of the King's Works, Volume II: The Middle Ages* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1963).

⁸⁷ Jane Cartwright, 'The Desire to Corrupt: Convent and Community in Medieval Wales', in Diane Watt (ed.), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Toronto, 1997), p. 36; Arthur Jones, 'Flintshire Ministers' Accounts, 1301-1328', *Flintshire Historical Society Publications*, 3 (1913), pp. xviii-xix; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-99; Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', pp. 183-7; May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 269; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 89; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, The Chamber and the Small Seals, Vol. IV* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1928), p. 174; Christopher Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III at Windsor Castle: form, function, representation', in Laurence Keen and Eileen Scarff (eds.), *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture in the Thames Valley, British Archaeological Association Transactions*, 25 (2002), pp. 73-4; Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the past* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 125; Mary Whiteley, 'The Courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France: A Comparison of their Architectural Setting and Ceremonial Functions', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 153 and 164-5; Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 139 and 144-5.

The links between queen's gold and intercession illustrate the transactional nature of the queen's role, where she accumulated money or gifts from her role as intercessor, and could affect cultural trends through her spending and patronage of religious orders and houses, as well as writers, objects and art.

Chapters IV and V will consider the role of gift-giving and the personalisation of objects owned by queens, and artistic representations respectively. As the queen herself formed a kind of 'gift' at the start of her marriage, so she also gave and received many gifts, ranging from food to property, plate and jewels.⁸⁸ Ownership of described objects is also traceable through elements such as badges and heraldry, animals including harts and ostriches, and other symbols such as fern and rosemary.⁸⁹ Many of these symbols also appear on the seals and effigies of royal women. Emblems including lime leaves, knots, and ostriches also pattern the clothing of Anne's tomb

⁸⁸ Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction: the gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary, Queen of France', *Journal of Medieval History* 41, 2 (2015), pp. 208-28; Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Medieval Art in Motion: The Inventory and Gift Giving of Queen Clémence de Hongrie* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex', in Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157-210; Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 76; Rachel C. Gibbons, 'The Queen as 'social mannequin'. Consumerism and expenditure at the Court of Isabeau of Bavaria, 1393-1422', *Journal of Medieval History* 26, 4 (2000), pp. 371-95; Jenny Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012); C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of food in late medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 37, 1 (2011), pp. 6-18; Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', pp. 201-28.

⁸⁹ Ward, *The Livery Collar*, p. 43; Celia Fisher, 'A Study of the Plants and Flowers in the Wilton Diptych', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 155-64; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 24; John H. Harvey, 'Mediaeval Plantsmanship in England: The Culture of Rosemary', *Garden History* 1, 1 (1972), pp. 14-7; Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 109; John A. Gade, *Luxemburg in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1951), p. 102; Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', pp. 32-59; Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', pp. 69-82; Janet Loengard, "'Which May Be Said to Be Her Own': Widows and Goods in Late-Medieval England', in Maryanne Kowaleski and Jeremy Goldberg (eds.), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 162-176; *A Collection of All the Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, ed. J. Nichols (London: J. Nichols, 1780), pp. 72-4.

effigy, alongside crowned initials.⁹⁰ Whilst the ostrich was Anne's personal badge and livery, she also used less personal symbols such as the heraldry of both her husband and her brother. Though women were expected to become the preservers of memory within their new marital families, queens such as Philippa and Anne continued to use symbols associated with their natal kin.⁹¹ In the same way that indirect power accessed through a powerful family became real power, so links to other powerful families remained useful, as demonstrated through sons and other male descendants using the family symbols of highborn women. Despite the trend towards including only heraldic devices in English noblewomen's seals, Philippa continued to use a seal presenting her in figure form, as in French seals, and with an idealised image.⁹² The seal contrasts with her tomb effigy, which represented Philippa in a more realistic style, suggesting her own input into the tomb design.⁹³ Anne's tomb is also of significance, as the only

⁹⁰ Emily Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display: The Altar Wall Murals of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster', *The Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), pp. 259-303; Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', pp. 157-174; Elizabeth Danbury, 'Images of English Queens in the Later Middle Ages', *The Historian* 46 (1995), pp. 3-9; Paul Williamson, 'Sculpture', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 98-106; Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', pp. 32-59; John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁹¹ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', in Elisabeth van Houts (ed.), *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), p. 7; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies in Medieval Europe', in Werner Verbeke, Ludo Milis and Jean Goossens (eds.), *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway in the Medieval Mind* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), p. 23.

⁹² Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216-1377* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002); Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Women, seals and power in medieval France, 1150-1350', in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 61-82; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval women in French sigillographic sources', in J. T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Women and the Sources of Medieval History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), pp. 1-36; C. H. Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries', *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), pp. 20-26; Elizabeth Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', in Noël Adams, John Cherry and James Robinson (eds.), *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals* (London: British Museum, 2008), pp. 17-24; Veronica Sekules, 'Women and Art in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 41-8.

⁹³ Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', pp. 87-103; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 105-21; Trotter, 'Walter of Stapeldon', pp. 1-4; J. G. Noppen, 'A Tomb and Effigy by Hennequin of Liege', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 59, 342 (1931), pp. 114-7.

example of a royal English effigy depicting a couple holding hands, suggesting the closeness of the couple's relationship.⁹⁴ The very fact that Joan of Kent was able to choose burial away from her royal husband suggests a level of agency not accessible to crowned queens.⁹⁵ Similar personalisation appears through seals, effigies and the decoration of objects such as books, which all bore symbols associated with the queens such as animals, in addition to initials and heraldry. Such forms of patronage were indirectly funded by the queen's intercessory actions, through queen's gold, and intercession itself formed a type of patronage.

The final chapter will discuss literary patronage, where queens both interacted with writers and formed the inspiration for literary characters, in ways that developed their historical reputations. In addition to their own households, Philippa and Anne also took part in the court circles of their husbands, leading to a transmission of cultural values.⁹⁶ Froissart accompanied Philippa to England from his native Hainaut, and presented a version of his *Chronicles*, an account of the Hundred Years' War, to her.⁹⁷ Likewise, debate continues as to whether Anne acted as a patron, an inspiration,

⁹⁴ Phillip Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: National Gallery, 1997), pp. 61-84.

⁹⁵ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 291; Wentersdorf, 'The clandestine marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', p. 227.

⁹⁶ Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 69-70, 90 and 107; Emily A. Winkler, *Royal Responsibility in Anglo-Norman Historical Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 13; Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage*, p. 9; June Hall McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview', in June Hall McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 5; Margaret Galway, 'Philippa Pan', Philippa Chaucer', *Modern Language Review* 55 (1960), pp. 481-7; Margaret Galway, 'Walter Roet and Philippa Chaucer', *Notes and Queries* 199, 1 (1954), pp. 48-9.

⁹⁷ George T. Diller, 'Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn: A Voyage Narration to the Center of the *Chroniques*', in Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *Froissart Across the Genres* (University Press of Florida, 1998), p. 59; Laura Cooner Lambdin and Robert Thomas Lambdin (eds.), *Arthurian Writers: A Biographical Encyclopedia* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), p. 82; Philip E. Bennett, 'Female Readers in Froissart: Implied, Fictive and Other', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds.), *Women, the Book and the Worldly* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), pp. 13-25.

or merely a possible model for Chaucer.⁹⁸ Such a form of ‘passive patronage’ provided a queen with less control but perhaps more visibility, in the same way that defining the queen’s role with a title and coronation confined her access to power. Physical books could perform the same function and also provide evidence of the importance of gift-giving. The literary patronage of Philippa and Anne especially coincided with the spread of languages, and Philippa’s support of Queen’s College, Oxford, encapsulated not only a respect for learning, but the benefits that could be reached through membership of her household in the example of the college’s founder, her confessor.⁹⁹ Patronage of writers and learning, similar to religious patronage, also offered a way for the queen to create her own reputation and lasting legacy. Queen’s gold linked intercessory activity and the funding of patronage, meaning that literary examples of intercession both influenced and were influenced by queens in social practice.

Comparing Philippa, Joan, and Anne challenges the argument that the status of medieval queenship began to decline from the twelfth century onwards. Considering intercession and patronage across several royal women demonstrates that although a fourteenth-century queen might not be able to exert power in the same way as her predecessors, she was able to exert influence through channels such as patronage and intercession. Circumstances changed throughout the medieval period and the office and form of queenship changed with them, driven by political and

⁹⁸ John L. Lowes, ‘The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* as Related to the French Marguerite Poems and to the *Filostrato*’, *PMLA* 19, 4 (1904), pp. 593-683; G. L. Kittredge, ‘Chaucer’s *Alceste*’, *Modern Philology* 6, 4 (1909), pp. 435-9; Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*; McDonald, ‘Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*’, pp. 22-42; William A. Quinn, ‘The *Legend of Good Women*: Performance, Performativity, and Presentation’, in Carolyn P. Collette, *The Legend of Good Women: Context and Reception* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 1-32; Robert Worth Frank, *Chaucer and The Legend of Good Women* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Weese, ‘*Alceste* and Joan of Kent’, pp. 474-7.

⁹⁹ John Richard Magrath, *The Queen’s College, Vol. I: 1341-1646* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).

religious ideologies, significant events, and the kings and queens themselves. The marriages of Philippa, Anne and Joan were marked by their harmonious relationships with their husbands after the disruption of Isabella of France and Edward II. The less politically powerful nature of late fourteenth-century royal women in comparison to their predecessors and the women of the fifteenth century means that they have often been ignored in scholarship, with the exception of historians focussing on legends such as the Order of the Garter, and peripherally as an extension of Chaucer studies considering their roles in inspiring Chaucer's work. This study will contribute towards rectifying this omission by focussing on patronage, including intercession, gift-giving practices, and the sources and distribution of their personal wealth, which demonstrate the concerns and motives of royal women. A study of influence and agency will redress the omission of 'soft power' in queenship studies, and of Philippa and Anne as inconspicuous queens, particularly important when influence was often the only kind of power accessible to women other than queens. The study of intercession through these women also emphasises that intercession was a selfish activity, with benefits for all those involved, including the queen or the king's mother herself, and offered a route to power where direct authority was not accessible.

Chapter I: Intercession and Motherhood

One of the few surviving contemporary illustrations of a fourteenth-century queen appears in the illuminated initial of the Shrewsbury charter, issued in 1389. The initial depicts Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II, kneeling before her husband in the subservient pose of a petitioner (Figure 1).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 1: Anne of Bohemia kneeling before Richard II, Shrewsbury charter, late 14th century (Shropshire Archives, 3369/1/24)¹

The initial, added by the receivers of the charter rather than the queen or king, illustrates one of the two main roles expected of a medieval queen, that of an intercessory figure between the king and his people.² The other duty of the queen was the production of legitimate children, specifically a male heir. The rite of coronation expressed both these requirements of the queen, those of reproduction and intercession, and emphasised the importance of both through prayer and ritual.³ The depiction of the queen on the charter draws on coronation imagery to show Anne in

¹ 'Shrewsbury charter, 1389', Shropshire Archives Zone: <http://www.archivezone.org.uk/historic-periods/medieval/shrewsbury-charter-1389/>. Accessed 3 November 2018.

² Elizabeth Danbury, 'English and French artistic propaganda during the Hundred Years War: source evidence from royal charters', in C. T. Allmand (ed.), *Power, culture and religion in France, c.1350–1550* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), p. 75.

³ Percy Ernst Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 84; Leopold G. Wickham Legg (ed.), *English Coronation Records* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901), p. 122; Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 62.

the traditional crowning garb for a queen, with her hair long and uncovered except for a crown over blue robes, whilst in the act of intercession.

Medieval queens enacted the examples set out in the coronation ritual through both literature and social practice. This chapter will first examine the example of Philippa of Hainaut interceding for the lives of the burghers of Calais, which remains the model of intercessory behaviour.⁴ Intercession seemingly offered a route for the queen to exercise agency at a time when she had few official roles. However, the performative nature of intercession, often requiring the queen to sacrifice her dignity by kneeling before the king in public, suggests that intercession could be as confining as it was powerful. The trope of the pregnant queen also appears in fictional literature, such as the two anonymous fourteenth-century poems, *The Vows of the Heron*, which includes Philippa making a vow on her unborn child, and *Athelston*, which represents the dangers of intercession and ends with the death of both mother and child.⁵ Thus despite the ritualised nature of intercession by the late fourteenth century, intercession could represent a genuine risk for a queen in terms of exerting her agency, which suggests that the activity still seemed dangerous in the eyes of society.

A major element of Philippa's intercession at Calais was her pregnant state. Examples of pregnant queens such as Philippa interceding contrast with Anne of Bohemia, whose reputation substituted or disguised her childlessness with her intercessory activities.⁶ Richard II may have similarly propagated the veneer of a

⁴ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', p. 40; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 95-105; Gower, 'The Iconography of Queenship', p. 122; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 53; Collette, *Performing Polity*, p. 100.

⁵ Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick', pp. 149-59; Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', pp. 97-98; Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', pp. 261-78.

⁶ Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', pp. 1-21; Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', pp. 1086-94; Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', pp. 231-60; Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 29; Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 150.

chaste marriage, given the political dangers of infertility for a king.⁷ The links between motherhood and intercession also meant that the mothers of kings could act as powerful intercessors, positioning Joan of Kent as a possible intercessor with Richard II. For example, in the aftermath of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, the government could have used either Joan or Richard's soon to be wife, Anne, as an intercessor in their policy of amnesty, ultimately choosing Anne, at the time still an outsider at the beginning of her marriage.⁸ Anne's reputation as an intercessor thus began before her marriage, culminating a decade later in her role at the reconciliation of Richard II with the city of London.⁹ Even when intercession was not directly associated with pregnancy or motherhood, the fact that an intercessory reputation could to some extent substitute for the production of legitimate heirs underlines the importance of both intercession and motherhood for the medieval queen. Regardless of whether the queen instigated genuine intercessory activity or not, she could still profit through wealth in the custom of queen's gold, or from the positive benefit to her reputation as a mediator.

Pregnancy and Intercession

As mentioned above, coronations outlined the two main roles for queens, that of mother and intercessor, which were often combined in accounts of dramatic intercessory events. Both intercession and motherhood offered routes for queens and royal women to exert power through influence, although not necessarily the exertion of authority themselves. Chronicles and other literature, such as romances, offer examples of queens interceding, and illustrate the societal expectations of their behaviour in these situations. The queen could use not only her status as the king's

⁷ Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', p. 15; Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage', p. 16; Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity', p. 181.

⁸ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 288; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 48; *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, p. 114; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 412; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 1, p. 459; *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 210.

⁹ Maidstone, *Concordia*, pp. 50-80.

wife, but also her position as the mother of the king's children, whether potential or realised, to influence his decisions, although such manipulation usually occurred in the most serious life or death situations. Froissart's account of Queen Philippa saving the lives of the burghers of Calais, while heavily pregnant, represents the medieval archetype of the queen as mother and intercessor.¹⁰ Similar tropes appear in the poem *The Vows of the Heron*, also featuring a pregnant Philippa as a character, and the poem *Athelston*, which includes a pregnant queen.¹¹ The latter represents the risk taken by the interceding queen, resulting in the king killing both the queen and their unborn child, and to an extent demonstrates societal fears about the queen overstepping her bounds through intercession.

Queenly intercession also had a long history before Philippa, both within and outside of England. Michael Evans compares Philippa's intercession with the actions of the twelfth-century queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204) in healing a rift between the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Ely in 1192, whose excommunication meant that bodies of the parishioners were not able to be buried. Eleanor, however, was acting as a regent in the place of her son Richard I, during his absence abroad, and the incident also concerned her dower lands in Cambridgeshire. The chronicler, Richard of Devizes, still describes Eleanor's actions as mediatory, perhaps to fit her authoritative actions into feminine ideals.¹² Nevertheless, queens regularly interceded earlier in the medieval period, such as Richildis (c. 845-910), wife

¹⁰ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', pp. 39-61; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 95-105; Gower, 'The Iconography of Queenship', p. 122; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 53; Collette, *Performing Polity*, p. 100.

¹¹ Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', pp. 79-98; Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', pp. 261-78; 'Athelston', pp. 349-71.

¹² Evans, *Inventing Eleanor*, pp. 11-2; *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J.T. Appleby (London: Nelson, 1963), pp. 59-60; Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 269; Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine', p. 50.

of Charles the Bald, who requested a grant for the convent of Nivelles in 877.¹³ Eleanor of Aquitaine's mother-in-law, the Empress Matilda (1102-1167), although not technically a crowned queen of the English also attempted intercession with her son, Henry II, including one instance when Pope Alexander III requested that she mediate between Henry II and Thomas Becket in 1164.¹⁴ Carolyn P. Collette theorises that the models for ideal queenly behaviour shifted between the late medieval period and the beginning of the early modern, but that this change did not necessarily mean the total removal of queenly agency.¹⁵ The queen still had a role to play, even if this role was ritualised and performative, and it might continue to offer the opportunity to exert agency.

The story of Philippa at Calais demonstrates many of the key elements of queenly intercession. In 1347, during the Hundred Years' War between England and France, enraged by the town's resistance to his siege, Edward III ordered that six burghers bring him the keys to the town and threatened to execute them, and Philippa successfully pleaded with the king to save their lives, after the failures of the efforts of Edward's male counsellors.¹⁶ Both le Bel and later Froissart noted the incident, although Froissart's version is more detailed in content:

‘Then the noble queen of England, who was extremely pregnant, humbled herself and besought his pity so tenderly that she could not be withstood. The valiant and good woman threw herself on her knees

¹³ Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 18; Jane Hyam, ‘Ermentrude and Richildis’, in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981), p. 157.

¹⁴ Marjorie Chibnall, ‘The Empress Matilda and Church Reform’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5, 38 (1988), p. 127; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother, and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 171.

¹⁵ Collette, *Performing Polity*, p. 2.

¹⁶ Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 292.

before the king her lord and said, "Ah, my dear lord, since I passed over the sea in great peril, as you well know, I have asked nothing of you, nor demanded any favour. Now I pray you humbly and ask of you a favour for the son of the blessed Mary and for your love of me, that you show a merciful disposition to these six men." The king waited a moment before speaking and looked at the good woman his queen who was so very pregnant and besought him so tenderly on her knees. And he softened his heart, and his anger abated, and when he spoke he said, "Ah, my lady, I would have much preferred that you be anywhere than here. You have prayed so forcefully that I would not dare to refuse the favour which you ask of me."¹⁷

Froissart composed his main chronicles after the death of Philippa, but presented a rhyming version, now lost, to Philippa during her lifetime.¹⁸ Therefore Froissart's intent in the passage was probably to flatter Philippa, his former patron, even after her death.

Parsons and Strohm, among others, have investigated to what extent the incident was performative, or whether the queen could still exert a kind of power through public intercession.¹⁹ Strohm analyses the Calais incident within the context

¹⁷ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 100; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, p. 215, '*Adonc fist grant humelité la noble roine d'Engleterre, qui estoit durement enchainte, et ploroit si tendrement de pité que on ne le pooit soustenir. La vaillans et bonne dame se jeta en genouls par devant le roi son signour et dist: "Ha! tres-chiers sires, puis que je apassai par deçà la mer en grant péril, ensi que vous savés, je ne vous ai requis, ne don demandet. Or vous prie-je humlement et requier en propre don que pour le Fil à sainte Marie et pour l'amour de mi, vous voelliés avoir de ces sys hommes merci." Li rois parler et regarda la bonne dame sa femme qui moult estoit enchainte et ploroit devant lui en genouls moult tenrement. Se li amolia li coers, car envis l'euist courouchiet ens ou point là où elle estoit; et quant il parla, il dist: "Ha! dame, je amaisse trop mieuls que vous fuissiés d'aultre part que chi. Vous priés si acertes que je ne vous ose escondire le don que vous me demandés.'*

¹⁸ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 90-1; Normand R. Cartier, 'The Lost Chronicle', *Speculum* 36, 3 (1961), pp. 424-34.

¹⁹ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', pp. 39-61; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 99-105.

of other intercessory literature, pointing out Froissart's use of literary techniques. For example, Philippa remains on the physical and literary edge of the tale, whilst one of Edward's men, Sir Walter de Mauny, first tries to reason with the king, meaning that Philippa's intercession is represented as the last urgent attempt. Philippa's mere presence is also framed as coincidental, given her late arrival after Edward and his retinue, rather than with them. Her late arrival and status as 'other', in this case female, makes her actions an anomaly in the normal process of justice.²⁰ Echoing the virtues outlined in the coronation ceremony, the value of mercy traditionally assigned to the queen contrasts with the masculine nature of the king's justice. Despite the fact that accounts heavily elaborated or even entirely fictionalised Philippa's actions at Calais, Strohm notes that the event still offers value as a source for the contemporary societal expectations of queenly intercessions. Although the events themselves may be wholly or partially fictional, the characters still operate within contemporary social expectations.²¹ As in romances, male writers constructed models of female characters, often to enhance the heroism of male characters.²² Thus Philippa's actions have become the archetype of medieval queenly intercession, even when they may be fictional or exaggerated depictions.

Despite their questionable veracity, such stories still performed a purpose for the king's reputation. Strohm argues that highly dramatic events, such as that supposedly at Calais, permitted the king to increase his prestige through a magnanimous action, as well as publicly allowing him to change his mind without loss of face, because his advisors, including Walter de Mauny, had already warned him that the deaths of these men would cause others to reproach the king. Queenly

²⁰ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 101.

²¹ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 99.

²² Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 71.

intercession in this manner seemingly challenges the king's decision and to a wider extent the accepted social order, whilst ultimately solidifying the patriarchal structure.²³ The queen appears to question the king's judgment, but in subordinating herself on her knees, and the king changing his decision to one already suggested by other men, the king remains dominant. In addition, as queen, Philippa can only seek to adjust the king's prior decision, not decide herself or negate the king. To do so she must prostrate herself on her knees before the king, adopting a position of subservience and possibly endangering herself with the risk that the king may turn his anger on her.

Building on Facinger's theory of diminishing queenship, Strohm's overarching argument is that queenly intercession became heavily ritualised and ceremonial rather than spontaneous.²⁴ However, Gower challenges Strohm's theory on the basis that the coronation prayers, which outlined expectations for the queen, remained generally unchanged between early versions and the late fourteenth-century recension. The implication is thus that the expectations for queens remained the same.²⁵ The coronation *ordo* records the use of Biblical figures such as Esther and Judith as exemplars for queens, both famous for their own intercessory actions on behalf of others.²⁶ The reference to the Biblical figure of Judith encouraged the queen to overcome her inherent female weaknesses, as Judith had in her enemy's defeat. Although Judith seduced the enemy general Holofernes, she did so for the good of her

²³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, p. 215; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 102-4.

²⁴ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 95.

²⁵ Gower, 'The Iconography of Queenship', p. 154; Julie Ann Smith, 'The Earliest Queen-Making Rites', *Church History* 66, 1 (1997), pp. 18-35; Janet L. Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 201-316; Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, p. 130; Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, p. 84; Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession', p. 154; Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 122.

²⁶ Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 62.

people, and succeeded where men did not.²⁷ The use of the Biblical mothers also reminded the queen of her primary duty to provide heirs. Finally, Esther may have acted as the primary model for medieval expectations of queenship, rewarded for her actions in saving her people with marriage to a king. All examples framed the queen within the limits and expectations of Christian queenship, and the female saints acted as exemplars for medieval queens.²⁸ Coronation prayers both blessed the queen's womb and her fertility, whilst exhorting her to behave chastely in her marriage, suggesting the distrust that the queen might attain power through her role as a wife or mother.²⁹ Medieval society faced a difficult balance between exploiting a queen's influence with her husband, whilst simultaneously limiting her from official authority. In this way intercession proved a useful tool to relieve societal fears about the power of high-ranking women, and especially the queen, the highest-ranking woman.

Froissart's emphasis on Philippa as pregnant during the Calais incident highlights a literary link between intercession and motherhood. Parsons contrasts Philippa's successful intercession at Calais with the anonymous, Middle English romance *Athelston*, probably dating from the reign of Richard II, in which the pregnant queen appeals to her husband on her knees for the lives of his sister and her family, accused of treason:

"Sere kyng, I am before thee come

With a child, doughtyr or a sone.

*Graunte me my bone"*³⁰

²⁷ Margarita Stocker, *Judith: Sexual Warrior, Women and Power in Western Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Judith in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Lähnemann (eds.), *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), pp. 169-96.

²⁸ Föβel, 'The Political Traditions', pp. 71-2; Catherine Sanok, *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

²⁹ Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 62.

³⁰ 'Athelston', lines 259-61.

When the king refuses, the queen cries and falls to her knees:

The teeres sche leet down falle.

Sertaynly, as I yow telle,

On here bare knees doun she felle,

And prayde yit for hem alle.³¹

Unlike during Philippa's attempt, however, the king in *Athelston* kills the unborn child ('*He slowgh the chyld ryght in here wombe*'), an unthinkable action for a real king given the need for an heir.³² However, as Rowe points out, wife-beating was not criminal in the fourteenth-century England, nor were men, especially in the case of a king, often punished for infanticide, which was generally regarded as a female crime. Nor was there a clear distinction between infanticide and beating a pregnant woman.³³ The narrator of the poem does seem to express some censure ('*His owne fadyr hym slowgh!*').³⁴ The emphasis here is on the injury to the male child, not the mother. In killing the child, the king is also removing the queen's success in fulfilling a key duty, as well as a possible route for her influence as mother of a future king. In the case of *Athelston*, the king's guilt over the death of an innocent child and the loss of a legitimate heir might act as their own punishment. Parsons argues that the king's action emphasises his power over life and death, as Edward III held over the lives of

³¹ 'Athelston', lines 275-8.

³² 'Athelston', line 283.

³³ Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', p. 87; Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: The Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 87 and 198; Trevor Dean, *Crime in Medieval Europe: 1200-1550* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), pp. 79-81; Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence Against Women in Premodern Times* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), p. 192; Hannah Skoda, *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France 1270-1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 31; Sara M. Butler, 'Abortion by Assault: Violence against Pregnant Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England', *Journal of Women's History* 17, 4 (2005), pp. 9-31.

³⁴ 'Athelston', line 293.

the six burghers of Calais.³⁵ Philippa's pregnancy is also significant in other ways. Shadis suggests an alternate model to that of the king's 'two bodies', that of the pregnant queen bearing an unborn future ruler, as the link between two generations.³⁶ Alternatively, Parsons argues that in the medieval perception, the unborn child might act as a messenger between the spiritual and temporal worlds.³⁷ Therefore to contemporaries, Philippa's pregnancy may have had a special significance in her plea, especially as the child was a royal one, and her exaggerated state of pregnancy further underlines the links between intercession and motherhood.

Many historians, from the Victorian to the modern, still take the story of Philippa at Calais at face value.³⁸ Even the entry for Philippa in the first *Dictionary of National Biography*, published towards the end of the nineteenth century, concurred with Strickland's interpretation, which was based on Froissart.³⁹ However, Parsons argues that far from being heavily pregnant at the time of the Calais incident, Philippa may not have been pregnant, or only in the very early stages, if she was present at all. Parsons argues that the first child born after the siege of Calais in August 1347 was William of Windsor, born in May 1348, a date agreed by Juliet Vale.⁴⁰ Although Alison Weir lists Thomas of Windsor as born in Summer 1347, she does not provide a source, providing a slim possibility that Philippa was pregnant at Calais.⁴¹ However, the probability that she would make the arduous journey to Calais and then back to

³⁵ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', pp. 41-2.

³⁶ Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009), p. 13.

³⁷ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 43.

³⁸ For example, Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), p. 91; Galway, 'Philippa Pan', Phillipa Chaucer', p. 485.

³⁹ Mitchell, 'The Red Queen and the White Queen', p. 173.

⁴⁰ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', pp. 40-1; Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1983), p. 86.

⁴¹ Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy* (London: Pimlico, 2002), p. 115.

Windsor in time to give birth is unlikely. Other sources give a date of around 24 June 1348 for William's birth, with no births recorded between Margaret of Windsor in July 1346 and William in 1348.⁴² Either way, Philippa was probably not visibly pregnant at the apparent time of the intercession, although she may have later suffered a miscarriage. The dates of Margaret and William allow for another pregnancy between them, and a miscarriage might not be recorded by chroniclers, as Katherine of Aragon later kept the news of a stillborn premature child among only five people, and Geaman argues that Anne of Bohemia suffered a miscarriage based on the contents of a personal letter from Anne to her brother.⁴³ Parsons also explores the difficulties in tracking birthdates of royal children in the case of Eleanor of Castile.⁴⁴ However, Edward III included those children who died very young, including William of Hatfield, Blanche and William of Windsor, among the statues of his children which decorated his tomb, further lessening the argument for the existence of Thomas of Windsor.⁴⁵ Froissart's description of Philippa as 'heavily pregnant' is so pervasive that le Bel's editors later added Froissart's description, although Froissart based his work on le Bel's earlier version.⁴⁶ Froissart also elaborated in other areas, based on le Bel's rendition, in the case of Philippa also inserting her as a heroic figure in the battle of Neville's Cross, which took place between England and Scotland in October 1346.⁴⁷

⁴² E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 39-40; Douglas Richardson, *Plantagenet Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families, Vol. I* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 2011), p. 76.

⁴³ Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', p. 1092.

⁴⁴ John Carmi Parsons, 'The Year of Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children by Edward I', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), pp. 245-65.

⁴⁵ BL MS Lansdowne 875, fol. 135v; Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 119-20.

⁴⁶ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 54, n. 102; Jean le Bel, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, vol. 1, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Deprez (Paris: H. Laurens, 1904-5), p. 166, n. 1.

⁴⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, p. 122; le Bel, *Chronique*, vol. 2, pp. 127-31; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 138; Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction*

A writ of aid, dated 8 October 1346, notes that Philippa's sister, Margaret, the Holy Roman Empress, was coming to Flanders to meet with Philippa there, and a pardon dated 12 October suggests that Philippa was at Calais, giving her no time to travel to Neville's Cross.⁴⁸ Froissart is, however, a promoter if not the originator of the pregnant queen as intercessor trope, and remains useful for providing medieval perceptions of queenship, particularly Philippa.

The pregnant intercessor or queen may have formed something of a narrative trope across medieval literature. A pregnant Philippa also appears in the anonymous Old French poem *The Vows of the Heron*, in which she takes a vow that she will not give birth until the king has taken her with him to complete his own vow, the vows supposedly taking place in 1337-8:

*Que jà li fruis de moi de mon corps n'istera,
Si m'en arés menée ou pais para delà,
Pour avanchier le leu que vo corps voué a.
Et s'il en voelh isir, quant besoins n'en sera,
D'un grand coutel d'achier li miens corps s'ochira;
Serai m'asme perdue et li fruis perira.⁴⁹*

Ultimately, however, when the child in question, Lionel of Antwerp, was born in November 1338, Edward had scarcely made progress on his own apparent vow to

in the Chroniques (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 16; Michael Prestwich, 'The English at the Battle of Neville's Cross', in David Rollason and Michael Prestwich (eds.), *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998), p. 9; Kelly De Vries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 181.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1345-48*, pp. 474 and 517.

⁴⁹ 'The Vows of the Heron', p. 24. "[I vow] that my fruit shall never issue from my body, until you have led me to the country over there, to perform the vow that your body has vowed. And if it should be ready to issue before that time, with a great knife of steel my body shall slay itself; my life will be lost and the fruit will perish."

wage war against the French king.⁵⁰ A pregnant queen also represented the fertility and attendant virility of the king, which was particularly important in times of war.⁵¹ In Edward III's case, the depiction of Philippa as pregnant also fits with his vision of a fertile and united royal family. In the poem, Philippa's pregnancy plays a significant part in the formation of her vow and she explicitly mentions her condition, whilst Froissart only describes her as pregnant at Calais, and the audience draws their own impression. In terms of plot, *The Vows of the Heron*, in which the unborn child is threatened, bears more similarities to *Athelston*, where the child is actually killed, although by the father rather than the mother. In *The Vows of the Heron*, however, the queen makes her vow in support of the king, and when she mentions that a husband has the right to recant his wife's vow, the king instead promises to support her.⁵² Upon hearing her vow, he states that no one can vow more, presumably alluding to the value of a possible male heir.⁵³ Of two similar, shorter accounts of the vows, the *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, dating from the early fifteenth century, mentions only that the queen vowed to follow him to France, and the other, a late fourteenth-century *Chronique Normande* recension, does not mention the queen at all.⁵⁴ Similarly to Froissart's description of Philippa as pregnant at Calais, *The Vows of the Heron* is the only source to describe Philippa's vow in detail, which makes the veracity of the narrative detail unlikely.

The pregnant state of the queen adds an extra element of pathos and risk to Philippa's request in both the events at Calais and *The Vows of the Heron*. Pregnancy

⁵⁰ Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', p. 277.

⁵¹ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 44.

⁵² 'The Vows of the Heron', p. 23.

⁵³ 'The Vows of the Heron', p. 24.

⁵⁴ Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', pp. 264-5; *Chronographia regum Francorum*, vol. 3, ed. H. Moranvillé (Paris: H. Laurens, 1897), p. xlvi; *Chronique normande du XIVe siècle*, ed. Auguste Molinier and Émile Molinier (Paris: Renouard, 1882).

and especially childbirth, with its links to beds, have also been suggested as effective occasions for the queen to act as intercessor, with Shadis offering the pregnant queen as an alternate to Kantorowicz's theory of the king's 'two bodies'.⁵⁵ Parsons cites the section on the queen's purification rituals from *Liber regie capelle*, essentially a copy of the *Liber Regalis* text, as evidence. The *Liber regie capelle* was composed in the 1440s, although the text was based on existing royal practices.⁵⁶ Laynesmith and Anthony Musson note that there is little available information for the rituals of royal childbirth.⁵⁷ Officially the ceremony of Churching was meant as a thanksgiving for the safe birth of a child, so perhaps formed a fitting arena for the queen to pass on her gratitude through the rite of intercession for others.⁵⁸ Shenton notes that costume historians in particular have studied the queen's clothing and other material objects used in Churching ceremonies, as a part of costume and court spectacle history, such as bed hangings from the surviving household accounts.⁵⁹ The queen's bed played an especially symbolic role, forming not only the location of childbirth but also the starting place for the purification ritual, and therefore a possible location for intercession. For example, according to the accounts of the queen's tailor, two state beds received mattresses and hangings of red and green silk for the ceremony after the

⁵⁵ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 46; Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 44; John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour": the burials and posthumous commemorations of English queens to 1500', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 317; *Liber regie capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica Evora*, ed. Walter Ullmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 72-3; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354.

⁵⁷ Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', p. 160; Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, pp. 112-5.

⁵⁸ Gail Gibson Murray, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon: Churching as Women's Theater', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (eds.), *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 143.

⁵⁹ Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 105.

birth of Edward III's eldest son.⁶⁰ Altogether, the accounts of silks purchased for the Great Wardrobe note the purchase of almost 150 cloths of gold in 1330-1331, used mainly for Philippa's coronation and childbirth ceremonies.⁶¹ Both the conception of heirs and Churching ceremonies took place in beds, and Parsons notes one instance in which Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) received a female petitioner in her chamber near her bed, emphasising the queen's role in conception and childbirth, in a similar manner to which king's beds acted as symbols of state.⁶² The bed was the location of childbirth, her most important purpose. Georges Duby called the queen's bed her throne, explaining why queens were often carried on litters during processions.⁶³ Whilst the king's bed held political associations and almost formed a symbol of his sovereignty, the queen's bed suggested her sexual function and the queen's role in the production of heirs, and underlined the basis of her relationship with the king.

The Vows of the Heron bears similarities to an earlier fourteenth-century poem, the *Voeux du Paon* (Vows of the Peacock), by Jacques de Longuyon, situated at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor. Such vows combined with feasts have at least one historical incidence, with Great Wardrobe records surviving for the Feast and Vows of the Swans under Edward I, which took place at Westminster on 22 May 1306, where many men were knighted and vowed to march against the Scots.⁶⁴ Philippa is not the only woman in *The Vows of the Heron* to make such a pledge, although hers is the

⁶⁰ TNA E 101/385/12, m. 1; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 105-7.

⁶¹ TNA E 361/3/16r; Lisa Monnas, 'Silk Cloths Purchased for the Great Wardrobe of the Kings of England, 1325-1462', *Textile History* 20, 2 (1989), p. 290.

⁶² Hollie L. S. Morgan, *Beds and Chambers in Late Medieval England: Readings, Representations and Realities* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2017), p. 97; TNA SC 1/30/97, letter from Lucy de Grey to Eleanor of Castile; Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 67.

⁶³ Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 234.

⁶⁴ TNA E 101/368/30, m. 3r; Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1280-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 210-2.

final in a list of ten vows, beginning with the king himself and including only one other woman, and the most dramatic in threatening to stab herself and her child, thus representing a great risk to the king through his possible heir, a fear realised in *Athelston*.⁶⁵ Patricia DeMarco argues that the perception of Philippa's vow as comparatively unwomanly means that the queen embodies the opposite of chivalry and an anti-war attitude, given the possible innocent victim of her unborn baby, whereas Parsons argues that the queen is doing her part to encourage male honour.⁶⁶ The use of pregnancy in this way does emphasise the apparently high stakes of Edward's plan. The fact that a pregnant queen appears in several forms of literature suggests that the pregnant, interceding queen was a trope or ideal, even if never taking place in practice.

Despite the questionable veracity of these stories, the fact that Philippa appears in two stories of intercession suggests that intercession formed a major part of her reputation. The tradition of intercession in literature indicates that contemporaries viewed it as an acceptable activity for a queen. Although intercession seemed to be a way for queens to exert agency and power through influence over their husbands, ultimately the decision rested with the king, as shown by the unfortunate fate of the queen in the poem *Athelston*, itself an exemplar to kings on how not to act. Likewise, Parsons and Strohm argue that by the late fourteenth century, public intercession had become a performative ritual through which the king ultimately confirmed his power and the lower status of the queen. The prominent aspect of pregnancy in stories of

⁶⁵ Norris J. Lacy, 'Warmongering in Verse: *Les Voeux du Héron*', in Denise N. Baker (ed.), *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 18-23; Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', p. 270.

⁶⁶ Patricia DeMarco, 'Inscribing the Body with Meaning: Chivalric Culture and the Norms of Violence in *The Vows of the Heron*', in Denise N. Baker (ed.), *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 43-47; Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 46.

intercession also emphasises the links between motherhood and intercession, and the continuing existence of intercession as a practice demonstrates that intercessory activities remained useful. For the queen, intercession meant a positive benefit to her reputation, and formed a way for her to exert influence.

Motherhood and Childlessness

For Philippa and the queen in *Athelston*, the emphasis is on pregnancy as an element of intercession. Anne of Bohemia provides an example of a queen able to achieve such interventions, despite lacking children. The pregnant queen as intercessor may have been a trope, but some queens, such as Anne of Bohemia, were childless, yet still able to act as an intercessor. Anne may have substituted intercessory activity for her lack of children, to act as a distraction from or fill the absence from her failure to produce children, building on the established links between intercession and motherhood. Likewise, her husband may have propagated the idea of a chaste marriage between the two to disguise his failure to provide a legitimate heir. Scholars such as Caroline Barron and John M. Bowers, particularly when focussing on the role of Chaucer in Richard II's court, argue that Richard and Anne had a chaste marriage in practice, based on Richard's veneration of the Edward the Confessor, a sainted king renowned after his death for his supposed chastity.⁶⁷ However, the importance of heirs for kings such as Richard, alongside other evidence, suggests that the chaste marriage was a story emphasised after Anne's death, which took place in 1394, to disguise her failure as a wife and mother.⁶⁸ Richard's associations with chastity and the Confessor,

⁶⁷ Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', p. 15; Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage', p. 16.

⁶⁸ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 324; Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity', p. 181; Geaman, 'Childless Queens and Child-like Kings', p. 143; Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', p. 2; Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', pp. 1088-9 and 1093; Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 239.

emphasised in Richard's double tomb with Anne, contrast with the prominence that Edward III placed on his children and descendants in his own tomb.⁶⁹ Anne's lack of children might also have opened up a route for Joan of Kent to act as intercessor with her son as certain strong-willed mothers of kings did, such as Isabella of France and Blanche of Castile. Ultimately, however, Anne's associations with the Virgin Mary and reputation for benevolence towards pregnant women, alongside her crowned status, made her the more enduring intercessor.

Just as the queen's sexuality was viewed with suspicion, so paradoxically might her lack of children. Not only was the production of a healthy heir one of the queen's key duties, but barrenness was also a stereotype of the adulterous queen in medieval romance, such as the wicked queen Eufeme in the thirteenth-century Old French poem *Le Roman de Silence*, as well as medieval literary traditions of the characters Iseult and Guinevere.⁷⁰ Parsons suggests that royal wives accused of witchcraft were often childless.⁷¹ Childlessness therefore presented a risk to the queen. However, Geaman argues that fertility was not the most important factor for a queen in terms of her reputation, contrasting the childless Anne of Bohemia with queens such as Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482), viewed by contemporaries as overstepping acceptable behaviour for a woman or queen, despite Margaret producing a legitimate

⁶⁹ Parsons, 'The Intercessionary Patronage', p. 150.

⁷⁰ Peggy McCracken, 'The Body Politic and the Queen's Adulterous Body in French Romance', in Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury (eds.), *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 38; John Carmi Parsons, 'Violence, the Queen's Body, and the Medieval Body Politic', in Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (eds.), *'A Great Effusion of Blood'? Interpreting Medieval Violence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 243; John Carmi Parsons, "'Loved Him—Hated Her": Honor and Shame at the Medieval Court', in Jacqueline Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 279-98; Joanna Laynesmith, 'Telling Tales of Adulterous Queens in Medieval England: From Olympias of Macedonia to Elizabeth Woodville', in Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (eds.), *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 210.

⁷¹ Parsons, 'Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power', p. 5.

male heir.⁷² Isabella of France also provides a contrast to the childless Anne, as an infamous queen who nevertheless performed her duty in the production of a male heir.

There were possible precedents in the medieval era for the removal of queens who failed to reproduce. For example, Nicholas Vincent has argued that King John may have divorced his first wife Isabella of Gloucester (c. 1160-1217), for her inability to produce children.⁷³ Likewise, rather than practising a chaste life, Stafford instead suggests that Edward the Confessor may have attempted to divorce Edith (1025-1075) in 1051 because of her childlessness.⁷⁴ The lack of children from the marriage between Anne of Bohemia and Richard II has led some scholars to suggest that their marriage was a chaste one, perhaps in imitation of the childless marriage between Edward the Confessor and Edith. The chaste marriage theory is mainly supported by scholars of Chaucer and other poets, such as Bowers, and the historian Barron, whilst others such as Nigel Saul and Geaman disagree, citing the importance of producing heirs for a medieval king.⁷⁵ In support of the chaste marriage theory, Richard particularly admired Edward, as shown in the Wilton Diptych, an altarpiece created for Richard in the 1390s after the deaths of both Anne and Joan. The painted panels depict three saints presenting Richard to the Virgin Mary and her baby son (Figures 6 and 7). All three saints, Edward the Confessor, Edmund the martyred king of East Anglia, and

⁷² Geaman, 'Childless Queens and Child-like Kings', pp. 273-4.

⁷³ Nicholas Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel', in S. D. Church (ed.), *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 166; Robert B. Patterson, 'Isabella, suo jure countess of Gloucester (c.1160-1217)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46705>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁷⁴ Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith, Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 246.

⁷⁵ Barron, 'Richard II: Image and Reality', p. 15; Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage', p. 16; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 324; Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', p. 2.

John the Baptist, were regarded as virgins by the reign of Richard II.⁷⁶ Richard also adopted Edward the Confessor's retrospectively attributed arms, quartered with his own, from 1394, after Anne's death.⁷⁷ Richard's second marriage in 1396 to a child, Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), aged seven at the time, seems a more likely timing for his new image as a virgin in imitation of Edward the Confessor, whereas the relationship between Richard and Anne was probably not chaste.

Queens assumed almost a fictional state of virginity during their coronations, as they underwent anointing, even those who had already borne children, through their appearance and emulation of the Virgin Mary, such as wearing their hair unbound.⁷⁸ Katherine Lewis argues that the perception of Edward the Confessor as a virgin was part of the posthumous rehabilitation of Edward's reputation for the sake of his sainthood, rather than a reflection of his life.⁷⁹ Thus Edward the Confessor's state of virginity may have been fictionalised. The same concept could therefore apply to Richard, in that he may have represented his marriage as chaste rather than himself as infertile, to avert doubts about his masculinity and fitness to rule. A lack of legitimate heirs was particularly damaging to a king, because it meant both that he had no immediate heir and risked the succession of his dynasty, and because childlessness was damaging to his masculinity, of which fertility was a potent symbol. For Richard II, childlessness was especially dangerous, because he had inherited his throne as a

⁷⁶ Katherine J. Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king: Richard II and Edward the Confessor', in Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (eds.), *Gender and Holiness: Men, women and saints in late medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 87.

⁷⁷ Nigel Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', in W. J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History presented to Barbara Harvey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 208.

⁷⁸ Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', pp. 87-8; Felicity Riddy, 'Kempe [née Brunham], Margery (b. c. 1373, d. in or after 1438), visionary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15337>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁷⁹ Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', p. 87;

child and from his grandfather, rather than through an unbroken line from his father. The production of the first son in particular proved the young king's masculinity and strengthened his hold on the throne.⁸⁰ Richard's veneration of his saintly predecessors thus forms a contrast to his predecessor Edward III's emphasis on his family and dynastic descent, although Richard and Anne did not necessarily maintain a chaste marriage because of his saintly devotion.

The reputation of a chaste marriage between Richard and Anne was mostly propagated after Anne's death, because childlessness might damage a king's masculinity. Richard's second marriage to a child may have been designed to continue the excuse, or to participate in a chaste marriage in practice whilst still reaping the benefits of an alliance with France.⁸¹ Where infertility was viewed as divine punishment, Richard might have been attempting to atone for his sins with his later chaste marriage. The chaste marriages of high-ranking couples were often kept secret, so as to avoid public ridicule or any similarities to the heretic Cathars, which accounts for the lack of reference to the marriage as chaste by contemporary chronicles.⁸² Richard's later deposition and the struggle for the throne after his death demonstrates how important the production of children could be for medieval kings.

Given the importance of legitimate heirs to kings and especially in Richard's case, a chaste marriage seems risky and unlikely. Geaman argues that Anne and Richard's marriage was infertile, rather than chaste, based on evidence that suggests Anne was trying to conceive. A letter probably written around 1384-5 from Anne to her half-brother, Wenceslaus IV, the ruler of Bohemia, mentions that Anne hopes to

⁸⁰ Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity', p. 181; Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', pp. 87-8; Katherine Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 199.

⁸¹ Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', p. 89.

⁸² Bowers, 'Chaste Marriage', p. 16; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 456.

bear a child, and Geaman suggests that Anne may have suffered a miscarriage shortly before writing the letter, based on her choice of vocabulary.⁸³ Additionally, apothecary bills of medicines purchased for the queen and her household survive, dating from 1393-4, the last year of her life.⁸⁴ Several items listed suggest that Anne may have been seeking to cure infertility or aid conception, through herbs such as water of plantain, trisandali, diapendion, spikenard and mustard, all of which had multiple uses including the treatment of gynaecological problems.⁸⁵ Saul also posits that Richard may have been the infertile one, because there is no evidence that Richard produced children outside of his marriage.⁸⁶ However, Richard was also unusually devoted to his wife by the standards of medieval kings, to the extent of commissioning a double tomb with his wife, and may not have taken a mistress, so a lack of evidence for illegitimate children is not necessarily an indication of infertility, nor is it an indication of a chaste marriage between the pair. Richard and Anne also made at least one pilgrimage together, in 1383, to Our Lady of Walsingham, perhaps to pray for the production of children. Walsingham was one of the most popular shrines in England, and especially linked with fertility.⁸⁷ However, given that many medieval kings visited Walsingham, and Richard and Anne had only been married just over a year, their visit to Walsingham cannot be taken as an unusual anxiety about fertility, but was rather undertaken as part of a progress, also visiting Bury, Ely and Norwich.

⁸³ Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', pp. 1088-9 and 1092-3; BL Add. MS 6159, fol. 156v.

⁸⁴ TNA E 101/402/18; TNA E 101/402/17 contains an order for payments to the same.

⁸⁵ Geaman, 'Anne of Bohemia and Her Struggle to Conceive', pp. 10-1.

⁸⁶ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 456.

⁸⁷ *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, trans. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 44, '*De mense Maii partier et Junii peregrinabantur rex et regina versus Dominam de Walsyngham*'; Susan Signe Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private piety as public performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 16.

Whereas Richard may have disguised fears about his fertility in a veil of saint worship, Anne may have used intercession to replace her lack of children, which was possible because intercession and motherhood were so interlinked. Parsons argues that some queens substituted a nurturing maternal image for their biological maternity as they aged, citing Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), who became a more prominent intercessor during the reign of her son, Edward I, than that of her husband, Henry III, or when queens failed to produce children, as in Anne's case.⁸⁸ Unlike Joan of Kent, however, Eleanor of Provence did have the status of a crowned queen and dowager, not simply the mother of a king. One way in which Anne did associate herself with fertility was through popularising St Anne, the mother of the Virgin and Anne's own name saint, who had herself been barren into old age and was lauded as the patron saint of pregnant women.⁸⁹ One chronicler mentions in his eulogy for Anne that she promoted the feast of St Anne in England, perhaps explaining why Anne's burial took place on St Anne's feast day, 26 July, rather than at her funeral on 3 August 1394.⁹⁰ The date was probably a decision on the part of Richard rather than Anne's preference. Van Dussen suggests that because St Anne received a child after praying, and the fact that St Anne petitioned God herself, made St Anne an intercessory figure.⁹¹ However, a papal bull from 1381, promoting her feast date there, suggests that Anne was already a popular saint in England, or that the Pope, Urban VI, hoped to make the new queen Anne more popular by associating her with the saint.⁹² A confirmation of houses at

⁸⁸ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 150.

⁸⁹ Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies', p. 243.

⁹⁰ *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, vol. 2, ed. Francis Wormald (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1946), p. 24; Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies', p. 242.

⁹¹ Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies', p. 243.

⁹² Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 29; Wendy Scase, 'St Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications', in N. Rogers, *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1993), p. 83; R. W.

Gravesend, Kent, to the convent of St Mary Graces by the Tower, for the creation of new buildings, was also made at the supplication of Queen Anne. That the convent supposedly held the head of St Anne, and the year of the confirmation of 1383, shortly after Anne's marriage, suggests further attempts to associate Anne with St Anne.⁹³ Simply sharing the same name may have made St Anne an easy figure for Anne to associate herself with. Despite the possibility of accusations of adultery against childless queens, Anne was apparently secure enough either in the closeness of her relationship with Richard or her own religious devotion that she avoided any such claims.

Queen Anne was also linked with pregnant women more directly. The epitaph on Anne's tomb also records that she 'relieved pregnant women' (*pregnantes relavit*).⁹⁴ Van Dussen has traced further references to Anne's kindness towards pregnant women in eulogies composed shortly after Anne's death in 1394, with one poem, '*Anglica Regina*', stating that she 'visited pregnant women' (*pregnantes pena mulieres vissit amena*), although he notes the similarity of this phrase to her tomb epitaph, suggesting that the composer may have taken inspiration from the epitaph.⁹⁵ The official record, presumably at the direction of Richard II, therefore creates a reputation for Anne as the aider of pregnant women, the closest she could come without bearing children herself. The epitaph may also be referencing in particular the pardons which Anne secured for two pregnant women, Agnes Martyn in 1383 and Juliana, wife of John Gylle, in 1391-2.⁹⁶ Aside from these two pardons, however, Anne

Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 2; *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Vol. 3, ed. D. Wilkins (London: R. Gosling, 1737), pp. 178-9.

⁹³ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 306.

⁹⁴ Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies', p. 243.

⁹⁵ Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly MS H.15, fol. 90r and Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly MS D.12, fol. 217r-v; Van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies', p. 235.

⁹⁶ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 243; *CPR 1391-96*, pp. 8 and 28.

does not seem to have particularly championed pregnant women in her petitions for mercy. Richard II therefore seems to have fabricated Anne's intercessory reputation, particularly in regards to pregnant women, to distract from her childlessness.⁹⁷ The link between Queen Anne and pregnant women persisted.

Anne's lack of children could have created a gap in influence for Richard's mother to manipulate, especially given the aforementioned replacement of childbearing with intercessory activity by queens such as Eleanor of Provence. Parsons, although mainly focussed on thirteenth-century queens, suggests that the figure of the queen mother was the more trustworthy intercessor than the queen consort, because the relationship between the king and his mother was asexual. For example, Parsons argues that Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) was a more successful intercessor with her son, Edward I, than her daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290). The king's mother more closely followed the model of the Virgin, the ultimate intercessor, famed for her intercession between earthly subjects and her son, not her husband.⁹⁸ The dominance of the queen mother, Eleanor of Provence, over the queen consort, Eleanor of Castile, also demonstrates that the predominant woman in the king's life could take the form of his mother rather than his wife, or in some cases his mistress, as in the later years of Edward III with his mistress Alice Perrers. The pattern of mother over wife also appeared to some extent in the reign of Edward III, with Isabella of France overshadowing the early years of the new queen, Philippa of Hainaut.⁹⁹ The potentially most powerful phase in a queen's life was often as the widowed mother of a king during his minority, during

⁹⁷ Geaman, 'Childless Queens and Child-like Kings', p. 277.

⁹⁸ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149.

⁹⁹ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 41.

which she could act as regent, an opportunity which certain women, such as the French queen Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), as well as Isabella of France, exploited.¹⁰⁰

Although no medieval queens of England were official regents, Joan of Kent arguably came close.¹⁰¹ However, Joan interfered relatively little in politics compared to royal mothers such as Eleanor of Castile or Isabella of France, both previous crowned queens of England, and unlike these two women, Joan herself was not a queen dowager.

As the mother of the king, Joan of Kent had an influential position from which to access the king and intercede for others. However, examples of Joan participating in acts of intercession are rare in petitionary pardons, and those mentioned in chronicles are even fewer. The register of the Black Prince also makes no mention of pardons given by the prince at Joan's request, although towards the end of his life, the prince's illness meant that Joan began to act on his behalf. For example, rewards for service to the prince and princess were sealed first by Joan and then by the prince.¹⁰² Joan's small role is particularly striking in comparison to the prominent role that Isabella of France played in at least the early years of the reign of her son, Edward III, even when Edward was married, although she was more involved than the mothers of two other minor kings of England, the earlier Henry III (1207-1272) and the later Henry VI (1421-1471). Both mothers remarried, Henry's mother Isabella of Angoulême (c. 1188-1246) returning to France and Katherine of Valois (1401-1437)

¹⁰⁰ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*; J. S. Bothwell, 'The More Things Change: Isabella and Mortimer, Edward III, and the Painful Delay of a Royal Majority', in Charles Beem (ed.), *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 67-102.

¹⁰¹ Parsons, 'The Intercessionary Patronage', p. 149.

¹⁰² *The Register of Edward the Black Prince Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 4, ed. M. C. B. Dawes (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1933), p. 529.

marrying Owen Tudor.¹⁰³ Unlike Joan, Isabella and Katherine were both foreign-born, with the status of queen consort, and younger than Joan at the deaths of their royal husbands. Both Henry III and Henry VI married later in their twenties, as opposed to Edward III and Richard II, who married at relatively younger ages, perhaps due to the influence of their mothers, and queens often participated in the marriage negotiations for their offspring.¹⁰⁴ Despite Joan's comparable lack of intercessory activity, several examples exist in both literature and petitions.

One notable example of Joan attempting to intercede with her son, the king, was for the sake of John Holand, her son from an earlier marriage, who had been condemned to execution after killing the Earl of Stafford in 1385. Whilst the other examples of intercession discussed in this chapter feature the queen in person, which seems to be a crucial element, Thomas Walsingham records that Joan only sent envoys to the king, presumably due to her age or state of health. Joan's attempt thus lacked the poignancy of Joan on her knees before the king, a position which could have appealed to Richard II's sense of his role.¹⁰⁵ Joan died overcome by grief before succeeding in her request, and although Richard later pardoned his half-brother, his

¹⁰³ Nicholas Vincent, 'Isabella [Isabella of Angoulême], *suo jure* countess of Angoulême (c. 1188–1246), queen of England, second consort of King John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14483>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Michael Jones, 'Catherine [Catherine of Valois] (1401–1437), queen of England, consort of Henry V', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4890>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁰⁴ R. A. Griffiths, 'The Minority of Henry VI, King of England and of France', in Charles Beem (ed.), *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 175; John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500', in John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, pp. 129-30; David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 374.

mother's request or her death may not have been related to the pardon.¹⁰⁶ Many other examples also feature royal women interceding for those unrelated to themselves, whereas Joan had a strong link to Thomas as his mother. Ultimately, Joan's failure to intercede successfully for her son does not align with Parsons' theory of the king's mother versus his wife, because Joan was comparatively more successful as an intercessor before her son's marriage, according to numbers of pardons, with 22 in the five years before and 9 in the three years after.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, she may only have been fulfilling the necessary role of intercessor and providing some balance to her son's decisions in the absence of a queen. The ability to intercede successfully may also have depended on the personality of the intercessor and the closeness of her relationship with the king. In addition, in the case of Thomas Holand, Joan was interceding for a member of her own and Richard's family, rather than an unrelated or foreign person.

The contrast between Joan of Kent, as a royal mother but not a queen, and Anne of Bohemia, a queen perceived as a failure because of her lack of children, demonstrates the importance of both the roles of mother and intercessor for royal women in fourteenth-century England. Queen Anne's positive reputation relies heavily on her intercessory activity rather than her lack of children, but Richard II's lack of heirs still had consequences for the following centuries and arguably the Wars of the Roses. The childlessness of the couple at the time may have been concealed with rumours of a chaste marriage, emphasised with Richard's promotion of the cult of Edward the Confessor. In addition to intercessory activities, Anne's reputation also emphasised her supposed kindness towards pregnant women and links with her

¹⁰⁶ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 130.

¹⁰⁷ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 214-32; TNA C 66 and C 67.

namesake St Anne. The argument that the royal mother could substitute for the king's wife as principal intercessor does not apply to Joan of Kent, who became less active after Richard's marriage to Anne, who was much more famed as an intercessor. Joan was not a queen herself, suggesting that a royal woman required the extra gravitas of coronation to be a successful intercessor.

Intercession in Literature

Although Anne had not yet arrived in the country, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and its aftermath offer an opportunity to explore the advantages and differences between the queen consort, in this case Anne of Bohemia, and the king's mother, Joan of Kent, as intercessory figures, whose lifetimes and roles overlapped in the reign of Richard II. Chroniclers offer differing accounts of Joan's role in the Peasants' Revolt, with Froissart providing the most dramatic rendition that the rebels invaded the Tower and broke Joan's bed, a piece of furniture fraught with symbolism relating to both Richard and Joan herself.¹⁰⁸ Aside from Joan's personal role, the rebels also attacked Joan through her manors, leading Joan to request an investigation from the king.¹⁰⁹ Despite this, Joan was named in a petition interceding for one pardon for a rebel, which contrasts with Anne's role as the requester of a general pardon for all the rebels, orchestrated by the government.¹¹⁰ Officially Joan did not hold the title of queen, or

¹⁰⁸ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', pp. 272-92; Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*; Wood, 'Froissart, Personal Testimony, and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381', pp. 40-9; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 48; Morgan, *Beds and Chambers*, pp. 99-100; *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, p. 114; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 412; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 1, p. 459; *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 210.

¹⁰⁹ Parsons, 'The Intercessionary Patronage', p. 149; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 289; Sylvia Federico, 'The Imaginary Society: Women in 1381', *Journal of British Studies* 40, 20 (2001), pp. 159-83; *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 78-9.

¹¹⁰ Alastair Dunn, *The Peasants' Revolt: England's Failed Revolution of 1381* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 155; Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, p. 303; Lacey, 'Grace for the rebels', pp. 36-63; *CPR 1381-85*, p. 226; *CCR 1381-85*, pp. 105 and 109.

call herself 'king's mother', despite often being referred to as such in chronicles.¹¹¹ Unlike Joan's established role, Anne's position as absent, prospective queen meant that she stood wholly apart from the events, much like the role of Philippa in accounts of her intercession at Calais. In addition, the tradition of pardons as concurrent with the coronation of a new queen provided a useful opportunity.¹¹² Like Philippa, Anne thus proved a useful intercessory figure for the king as well as his government, suggesting the importance of the queenly figure, but undermining her agency in matters of intercession. The opportunity also meant that Anne could become immediately involved in a queenly role. Both Philippa and Anne were also of foreign birth, meaning that they were separate elements able to intercede for anyone, whereas Joan of Kent was of native birth. Joan's deceased father also meant she lacked a powerful family as queens descended from foreign rulers did, in addition to the need for foreign queens to forge vital social bonds at their new courts.

The Peasants' Revolt encounters similar problems to tales of Calais, through the presence of multiple and varying accounts. As with Philippa's intercession at Calais, accounts of the events do not provide a reliable historical narrative, but the sources still provide some idea of the contemporary values and reactions.¹¹³ Both Ormrod and R. B. Dobson note the difficulties in tracing the events of the Revolt and especially the movements of Joan herself.¹¹⁴ Dobson dismisses the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, an anonymous, fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman prose chronicle, which states that Joan accompanied Richard to his conference with the rebels at Mile End,

¹¹¹ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 290.

¹¹² Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', pp. 60-77; J. L. Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's coronation in England, 1445-87', in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp. 52-68; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 105.

¹¹³ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 279.

¹¹⁴ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 279; Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, p. 209, n. 1.

arguing that probably neither Joan nor Wat Tyler were present.¹¹⁵ The *City of London Letter Book H*, however, records that Joan followed the king to Mile End separately. *Letter Book H*, compiled months or even years after the Revolt, may have been intended as a censored, official account which painted the common people as the only ones to assist the rebels into London, rather than the aldermen.¹¹⁶ These short accounts offer few details of Joan's role in the revolt.

Other accounts expand on Joan's role. Froissart provides the most detail with regards to Joan, stating that the rebels first approached Joan on her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury.¹¹⁷ Froissart was the only chronicler to mention this incident, and Joan herself, or someone close to her, may have been the source for Froissart's information or inspiration, and Froissart himself was not a personal witness, but Joan appears frequently in his story, more so than in other writers' accounts. Joan may also have already come into contact with Froissart during her upbringing as part of Philippa of Hainaut's household.¹¹⁸ Ormrod suggests only that Joan may have been visiting Canterbury for religious festivals or the anniversary of her deceased husband, Prince Edward, which indicates that she could have crossed paths with the rebels at this time.¹¹⁹ Lawne also argues that Joan made a visit to her husband's tomb at Canterbury every year, where an anniversary mass was held on the 8 June, with the rebels taking Canterbury on 8 June and reaching Blackheath by the 12th.¹²⁰ The initial attack on Joan serves as a framing device, because Richard returns to her after his conference with the rebels, announcing that 'I have this day recovered my inheritance and the

¹¹⁵ Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, p. 161, n. 1; *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, p. 114.

¹¹⁶ Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, p. 208.

¹¹⁷ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 391.

¹¹⁸ Wood, 'Froissart, Personal Testimony, and the Peasants' Revolt', p. 42.

¹¹⁹ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 285, n. 29.

¹²⁰ Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, p. 238; Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent*, p. 154.

realm of England'.¹²¹ Ormrod argues that Froissart uses Joan to adapt the story more closely to traditional chivalric tropes, comparing the reunion with Joan to aspects of the life of Richard's father, in which the then Prince Edward returns victorious after battle to his own mother, Queen Philippa.¹²² In both of these accounts, neither Edward nor Richard are yet married, suggesting that the mother could assume the role of the female figure of romance in chivalric tradition, at least during the absence of a wife.

Joan's bed specifically also played a prominent role in some accounts of the Peasants' Revolt. In Joan of Kent's case, as the mother of the king, childbirth and motherhood were her link to royal power. Between the initial attack of the rebels against Joan and Richard's return to her after the conference at Mile End, Froissart claims that Joan then joined Richard at the Tower, where the rebels later entered and broke Joan's bed. She swooned and her servants took her to her London residence, La Reol, where she was comforted by her son.¹²³ Froissart's account bears some similarities to Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, which also states that the rebels broke into the Tower and asked Joan to kiss them.¹²⁴ Knighton's chronicle also records that the King's mother was present at the Tower, alongside the Duchess of Brittany and other ladies.¹²⁵ Archaeological analysis of royal palaces suggests that queens were physically separated from public access by the walls and placement of their chambers, a similar area to where Joan would have been located. By contrast, the king's apartments formed public spaces.¹²⁶ In a literary sense then, the rebels were

¹²¹ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 416.

¹²² Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 287; *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos*, ed. Mildred K. Pope and Eleanor C. Lodge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), lines 461-71 and 1469-78.

¹²³ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, p. 404.

¹²⁴ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 1, p. 459.

¹²⁵ *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 210.

¹²⁶ Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 163-4; Simon Thurley, 'Royal Lodgings at The Tower of London 1216-1327', *Architectural History*, 38 (1995), pp. 36-57.

violating all the king's boundaries, including the sanctity of his mother's bedchamber.¹²⁷ Hollie Morgan suggests that Joan swooned at the breaking of her bed because she had such a strong connection to it, and that the breaking of her bed symbolised the rape of Joan herself, even if she was not physically harmed.¹²⁸ If a queen or king's mother drew her influence partially from her role in producing a legitimate heir, actions against Joan's bed, as the symbolic birthplace of Richard II, meant an insult to him and his rule, and possibly even his parentage.

Moreover, in addition to Parsons' argument that the king's mother was the more acceptable and effective intercessory figure than the queen consort, Ormrod raises the question as to why Joan did not fill the position of intercessory figure to the rebels herself. Ormrod suggests that Joan would not have been a suitable figure because of her prior encounters with the rebels, as well as the fact that her lands had been mistreated by them.¹²⁹ Like many other landowners, Joan suffered damage to her manors from the revolt, specifically Northweld (Northweld Bassett, Essex), Barstaple (Barstable, Essex), Colwake, Lammerash and Leyham (Suffolk), where rebels entered and burned the muniments, or legal documents, there.¹³⁰ Joan's complaint to the king resulted in his commissioning an investigation, and Ormrod suggests that her complaint demonstrates Joan's support of the repressive policy, meaning she could not then act as a figure of mercy towards the rebels.¹³¹ After the revolt, Joan requested only one pardon for a particular rebel, Thomas Sampson, dated January 1383, who had been one of the leaders of the revolt in Ipswich, then imprisoned and awaiting

¹²⁷ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 48.

¹²⁸ Morgan, *Beds and Chambers*, pp. 99-100.

¹²⁹ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 289.

¹³⁰ Federico, 'The Imaginary Society', p. 170.

¹³¹ *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 78-9; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 289.

execution for ‘divers treasons and felonies in the late insurrection’.¹³² Sampson originated from one of Joan’s manors, Kersey, and the Patent Rolls reveal that Sampson ‘turned approver and charged John Batesford, clerk, with felony’.¹³³ John Batesford, or Battsford, was a fellow leader of the Ipswich rebels.¹³⁴ Joan’s connection to Sampson through her manor was probably the reason for her intercession in this instance, with the same duties to her tenants as any lord of the manor.¹³⁵ Her intercession in this case was therefore on a more personal level than the queenly tradition of intercession for anyone.

Besides Joan’s associations with the earlier events of the revolt, Ormrod argues that overall, Joan could only act effectively as an intercessor in the absence of a queen consort, due to her lack of queenly title or anointment through coronation.¹³⁶ Either way, Anne had been untouched by the revolt or the immediate repression and as such was an independent figure. Issuing the pardon could only enhance her reputation and that of the king’s, through the demonstration of mercy. The lack of reference to Anne in the role of intercessor for the rebels in the chronicles of the time suggests that the authors preferred to cast Joan as the victim, and ignore Anne as a champion of the problematic rebels.¹³⁷ In addition, Ormrod suggests that Joan was deliberately demoting herself from royal princess to noblewoman.¹³⁸ Joan held an awkward position from the death of Prince Edward onwards. As mother of the king or future king, Joan was undeniably a part of the royal family, but neither a princess of the blood nor a queen, nor had she undergone the anointing ritual of the coronation. Nor was

¹³² Dunn, *The Peasants’ Revolt*, p. 155; *CPR 1381-85*, p. 226.

¹³³ Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent*, p. 158; *CPR 1381-85*, p. 226.

¹³⁴ Dunn, *The Peasants’ Revolt*, p. 155.

¹³⁵ Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 34.

¹³⁶ Ormrod, ‘In Bed with Joan of Kent’, p. 290.

¹³⁷ Ormrod, ‘In Bed with Joan of Kent’, p. 291.

¹³⁸ Ormrod, ‘In Bed with Joan of Kent’, p. 292.

Joan simply a noblewoman, because she clearly owned more land than many of the aristocracy, especially female landowners, and was able to access more privileges through her son the king. Joan's situation was also complicated by her earlier children from her previous marriage before her marriage to the Black Prince. The accusations of witchcraft against Joan of Navarre (1368-1437), second wife of Henry IV, demonstrate the consequences of queenly mothers overstepping their boundaries.¹³⁹ The prior removal of Isabella of France's lands also suggests that too much involvement in politics could be dangerous for the mother or stepmother of a king, and Joan may simply have been safeguarding herself.

Either Joan or Anne could, as mother and wife of the king respectively, have acted as the intercessory agent between the king and rebels of 1381. However, circumstances in the form of attacks on Joan's holdings and possibly herself intervened to make Anne the more suitable candidate, despite the fact that she was a newcomer to the country. In fact, such an early intercession could actually serve to promote Anne's reputation, regarded with suspicion due to her status as a foreigner, and was also reminiscent of other intercessions of the occasions of queens' coronations. Anne's intercession also followed in the pattern of Froissart's characterisation of Philippa at Calais, where she appeared as an outside element, both literally through her late arrival, and also through her place as one woman in the midst

¹³⁹ Michael Jones, 'Joan [Joan of Navarre] (1368–1437), queen of England, second consort of Henry IV', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14824>. Accessed 6 December 2018; A. R. Myers, 'The captivity of a royal witch: the household accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419–21', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 24, 2 (1940), pp. 263-84; Elena Woodacre, 'The Perils of Promotion: Maternal Ambition and Sacrifice in the Life of Joan of Navarre, Duchess of Brittany, and Queen of England', in Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre (eds.), *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 125-48; Anne Crawford, 'The King's Burden?: the Consequences of Royal Marriage in Fifteenth-century England', in Ralph A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1981), p. 35.

of men in a military situation. Richard, or his government, may have thus been framing Anne deliberately in the pattern of Philippa, the preceding queen, despite a gap of two decades. The use of Anne as intercessor despite her absence demonstrates the development of queenly intercession as a performative element. Anne's personal intervention or even her presence was not necessary, but the ability of the queen's position to intercede was politically useful and important.

Performative Intercession

The pardon for the Peasants' Revolt issued supposedly at Anne's request was only the first of multiple intercessions throughout her life as queen. Anne's most memorable instance of intercession is recorded in the contemporary Latin poem *Concordia facta inter regem et cives Londonie* by Richard Maidstone, which describes the submission of the city of London to the king in August 1392 after their initial refusal to provide him with money.¹⁴⁰ In a way, Anne's role also formed a reaction and realisation of the bill that the Londoners presented to Anne on her initial arrival, probably on her progress through London two days before her wedding, or on the wedding day itself, on 20 January 1382, which Gordon Kipling terms the earliest 'queen's triumph'.¹⁴¹

The bill stated that:

'... in the exercise of your magnificence to recommend your subjects to our very noble lord aforesaid, as did our other queens, who preceded your most excellent highness in your realm of England—may it please your most clement and preeminent nobility thus to mediate by gracious words and deeds with our lord the king... These things, most excellent

¹⁴⁰ Maidstone, *Concordia*, pp. 50-80; Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices', pp. 517-43; Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick', pp. 149-58; Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', pp. 79-98; Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen', pp. 126-46; Sylvia Federico, 'A Fourteenth-Century Erotics of Politics: London as a Feminine New Troy', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 19 (1997), pp. 121-55.

¹⁴¹ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 105; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 292.

lady, we have boldly presumed to lay in your merciful hands, because our ladies, the queens of England, on their first arrivals, have been wont to afford to their subjects the like manifestations of their generosity, and it is the prerogative of your pre-eminence—a pre-eminence resting as well upon your natural birthright as upon moral education and the endowments of virtue—to do the same and even more.”¹⁴²

Where the religious ceremony remained essentially the same for each queen, the attendant pageantry changed according to the queen and political climate. For example, the celebrations for Katherine of Valois (1401-1437) in 1421, Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482) in 1445, and Elizabeth of York (1466-1503) in 1487 emphasised the roles of their marriage in ending the wars between France and England or York and Lancaster, whereas a procession for Elizabeth Woodville (c. 1437-1492), like Joan of Kent previously a wife and mother before her marriage to a royal, focussed on her proven fertility.¹⁴³ The bill which the people of London presented to Anne of Bohemia shortly before her wedding referenced the earlier examples of queens’ arrival intercessions, as ‘our ladies, the queens of England, on their first arrivals, have been wont to afford to their subjects the like manifestations of their generosity’.¹⁴⁴ Similar

¹⁴² *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 3b.

¹⁴³ Laynesmith, ‘Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual?’, pp. 66-7; Jones, ‘Catherine [Catherine of Valois] (1401–1437), queen of England, consort of Henry V’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4890>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Diana E. S. Dunn, ‘Margaret [Margaret of Anjou] (1430–1482), queen of England, consort of Henry VI’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18049>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Rosemary Horrox, ‘Elizabeth [Elizabeth of York] (1466–1503), queen of England, consort of Henry VII’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8635>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow*, p. 105; *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 3b.

behaviour was therefore by this point expected in a queen. Nelson suggests that the Londoners were requesting Anne to mediate between another form of the king's 'two bodies', that of his role as husband and his unique status as king.¹⁴⁵ Likewise, Parsons argues that the queen embodied a different 'two bodies', an earthly, aging body, and a timeless advisor.¹⁴⁶ Anne's supposed request therefore acts as one of these arrival intercessions, and poses her as an intercessory figure from the very beginning of her tenure as queen. Richard may have promoted Anne immediately as an intercessor because his mother was not a queen or the wife of a king, and only the mother of a king, without any holy connotations from coronation. As demonstrated by the example of Philippa, the king's wife rather than his mother was the expected intercessory figure by this point, especially after Philippa had been queen consort for so long and there had been no other queen since her death.

The coronation ceremony outlined for the queen her expected role and behaviour, yet gave no indication of the connection between the queen and common people, which the bill suggested. The bill referred to Anne's 'compassion' and her position as '*mediatrix*' with the king, emphasising that he was both 'her lord and ours', and beseeching her to 'mediate by gracious words and deeds'.¹⁴⁷ The bill sought to align the queen with the Londoners themselves, making them all, queen included, subjects of the king, and positioning Anne as an accessible intercessor for the common people. Ormrod argues that the government used Anne as the 'transformative element' in their change of policy towards the rebels, yet the bill itself demonstrates that Anne was the expected choice for such a role, as a new queen and an individual largely removed from the previous events.¹⁴⁸ Helen Lacey argues that the reference to Anne

¹⁴⁵ Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', p. 204.

¹⁴⁶ Parsons, "Never was a body buried", p. 333.

¹⁴⁷ *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 3b.

¹⁴⁸ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 288.

differentiates this particular pardon from earlier examples, with Richard needing further justification for the pardon, perhaps due to a more precarious hold on the country after the revolt.¹⁴⁹ As with Philippa's supposed actions saving the burghers of Calais, the sacrifice of a woman's dignity meant that the king, and government, could change policy without loss of face. Strohm characterises Anne's situation as the government's early attempt to cast her in a mediatory role.¹⁵⁰ Such incidents may also have contributed to Anne's later reputation as an interceding and calming figure with her husband. However, the fact that such events were fabricated by the king or his government emphasised the queen's status as reliant on her husband, positioning the queen as a passive agent rather than an active participant, generally without her own agency. The pardon, as an official record, also contrasts with the negative reception of Anne at her initial arrival, and the Westminster chronicler complained about the cost of Anne's dowry.¹⁵¹ The difference highlights that pardons in the Close and Patent Rolls only represent the official side of the story.

Although during the submission Anne was actually present, her role was essentially similar to the one she played in the general pardon for the Peasants' Revolt, acting as the intercessor with the king on behalf of the city, although again her role is essentially ceremonial. The poem makes references to Biblical models, such as Esther, who had interceded with the king for her people, and Anne of Bohemia's saintly namesake, as well as detailing gifts to Anne and the king, before asking for her intercession. The lengthy poem describing Anne's intercession provides a significant example of queenly mediation that was not reliant on motherhood or pregnancy,

¹⁴⁹ Lacey, "Grace for the rebels", pp. 59-60.

¹⁵⁰ Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 106.

¹⁵¹ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 24.

suggesting the use of Anne's intercessory activities to draw attention from her lack of children.

Although other sources mention the royal entry of 1392, the *Concordia* provides the most detail. Maidstone was a Carmelite friar and confessor to John of Gaunt, so even if he was not an organiser of the pageant, as A. G. Rigg suggests, he may have had personal knowledge of the events, particularly given the quantity of information in the poem.¹⁵² Anne also plays an active part as an intercessor with Richard. Unlike Philippa in Froissart's account of Calais, Anne is in no way kept on the outskirts of the action. The *Concordia* mentions her early on as accompanying the king, present in several scenes, and giving a long speech. By contrast, the account of Thomas Walsingham does not mention the queen at all.¹⁵³ Other accounts include an anonymous epistolary report written in 1392, probably by a courtier who accompanied Richard, although Helen Suggett suggests that the similarity in the language between the letter and the *Westminster Chronicle* means that they derive from a single source, perhaps even an official account approved by the king.¹⁵⁴ The letter may also be the most reliable and closest in time to the original incident.¹⁵⁵ The poem was therefore used to construct models of both Richard and Anne.

The *Concordia* records Anne being requested to intercede three times, once by the warden together with the twenty-four aldermen of London, "They come up to the queen with humble countenance, Beseeching her, and she prays good for them in turn" (*Reginam propius veniunt, humili quoque vultu. Valde precantur eam, spondet et ipsa*

¹⁵² A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 285-6.

¹⁵³ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 1, pp. 210-11.

¹⁵⁴ Helen Suggett, 'A Letter Describing Richard II's Reconciliation with the City of London, 1392', *The English Historical Review* 62, 243 (1947), p. 210.

¹⁵⁵ David R. Carlson (ed.), 'Introduction', in Richard Maidstone, *Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard with London)*, p. 19.

bonum). The queen responds to their prayers by telling them to have hope.¹⁵⁶ Then the warden beseeches her again, flattering her with references to her imperial family, ‘O noble high-born lady, born of lofty race, Imperial in rank, renowned in family’ (*O generosaque nobilis imperatoria proles, Stipite nata quidem magnifici generis. Vos deus elegit, ad scepra Britannica digne*).¹⁵⁷ The warden declares Anne a sharer in power, ‘*Imperii consors estis*’, which accords more with the appearance that Richard and Anne were partners, rather than Ormrod’s theory that Richard attempted to subsume Anne and her feminine identity.¹⁵⁸ The warden then states that Anne the queen can bend the king’s rule, ‘*Flectere regales poterit regina rigores*’, because a wife softens a man with love, ‘*mollit amore virus mulier*’.¹⁵⁹ This sentiment echoes Farmer’s argument that all wives were expected to encourage mercy and generosity in their husbands.¹⁶⁰ The normative expectation that all women, not just queens, could affect their husbands’ judgment demonstrates why queenly intercession was acceptable within a patriarchal society.

Next in the poem, the king and queen are both given gifts, the king probably to earn his forgiveness and the queen in return for her intercessory efforts. The giving of money or gifts to the queen in return for her intercession with the king was a tradition officially combined in the custom of queen’s gold.¹⁶¹ In his second entreaty to Anne, the warden narrates the gifting of a horse, which he acknowledges is a small gift, but Anne promises them her help.¹⁶² Then, after two figures representing the king

¹⁵⁶ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 58, lines 156-159.

¹⁵⁷ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 62, lines 223-225.

¹⁵⁸ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 62, line 226; Ormrod, ‘Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity’, p. 181.

¹⁵⁹ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 62, lines 227-229.

¹⁶⁰ Farmer, ‘Persuasive Voices’, p. 517.

¹⁶¹ Geaman, ‘Queen’s Gold and Intercession’, pp. 10-33.

¹⁶² Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 62, lines 233-242.

and queen descend from a platform, the maiden passes two crowns to the warden.¹⁶³ Further gifts are presented in the form of engraved tablets for both the king and queen, with the warden noting that Anne shares the same name as the Virgin Mary's mother.¹⁶⁴ Knighton's *Chronicle* includes that the tablet was engraved with St Anne both for Anne's name and her special devotion to the saint.¹⁶⁵ The engraved tablet adds to the argument that St Anne was popularised in association with Queen Anne. The idea of the queen receiving gifts in return for her intercession with the king also ties into the concept of queen's gold, in which queens received an extra fee or proportion on every fine paid to the king, in return for the use of her perceived intercession. Anne also acted as an intercessor in an usually high number of petitionary pardons in the years 1391-2.¹⁶⁶ Anne's role in the *Concordia* thus accords with her role as an intercessor in petitions at court, whether that was through her own agency or her use by the king or government as an intercessory agent. The use of gifts in the ceremony depicted in the *Concordia* demonstrates that queens could benefit from their intercession, whether through objects or money.

In some ways the poem references the Biblical models used in the coronation rites. The warden also references the biblical Esther, and then calls Anne herself 'Esther', '*Participem regni, sitis ut Hester ei*', echoing the coronation ritual outlined in the *Liber Regalis*, and the whole poem is reminiscent of Richard's own coronation.¹⁶⁷ Matilda, the first wife of Henry I, was referred to as a 'second Esther', which Huneycutt terms an example of the 'Esther topos', and here Anne is poised as

¹⁶³ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 64, lines 285-289.

¹⁶⁴ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 72, lines 430-434.

¹⁶⁵ *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 546-48.

¹⁶⁶ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 213; TNA C 66 and C 67.

¹⁶⁷ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 72, lines 441-444.

an Esther saving her people, in this case the Londoners.¹⁶⁸ The example of Anne reconciling her husband with the city of London is also reminiscent of the ecclesiastical customs of penance used in early medieval scenes of reconciliation.¹⁶⁹ There follows the third and final entreaty for Anne to intercede with the king, ‘*propterea, petit urbs vestrum prostrata benignum auxilium, in quo plus habet ipsa spei*’. Again Anne agrees to help, although only to the extent of her power, ‘*In me, si quid erit, perficietur*’.¹⁷⁰ Anne’s role in the poem culminates in her petition before the enthroned king, on her knees. David Wallace suggests that the image of Anne on her knees, as an emperor’s daughter, and a member of a house which claimed descent from Julius Caesar himself (‘*Inclita Cesareo soboles propagata parente*’), only emphasised Richard II’s importance, at least in his own eyes.¹⁷¹ Maidstone inserts a poetic speech into Anne’s mouth, ‘“*Dulcis,*” ait, “*mi rex, michi vir, michi vis, michi vita*”’, and she emphasises how the city has honoured him with gifts and worship, and her own submission on her knees, ‘*supplico prostrata*’. The king agrees to the queen’s request. Strohm argues that the queen’s reference to ‘*dulcis amor*’, and the general theme of the poem of the king as bridegroom and the city as his bride, suggests that the queen will make sexual concessions in parallel to the financial concessions made by the city, which has subjugated itself to the king throughout the poem.¹⁷² Anne’s request is also welcomed by Richard, ‘*Exprime, de votis expedire tuis*’, which contrasts with Edward’s reaction to Philippa at Calais, wishing that his wife was not

¹⁶⁸ Huneycutt, ‘Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen’, p. 138.

¹⁶⁹ Rob Meens, ‘The Historiography of Early Medieval Penance’, in Abigail Firey (ed.), *A New History of Penance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 90; Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 182; Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen in frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990).

¹⁷⁰ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 72, lines 445-452.

¹⁷¹ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 374; Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 72, line 431.

¹⁷² Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow*, p. 109.

present.¹⁷³ Both stories feature the king reluctantly agreeing to the queen's request, which has also been suggested by other men, and therefore the queen's intercession is acceptable.

The epistolary account agrees with the basic events as in the poem. Although the letter states that, rather than the queen alone, the archbishop and the bishop of London alongside the queen requested the king for mercy, '*Et adonqe vient la Roigne et l'erchevesqe d'une part et l'evesqe de Londrez d'autre part, et eux mistrent as genoiles devant le Roy luy priantz de prendre sez lieges en sa grace et mercy.*'¹⁷⁴ As an official account the *Concordia* therefore gives a more individual and prominent role to the queen alone. The *Westminster Chronicle* prefaces its account by mentioning the queen's prior incidences of intercession for the city of London and its people, citing an occasion at Nottingham in particular, '*Demum mediantibus amicis pro eis et precipue domina regina Anglie, que iteratis vicibus, immo multociens, prostravit se ad pedes domini regis tam ibi quam Notyngham, obnixe et sedule deprecando pro dicta civitate London' et pro statu civium ejusdem quatinus*'. Again the queen was among others, both the nobles and other prominent figures, requesting mercy for the city, although the chronicler does reference the queen in particular.¹⁷⁵ Knighton and Walsingham make no mention of the queen's intercession during the pageant itself.¹⁷⁶ The *Brut* continuation states that the queen and other lords and ladies fell to their knees to beseech the king. In the *Concordia* Anne plays a much larger and more visible role that her off-stage part in the general pardon of 1381, although '*þe King toke vp þe*

¹⁷³ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 74, line 466; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, p. 205.

¹⁷⁴ Suggett, 'A Letter Describing Richard II's Reconciliation', p. 212.

¹⁷⁵ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 510.

¹⁷⁶ *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. 546-8; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, pp. 210-1.

Quene, and grauntyd hir alle hir askyng'.¹⁷⁷ The Patent Rolls also record that a pardon at the queen's supplication, and another returning their liberties, together with the citizens of London, was issued to the late mayor of London, as well as the late sheriffs and aldermen, for 3000 marks that they had owed to the king.¹⁷⁸ The more official accounts therefore present the queen alone in the traditional role of intercessor, whereas multiple other accounts agree that the queen did intercede, although in combination with other lords.

Anne's intercession in 1392 provides a satisfying response to the bill presented to her by the city of London on her initial arrival. The *Concordia* and the depiction of a kneeling Anne in the Shrewsbury charter initial (Figure 1) suggest that Anne's intercessory reputation was well known. However, despite the promotion of her intercessory activities, not all her attempts were successful. The former mayor of London, John Northampton, was accused of sedition and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered in 1384, '*nisi domina regina ibi causiliter extitisset ac pro eius vita ne moreretur domino regi provoluta humiliter supplicasset*', after suggesting that Richard II was not able to judge in the absence of John of Gaunt. As a result of Anne's intercession, the king commuted his sentence to life imprisonment, rather than freeing Northampton entirely in the manner of earlier public intercessions.¹⁷⁹ The Westminster Chronicler suggests that Anne's actions on behalf of Northampton were spontaneous and not prearranged, although Anne was fulfilling the same role that she had before in other instances of intercession. Significantly, Anne was only able to persuade the king to lessen Northampton's sentence, rather than prevent it entirely, as in other examples of successful intercession, suggesting that in Northampton's case,

¹⁷⁷ *The Brut, or, The Chronicles of England*, trans. Friedrich W. D. Brie (London: Early English Texts Society, 1908), vol. 2, pp. 347-8.

¹⁷⁸ *CPR 1388-92*, pp. 130 and 174.

¹⁷⁹ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 92; Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick', pp. 154-5.

her actions were not preapproved by the king. The public setting of her intercession nevertheless suggests that the king was pressured to accede to the queen's request. Nancy Mason Bradbury argues that the emphasis on the queen being present accidentally highlights the difference between Anne's attempt to save Northampton and other examples in which the queen acts only as a messenger or requester of a petition.¹⁸⁰ However, Anne and Richard spent so much of their time together, according to itineraries, that Anne's presence was surely not entirely unexpected, and her regular intercessory activities in this way may have contributed to her reputation as an influence over Richard. Geaman links the timing of Northampton's sentencing with a possible pregnancy, presumably ending in a miscarriage, that Anne may have suffered, hinted at in a letter to her half-brother Wenceslas IV, again establishing a connection between pregnancy and intercession.¹⁸¹ The Northampton episode therefore contrasts with the story of Philippa's actions at Calais during which she presented as visibly pregnant and successful in her intercession, whereas Anne was only partially successful.

The fictional poem *Athelston* provides an additional comparison with the historical actions of a queen. Bradbury compares Richard's reaction to Anne's intercession for Northampton with the actions of the king in *Athelston*, implying that both kings acted like absolutist monarchs angered by the limitations of their power, to the extent that the character of the king in *Athelston* may have been inspired by Richard II's character and approach to monarchy. Anne's intercession is a reaction to a fear of Richard rather than out of mercy for Northampton.¹⁸² Elizabeth Ashman Rowe

¹⁸⁰ Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick', p. 155.

¹⁸¹ Geaman, 'A Personal Letter Written by Anne of Bohemia', p. 1093.

¹⁸² Bradbury, 'Beyond the Kick', p. 155; Rosalind Field, 'Athelston or the Middle English Nativity of St Edmund', in Rosalind Field, Phillipa Hardman and Michelle Sweeney (eds.), *Christianity and Romance in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), p. 144.

suggests that the queen's miscarriage in *Athelston* may parallel the miscarriage of justice through his actions. The unfair judgment may in turn be an allegory for the actions of Richard II, particularly because Rowe suggests a composition date of 1399, with *Athelston* forming anti-Ricardian, pro-Lancastrian propaganda.¹⁸³ The queen's injury may also be a punishment for the queen because she overstepped her boundaries, literally crossing the female space of the confinement chamber into the public male arena.

If Richard inspired the personality and actions of the king in *Athelston*, so Anne of Bohemia may have been the inspiration for *Athelston*'s queen through her intercessory activities. Rowe suggests that the fictional figure represented a combination of Anne with Constance of Castile, the second wife of John of Gaunt and mother of two of his children, because *Athelston*'s queen makes mention of a Spanish earldom, and was certainly pregnant at least once, whilst the evidence for Anne's fertility is inconclusive.¹⁸⁴ Bradbury argues against Parsons' and Strohm's views that queenly intercession had essentially become purely ceremonial and ritualised, due to the decrease in queenly power since the twelfth century.¹⁸⁵ Whilst this may have been true for Philippa and the exaggerated episode at Calais, Anne's intercessions may have been more spontaneous. In addition, Anne's other prominent failed intercession, where she sought a pardon for the life of Sir Simon Burley, Richard's chamber knight and former tutor, was not with Richard but the Lords Apellant. Both Richard and Anne attempted to save Burley, '*non obstantibus precibus et suasionibus regis et regine*

¹⁸³ Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', p. 98.

¹⁸⁴ Rowe, 'The Female Body Politic', p. 91; Simon Walker, 'John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340–1399), prince and steward of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14843>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 148; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 95.

aliorumque', who was accused, among other charges, of exerting undue influence over the king.¹⁸⁶ Anne's failure to save Burley from execution suggests that the proper and most effective place for intercession was between husband and wife, and a woman was limited in her ability to intercede with other unrelated men.¹⁸⁷ The queen's ability to exert influence through intercession was therefore based upon and confined to her marital or maternal relationships.

Anne of Bohemia's intercessory activities were unconnected with motherhood, instead acting as a substitute for her failure to produce children. Likewise, not all of Philippa of Hainaut's attempts at intercession drew on her status as mother. Towards the beginning of her marriage, in 1331, several chronicles record that Philippa and the king's sister Eleanor, with other women and knights, were watching a joust in Cheapside, during which their wooden seating collapsed. The queen was unhurt despite the loss of her coronet, although others were injured. The incident was blamed on the carpenters, but the queen gained their pardon through prayers to the king. The king also ordered the queen to ride around the joust area on her palfrey in order to reassure the people of her safety.¹⁸⁸ The last detail suggests an element of public performance, and implies also that the king would not have punished the carpenters too harshly on what appears to have been a celebratory occasion. The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker adds that the people reacted to her mercy with love and admiration

¹⁸⁶ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 328; John L. Leland, 'Burley, Sir Simon (1336?–1388), soldier and courtier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4036>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Anthony Tuck, 'Lords appellant (act. 1387–1388)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53093>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁸⁷ Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices', p. 517.

¹⁸⁸ *The Anonimale Chronicle 1307-1334*, p. 147; 'Annales Paulini', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, vol. 1, ed. William Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 1882), p. 354; *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 43.

for her goodness.¹⁸⁹ Philippa's intercession in this case, coming so close to her arrival, may have been manipulated to become one of the arrival intercessions, in order to enhance Philippa's reputation. Thus just as the queen's intercession allowed the king to change his mind without loss of face, so intercession was useful to the queen for her own reputation.

Not all intercessory activities involved motherhood and pregnancy, but Anne of Bohemia may have used intercession to fill the absence caused by her failure to produce children. However, Anne was associated with intercession through pardons issued at the time of the Peasants' Revolt, immediately after her arrival in England and before she had time to prove her fertility. The only other person who could fill the position of intercessor before Richard's marriage was his mother, Joan of Kent. Joan of Kent's intercessory activities were much less publicised and not always successful. Nor were all of Anne of Bohemia's attempts successful, and for both Joan and Anne the unsuccessful intercessory attempts tended to be the spontaneous intercessions, rather than presumably prearranged, performative events, such as the activities of Anne recorded in the *Concordia* poem and the story of Philippa at Calais. Both of these accounts were to some extent fabricated, and as with other intercessory episodes, relied on the queen sacrificing her own dignity in order to save the king's. In Philippa's case, her visibly pregnant state and role as a mother formed an important part of her plea, whereas the childless Anne may have used her intercessory activities to distract from or substitute for her failure in terms of motherhood. However, although intercession could be confining, publicised episodes could have a positive effect on the reputation of the queen as well as the king as depicted in literature, allowing the king to appear merciful but not weak and the queen as a woman with influence.

¹⁸⁹ *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, p. 43.

Conclusion

Intercession was of key importance to both the medieval king and queen. As the example of Philippa at Calais demonstrates, the intercession of the queen with her husband could allow the king to change his mind without loss of authority or dignity. For both Philippa, and Anne as depicted in the *Concordia*, queenly intercession had become heavily ritualised and performative by the late fourteenth century, which also explains why the interceding queen had become a trope in literature, appearing both through a fictionalised Philippa in *The Vows of the Heron* and in the queen of *Athelston*. Intercession in these cases was also coupled with a pregnant queen, allowing her to appear more empathetic and provide more explicable reasoning for the king's change of mind. *Athelston*, however, demonstrates the potentially tragic consequences for the queen if she appeared to overstep her boundaries, up to the point of death.

The progression of the queen as intercessor meant that the king's mother could also act as an intercessor, although the disparity between the intercessory activities of Joan of Kent and Anne of Bohemia suggests that the choice between mother or wife as intercessor relied on personality and circumstances as much as effectiveness. Despite multiple stories featuring a pregnant queen, intercession could also take place without drawing on the pathos of pregnancy or motherhood. The reputation of Anne of Bohemia suggests that intercessory activity could substitute for motherhood, although the possibility of a chaste marriage to conceal an infertile relationship suggests that Richard II was attempting to pre-empt fears about the absence of an immediate heir, or explaining the chaste marriage to his second wife. The description of Anne's intercession between Richard and London in the poem *Concordia*, as well as Philippa's intercession at Calais, suggests that intercession formed a key part of

queenly reputation and function, alongside and often linked with motherhood, but also when queens acted regularly and alone in petitionary pardons.

Chapter II: Pardons and Influence

Despite the limitations for queens wielding direct authority, as the previous chapter demonstrated, intercession meant that royal women could exert agency and a form of power through their influence, both with the king, whether husband or son, and with members of their families and households. Links with outsiders such as the pope also demonstrate the international influence of queens. Intercession comprised a form of patronage, more frequently noted in the records of petitions than in the more publicised literary forms. This chapter first analyses the records of Philippa, Anne, and Joan with regards to petitionary pardons. These kinds of pardons are far more numerous than instances of intercession in literature, and also offer another perspective with regards to the links between royal women and pregnancy or childbirth, and between intercessors and petitioners.¹ Likewise, petitionary pardons also convey the larger political sphere of the royal court, often reflecting the relationships between joint intercessors, such as family members or other influential nobles.

Pardons had the potential to reflect circumstances or events, such as Anne of Bohemia's high number of pardons relating to the Peasants' Revolt. Richard II's promotion of the Ladies of the Garter also coincided with a higher number of female intercessors than that of Edward III's reign.² Reflecting the queen's relationship between her household and the king, the queen granted many privileges to her ladies and other employees.³ The queen held influence with the pope based on her position, meaning that she could acquire many privileges on behalf of others, and the pope in

¹ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', pp. 41-72; Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', pp. 156-72; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51; Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*; Lacey, 'Grace for the rebels', pp. 36-63; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 292.

² Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 259-78; McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', pp. 22-42.

³ Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', pp. 259-78.

turn recognised the queen's influence by asking her to use that influence.⁴ Finally, this chapter will examine the use of the queen's agency through her choice of religious patronage, including institutions such as the Hospital of St Katharine's by the Tower, and Greyfriars, London, which reflected both personal agency and the precedents set by previous queens.⁵ Patronage and intercession formed key ways for the queen to exert power through influence and assert her own identity, as well as formulate her own reputation before and after death.

Queenly Influence

Unlike the earlier medieval period, queens did not act as witnesses to charters by the late fourteenth century, yet royal women remained very much present and active at court.⁶ Queens could exert power and agency through the use of their influence and ability to act as intercessor. Analysis of pardon numbers demonstrates that in both the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, their wives Philippa and Anne were more active in requesting pardons than the mothers of the kings, such as Joan of Kent, although Philippa was by no means the most active petitioner of the reign overall, unlike Anne during the reign of Richard II. The Peasants' Revolt affected the number and type of Anne's petitions, making most of her petitions for the relief of treason, rather than homicide as for Philippa and Joan.⁷ However, the example of Richard II's second wife Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), who was only a child during her marriage, but still

⁴ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51; Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession', p. 154; Woodacre, 'Contemplating Royal Women's Access to Power', pp. 61-8.

⁵ Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London', pp. 53-76; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 165; Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', pp. 117-42; Page, *A History of the County of London: Vol. 1*, pp. 525-30; Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews', pp. 60-6; Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England*, p. 16.

⁶ Given-Wilson lists no women as witnesses to charters during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II. C. Given-Wilson, 'Royal Charter Witness Lists 1327-1399', *Medieval Prosopography* 12, 2 (1991), pp. 35-93.

⁷ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 213; Lacey, "Grace for the rebels", pp. 36-63; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 292; TNA C 66 and 67.

recorded as requesting pardons, raises questions regarding the extent to which the queen was personally active in petitions.⁸ The mere use of her name does prove that the figure or name of the queen still had influence, and that queenly intercession remained relevant. Despite the links emphasised in literature between intercession and childbirth or pregnancy, analysis of petitionary pardons demonstrates that pardons did not often align with instances of childbirth, suggesting that queens had other priorities during those times. Instead, the example of the Peasants' Revolts demonstrates that the use of queens' petitions was often reactive to current events.

Forming a possible precursor to her role as the intercessor for the people of London, described in Maidstone's *Concordia facta inter regem et cives Londonie*, the general pardon given to the rebels of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was described as at Anne's 'special request'. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Anne enacted the role of intercessor for pardons given after the Peasants' Revolt, rather than Joan of Kent. The general pardon excluded specific towns and individuals, which suggests that it was essentially an exercise in propaganda.

'To the sheriff of Kent. Order to cause proclamation to be made that all men desiring the benefit of the king's grace and pardon, except certain persons named in the king's court, the men of the city of Canterbury, the towns of Cantebrigge [Cambridge], Briggewater [Bridgwater, Somerset], St Edmunds [Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk], Beverley [Yorkshire] and Scardeburgh [Scarborough, Yorkshire]... as at the

⁸ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', pp. 41-72; Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', pp. 156-72; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51; J. L. Kirby, 'Isabella (1389-1409)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14486>. Accessed 6 December 2018; J. J. N. Palmer, 'The Background to Richard II's Marriage to Isabel of France', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), pp. 1-17.

special request of Anne his future queen in this parliament the king has granted grace and pardon in general'.⁹

In a similar way to the stories of literary intercession, the use of the queen in requesting the pardon allowed the king to appear merciful, but still punish the ringleaders and worst offenders.¹⁰ Further grants 'at the request of the queen' also pardoned certain individuals, subject to certain conditions. Dobson remarks on the fact that that even prominent rebel leaders were pardoned, such as Thomas Sampson, whose pardon was requested by Joan of Kent, despite their undeniable part in murders and looting.¹¹ For example, Hugh de Garwell of Lincoln, John Mylot of Micham, and Richard Martyn of Cambridge were each pardoned for all treasons and felonies during the insurrection, with a fine of £10 noted for Garwell. The pardons included conditions that the individual was not responsible for the murders of Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Hales, prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, or John de Cavendish, chief justice, among the prominent men killed in the revolt.¹² Anne's pardon was not without limits, reserving the worst crimes for punishment.

New queens of England traditionally requested pardons on the day of their coronation, a realisation of the rituals and prayers enacted during the coronation ceremony itself. Parsons suggests that the reference to Anne in the pardon may have been intended as the continuation of this unofficial custom, with the pardon dated 13 December 1381, shortly before Anne's wedding and coronation on the 20 and 22 January 1382. Queen Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) obtained one such pardon on the very day of her coronation in January 1236, for a man accused of trespassing

⁹ *CCR 1381-85*, pp. 104-5 and 109.

¹⁰ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', pp. 272-92; Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*; Lacey, 'Grace for the rebels', pp. 36-63; Federico, 'The Imaginary Society', pp. 159-83.

¹¹ Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, p. 303.

¹² *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 119, 159 and 204; Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 258.

in a forest, and the fifteenth-century Joan of Navarre (1368-1437) requested various pardons dated 10 January, 15 February and 1 March 1403, close to her coronation date of 26 February, whereas Katherine of Valois (1401-1437), crowned 23 February 1421, requested one in February 1421. All these pardons were generally for lesser crimes, not murder or treason.¹³ These public intercessions taking place within days of the queen's arrival or coronation are reminiscent of the differing pageants outlined by Laynesmith in reference to fifteenth-century queens, as an enactment of the concepts of queenship in the coronation ceremony.¹⁴ The use of Anne in a pardon so close to her marriage had precedence, but not usually for such serious crimes.

In terms of the Peasants' Revolt pardons, Richard Martyn was among the first group to attain a pardon and one of the richest individuals on the list, implying that he paid a significant sum to facilitate his pardon. Martyn's pardon was also listed twice, on 23 October 1381 and 12 November 1382, with only the second occurrence referencing Anne, suggesting that the use of the queen as petitioner could excuse purchased pardons.¹⁵ John Haukewode of Salisbury and Thomas Fourbisshour of Cambridge received the same pardons as late as 1384, still for their actions in 1381.¹⁶ One similar pardon for John Colles of Buckingham in 1383 was at the special request of the queen and certain others of the king's household, for felonies committed with the exemption of treasons, murders and rapes, and provided that he was not a common

¹³ Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 64; *CCR 1234-37*, p. 229; *CPR 1401-05*, pp. 199, 207 and 209; Jones, 'Joan [Joan of Navarre] (1368-1437), queen of England, second consort of Henry IV', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14824>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁴ Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual?', pp. 66-7.

¹⁵ Lacey, "Grace for the rebels", p. 49; *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 143 and 203.

¹⁶ *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 399 and 439; Juliet Barker, *England, Arise: The People, The King & The Great Revolt of 1381* (London: Little, Brown, 2014), p. 103.

thief, killer, or approver, and not an escapee from prison.¹⁷ Even William de Benyngton of Essex, an acknowledged ringleader, who burgled John de Cavendish, was pardoned for all felonies and trespasses during the insurrection.¹⁸ Other pardons related to the Peasants' Revolt included a licence, again at the request of Queen Anne, for the bailiff and constable of St Albans and others, for the burial of the bones of those who had been executed because of the revolt.¹⁹ The use of Anne's pardons supports the government's policy of mercy towards the rebels to restore order, still capitalising on Anne's status as an outsider to the situation.

Anne's role in the pardons following the Peasants' Revolt constitute a substantial proportion of the total number of pardons she requested during her lifetime, making her a more active intercessor than Philippa, despite Philippa's longer term as queen and her reputation from her actions at Calais. Anne's tenure as crowned queen lasted a relatively short term of twelve years between marriage and her death, but she requested at least 74 pardons, resulting in an average of six pardons per year.²⁰ By contrast, Philippa, although a queen for forty years, also between marriage and her death, requested only 58 separate pardons, fewer than two per year. However, only one request, in 1328, is documented before Philippa's coronation in 1330, interceding for the child Agnes de Penrith, convicted of robbery in Yorkshire, which supports St John's suggestion that the rite of coronation, or alternatively the birth of her first child and particularly a son, may have given Philippa *extra gravitas* or confirmed her maturity.²¹ Parsons has discussed mediatory actions by young wives who had not yet

¹⁷ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 223; Susanne Jenks, 'Exceptions in General Pardons, 1399-1450', in Linda Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century XIII: Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 153-82.

¹⁸ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 297.

¹⁹ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 168.

²⁰ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 213; TNA C 66 and C 67.

²¹ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 207; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 106.

reproduced in the form of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I and wife of John, Count of Holland, although in this case Elizabeth was calling on the help of her people to rescue her husband.²² Children were also often pardoned for crimes, particularly non-violent ones.²³ St John also argues that Isabella overshadowed Philippa through her own intercessory activity and interfered with Philippa's access to Edward until 1330, when her first child was born.²⁴ The numbers of pardons associated with Philippa peaked at five in the year 1338, after her coronation and the birth of her first child, but still during the lifetime of her mother-in-law. During other years, such as the period 1342-1344 and 1353-1355, no requests survive.²⁵ No pardons are noted for Anne in the years 1385 or 1386.²⁶ The available evidence, however, still produces an idea of the trends in pardons associated with both Philippa and Anne, such as the crimes they were most likely to request a pardon for, and any other underlying factors such a connection to the petitioner.

Joan is associated with fewer pardons overall than both Anne and Philippa during their tenures as queens consort, but substantially more in her later role as mother of the king, between 1377 and 1385, than as wife of the prince. As the king's mother her relation to the king was closer than as the daughter-in-law of a king, and based on a blood connection, with the Black Prince's Register not noting any pardons that Joan requested of her husband. While Joan was married to the Prince of Wales, in the years 1361-76, she requested only three pardons from the king which reference her

²² John Carmi Parsons, 'The Medieval Aristocratic Teenaged Female: Adolescent or Adult?' in Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150-1650* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), p. 312.

²³ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 323-4.

²⁴ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 41.

²⁵ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 207; TNA C 66 and C 67.

²⁶ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 214; TNA C 66 and C 67.

as ‘the king’s daughter’, her marriage making her a full member of the royal family.²⁷ All of these pardons were before the death of her husband, Prince Edward, in 1376, including one in the first year of their marriage, for John Bailiff of Blechelegh (Bletchley) accused of killing John Grete of Fennystratford (Fenny Stratford, both in Buckinghamshire) in self-defence.²⁸ The scarcity of these pardons may be due to the fact that Joan and her husband spent much of their marriage in Aquitaine. The timing of Bailiff’s pardon, only two months after her marriage, suggests that Joan was perhaps capitalising on her recent entry into the royal family, in the manner of the arrival intercessions performed by new queens. Joan requested another pardon in 1366, between the births of Edward of Angoulême in 1365 and the future Richard II in 1367, for John Chamberleyn of Emberton, Buckinghamshire, over the death of Richard de Alcombury.²⁹ After Richard II’s accession, Joan requested 22 pardons in the five years before his marriage at an average of four per year, and ten over the three years between his marriage and her death, an average of three per year. This evidence challenges Ormrod’s assertion that Joan retired from public life upon gaining a daughter-in-law, when including intercession as public activity.³⁰ Joan was thus far more active after her son became king and only slightly less active after her son married and Anne became queen (Table 1).

²⁷ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 202; *CPR 1361-64*, p. 126; *CPR 1364-67*, p. 328.

²⁸ *CPR 1361-64*, p. 126.

²⁹ *CPR 1364-67*, p. 328.

³⁰ Ormrod, ‘In Bed with Joan of Kent’, p. 292; Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 202 and 222; TNA C 66 and 67.

Table 1: Pardons associated with Anne of Bohemia, Joan of Kent, and Isabelle of Valois during the reign of Richard II³⁰

Year	Events	Anne	Joan	Isabelle of Valois
1377	Coronation of Richard II		2	
1378			7	
1379			6	
1380			3	
1381			4	
1382	Anne's coronation and marriage to Richard II	8	0	
1383		5	5	
1384		11	3	
1385	Death of Joan	0	1	
1386		0		
1387		6		
1388		1		
1389		4		(1)
1390		7		
1391		11		
1392		12	(1)	

³⁰ Data for numbers of pardons taken from Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 214-32, mainly derived from TNA C 66, patent rolls, and C 67, supplementary patent rolls.

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	Events	Anne	Joan	Isabelle of Valois
Year				
1393		7		
1394	Death of Anne	2		
1395				
1396	Marriage of Isabelle of Valois to Richard II			1
1397				1
1398				1
1399	Deposition of Richard II			
Total		74	31 (32)	3 (4)

Lacey also mistakenly attributes a pardon to Joan in 1392, years after her death in 1385, and one to Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), Richard's second wife, in 1389, in the year of her birth and well before her marriage in 1396.³¹ Such issues could be attributed to the similarities of names, as, for example, there was another Joan Holand (d. 1434) alive in 1392, Richard's niece and the wife of his uncle Edmund of Langley.³² Joan, Lady de Mohun, described as the king's kinswoman, was also active at court, for example in November 1389 requesting an annuity for the knight Thomas de Percy, and in May 1393 a licence on behalf of Christ Church, Canterbury.³³ Likewise, Edmund's previous wife, Isabella of Castile (1355-1392), was alive in 1389, the year of the unlikely pardon attributed to Isabelle of Valois.³⁴ Both women were linked to other pardons requested from Richard.

The fact that Isabelle was still very young when named as an intercessor in other pardons, only seven at her marriage and spending less than four years as queen, raises questions about the personal agency of queens in pardons, with Lacey suggesting the participation of individuals close to the queen in instrumenting the pardons, such as her servants and members of her household.³⁵ Although Joan was much less active in requesting pardons than Anne, she was significantly more active during the reign of Richard II than before the accession of her son, probably because

³¹ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 214-32; Kirby, 'Isabella (1389-1409)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14486>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

³² Michael Hicks, 'Willoughby family (per. c. 1300-1523), magnates', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52801>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

³³ *CPR 1388-92*, p. 157; *CPR 1391-96*, p. 271; John L. Leland, 'The Abjuration of 1388', *Medieval Prosopography*, 15 (1956), pp. 125-6.

³⁴ Anthony Tuck, 'Edmund [Edmund of Langley], first duke of York (1341-1402), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16023>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

³⁵ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 46.

of her stronger position as the mother of the king, rather than the wife of the king's eldest son. Two of the three pardons associated with Joan as Princess of Wales during the reign of Edward III occurred before Philippa's death and one after, suggesting that the presence of a queen had little impact on Joan's ability to intercede with her father-in-law.

All of Joan's pardons were directed towards individual men, and mainly towards murderers, with the exception of one for the burgesses and good men of Wallingford, Oxfordshire, for their fee farm in August 1384. Wallingford had been assigned to Joan as part of her dower after the death of the Prince of Wales, suggesting a personal connection between Joan and the town.³⁶ Likewise, the pardons that Philippa requested were mostly for the relief of homicides, followed by general felonies, trespasses and thefts. Only one reference appears in the calendars to a pardon given by Philippa herself, rather than through her intercession with the king, to the clerk Bartholomew de Bungeye, for the abduction of Hugh, the son and heir of Nicholas del Chastel, in 1356. The queen pardoned Bungeye £200 which he owed to her in damages, because she had been granted the control of Hugh's marriage.³⁷ The fact that the control had been granted to Philippa herself rendered the participation of the king unnecessary. Further analysis of pardons linked to Philippa demonstrates that twelve recipients of her requested pardons were women, another two pregnant, and two recipients listed as being of 'tender age'. These last two included Agnes, the daughter of Alice de Penrith, who had been convicted of a robbery in Bishopthorpe, Yorkshire, in April 1328. Philippa's wedding had taken place at York, three months earlier, but this pardon was probably too late to be intended as an arrival intercession.

³⁶ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 449; Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*, p. 851.

³⁷ *CCR 1354-60*, p. 268.

Philippa requested the other pardon in 1337, for Alice Wygodes of Springfield, Essex, for the larceny of some sheep.³⁸ The first of these two pardons may have been particularly poignant given Philippa's own young age at that time.

As noted, the majority of Anne of Bohemia's pardons were for the relief of treasons and felonies, a number bolstered by those directed to the rebels of the Peasants' Revolt, followed by pardons for deaths. Three of Anne's pardons were directed towards a husband and wife couple, including Robert and Margery Legbourn for felonies and robberies rather than murders, rapes, and treasons, and John and Margery Welshman for harbouring three killers.³⁹ Other pardons included minstrel William Londe, who killed a butcher, and his wife Christina who instigated the murder in 1392; one was granted towards a vicar, John Job, for the death of John Cherchestille in 1392; two towards large groups, including the pardon towards the rebels in 1381; and one was provided for the aldermen of London, pardoning them of money owed to the king in 1392.⁴⁰ Several possibilities present themselves to account for the gender difference. For example, the fact that more men were pardoned suggest that more men committed or were convicted of crimes, and therefore account for a correspondingly high number of pardons. The specific mentions of pregnant women and younger individuals suggests that these were conditions also more likely to result in a pardon.⁴¹ From her study of Kent between 1460 and 1560, Karen Jones argues that men committed the majority of violent crimes, but women were also less likely to be

³⁸ *CPR 1327-30*, p. 257; *CPR 1334-38*, p. 486.

³⁹ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 243; *CPR 1391-96*, p. 208.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1391-96*, pp. 146 and 206.

⁴¹ Sara M. Butler, 'Pleading the Belly: A Sparing Plea? Pregnant Convicts and the Courts in Medieval England', in Sara M. Butler and Krista J. Kesselring (eds.), *Crossing Borders: Boundaries and Margins in Medieval and Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Cynthia J. Neville* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 141; James C. Oldham, 'On Pleading the Belly: A History of the Jury of Matrons', *Criminal Justice History* 6 (1985), pp. 1-64.

prosecuted when they did commit violence.⁴² Therefore there may have not been a high enough proportion of female petitioners for Anne or Philippa to noticeably favour women or the pregnant.

Anne also supplied pardons to two pregnant women, with pardons to four females overall. St John argues that there is no evidence that queens were more likely to favour or attract more female petitioners over male, even accounting for that fact that evidence for every petition does not necessarily survive.⁴³ Nor is there a way to estimate the number of unsuccessful petitions. Pregnant women usually attained a delayed sentence of execution until the birth of their baby and occasionally a pardon on the birth, with sixteen similar cases of pardoned pregnant women appearing in the chancery records between 1307 and 1399. Isabella of France may have shown an especial interest in pardoning pregnant women, accounting for four of the pardoned pregnant women during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III.⁴⁴ However, Isabella's successors, Philippa and Anne, do not seem to have shared Isabella's inclination, accounting for six between them of the pardons for pregnant women, all of whom were convicted for theft.⁴⁵ For Philippa these pardons included Alice Marchant, and Margaret, the wife of Henry Melbury, both in June 1369, when Philippa was past childbearing age, as well as Alice wife of John atte Yate of Hambury in 1365 and Joan, wife of William Hacford, who broke out of gaol, in 1367.⁴⁶ Although Philippa matched Isabella at four pardons for pregnant women, these formed a smaller proportion of

⁴² Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime*, pp. 35 and 70.

⁴³ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 69; Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', p. 58; *CPR 1307-13*, p. 349; *CPR 1313-17*, p. 20; *CPR 1327-30*, pp. 357 and 372; *CPR 1350-54*, pp. 366 and 535; *CPR 1354-58*, p. 100; *CPR 1367-70*, pp. 274 and 285; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 86; *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 243 and 302; *CPR 1392-96*, pp. 8 and 28; *CPR 1396-99*, pp. 5 and 515.

⁴⁵ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', p. 58 and n. 51.

⁴⁶ *CPR 1364-67*, pp. 102-3; *CPR 1367-70*, pp. 274 and 285.

Philippa's pardons overall. Anne pardoned Agnes Martin in March 1383 and Juliana, the wife of John Gylle, in 1391 and 1392. Juliana had, alongside others, stolen goods including money, silver and clothing from Percival le Walssh and taken part in beating his wife Agnes, including gouging out her eyes and cutting out her tongue.⁴⁷ Despite suggestions by Parsons and Musson that the royal childbed provided an opportunity for the queen to capitalise on her role as the producer of an heir, neither of the pardons for pregnant women coincided with the birth of a royal child, nor did Philippa's pardon of the child Agnes de Penrith, and her pardon of the young Alice Wygodes followed six months after the birth of William of Hatfield.⁴⁸ As far as the birth dates for Philippa's children are ascertainable, there are no consistent increases in pardons in general requested by Philippa around those dates (Table 2).

⁴⁷ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 243; *CPR 1392-96*, pp. 8 and 28.

⁴⁸ *CPR 1334-38*, p. 486; Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 44; Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', p. 158.

Table 2: Pardons associated with Philippa of Hainaut, Isabella of France, and Joan of Kent during the reign of Edward III⁴⁹

Year	Births/Events	Philippa	Isabella	Joan
1327	Accession of Edward III		4	
1328	Marriage of Philippa to Edward III	1	1	
1329		0	2	
1330	Philippa's coronation and birth of Prince Edward	0	1	
1331		3	0	
1332	Birth of Isabella	0	0	
1333	Birth of Joan (late 1333/early 1334)	3	0	
1334		0	0	
1335		0	0	
1336	Birth of William (late 1336/early 1337)	1	0	
1337		3	1	
1338	Birth of Lionel (Antwerp)	5	0	
1339		1	0	
1340	Birth of John	1	0	

⁴⁹ Data for numbers of pardons taken from Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 194-212, mainly derived from TNA C 66, patent rolls, and C 67, supplementary patent rolls; Data for births of Philippa's children taken from Fryde et al, *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 39-40, and Ian Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III, Father of the English Nation* (London: Vintage, 2008), pp. 433-40. Where birthdates are unknown, dates of churching ceremonies (usually forty or eighty days after birth) are used to produce an estimate.

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Year	Births/Events	Philippa	Isabella	Joan
1341	Birth of Edmund	1	1	
1342	Birth of Blanche	0	0	
1343		0	2	
1344	Birth of Mary	0	1	
1345		1	1	
1346	Birth of Margaret	2	0	
1347	Calais; Birth of Thomas (spurious)	0	0	
1348	Birth of William of Windsor	9	0	
1349		0	0	
1350		0	2	
1351		3	3	
1352		1	1	
1353		0	1	
1354		0	1	
1355	Birth of Thomas	1	2	
1356		2	2	
1357		0	0	
1358	Death of Isabella of France	1	0	
1359		0		

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Royal Women, Intercession, and Patronage in England, 1328-1394

Year	Births/Events	Philippa	Isabella	Joan
1360		0		
1361	Joan marries Prince Edward	1		1
1362		1		0
1363		3		0
1364		4		0
1365	Birth of Edward of Angoulême to Joan	1		0
1366		1		1
1367	Birth of Richard II to Joan	3		0
1368		2		0
1369	Death of Philippa	3		0
1370				0
1371				0
1372				1
1373				0
1374				0
1375				0
1376	Death of Prince Edward			0
1377	Death of Edward III			0
Total		51	17	3

For some queens, the state of almost continuous pregnancies and confinements, such as that endured by Philippa, might also have the side effect of limiting a queen's involvement in politics. For example, Elisabeth van Houts highlighted the physical limitations of pregnancy in the case of the twelfth-century Empress Matilda (1102-1167), whose expectant state may have prevented her from crossing the Channel to England before her cousin Stephen to claim the English throne in 1135, a position which Charles Beem supported. Marjorie Chibnall dismissed the argument due to the unreliability of the evidence in tracking birthdates.⁵⁰ The difficulty in dating the births of even royal medieval children, and especially daughters, makes detailed comparison difficult.⁵¹ Penelope Nash also notes a rise in interventions by the Holy Roman Empress Adelheid (931-999) only after the birth of her last child.⁵² Like Adelheid, Philippa had almost successive pregnancies. Philippa's intercessions in petitionary pardons became more numerous and consistent after the birth of her final child in 1355, in addition to the fact that the king and queen's households became combined a few years later. In fact, Anne's lack of children may have increased her activity as an intercessor because there would be no periods of confinement due to childbirth, in comparison to Philippa.

Thus Parsons' argument that childbirth or pregnancy provided more impetus and opportunity for intercession is not necessarily applicable to petitionary pardons in

⁵⁰ Elisabeth van Houts, 'The state of research: Women in medieval history and literature', *Journal of Medieval History* 20, 3 (1994), p. 288; Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 45; Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda as a Subject for Biography', in David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006) p. 193.

⁵¹ Margaret Howell, 'Royal Women of England and France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century: A Gendered Perspective', in Björn K. U. Walker and Ifor W. Rowlands (eds.), *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 169.

⁵² Penelope Nash, 'Empress Adelheid's Vulnerabilities as Mother and Ruler', in Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner (eds.), *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 136.

the case of Philippa, and presumably to medieval queens generally. Joan's few pardons during her childbearing years do not align with the births of her two royal children either. The lack of petitionary pardons around the births of royal children contrasts with the emphasis on pregnant queens in literary accounts of intercession, such as the queen in *Athelston* and Philippa at Calais. In addition, neither Anne, Philippa, nor Joan seem to have shown any particular inclination towards pardoning pregnant women, despite her epitaph describing Anne as particularly kind to pregnant women. Instead, for both Philippa and Joan, most pardons interceded for those accused of homicide, with the majority of recipients male. The fact that most petitions associated with Anne pardoned those associated with the Peasants' Revolt demonstrates that outside circumstances affected queenly petitions, with Anne's second highest number of pardons, 19, also for homicides. Analysing the petitions associated with pardons produces a very different story to the dramatic intercessions of pregnant queens in literature which had essentially become tropes, but suggests that queens remained useful agents of pardoning, whether passive or active, and intercessory activity remained useful to queens in terms of their mediatory reputations.

Pardons and Pardoners

Analysis of the pardons associated with Philippa, Joan, and Anne also reveals details about the political atmosphere of the courts of Edward III and Richard II respectively, as well as links between royal women and the petitioners, or their fellow intercessors, such as Anne's first intercession for a fellow foreigner, Godschalk van Han Kon.⁵³ Anne was also the most proficient intercessor overall for petitionary pardons during

⁵³ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 114; *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 3b; *The Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 22 and 24; Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, trans. David Prest and James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), pp. 406 and 572-4.

the reign of Richard II, whilst Philippa was only the most proficient female pardoner with her husband.⁵⁴ For the first few years of her marriage, from 1328 to her coronation in 1330, Philippa was also overshadowed as an intercessor by her mother-in-law, Isabella of France, according to numbers of pardons in petitions and as demonstrated by the case of Cristina Scot, who chose to petition Isabella over Philippa in 1329.⁵⁵ Richard's reign also included a higher number of female pardoners overall in comparison with the previous reign, many of whom were also Ladies of the Garter. Richard II's institution of the Ladies of the Garter, including his mother and wife, formed another comparison with Edward III, which partially fuelled the depiction of his court as feminised, with a greater number of women present.⁵⁶ The feminised nature of the court further explains the emphasis on Anne of Bohemia as an intercessor, and the inclination of Richard and Anne towards a 'dual monarchy'.

The pardons associated with the Peasants' Revolt, coming so soon after her marriage, set a precedent for the rest of Anne's life as queen. Chronologically, one of the first pardons that Anne requested, according to the Calendar of Patent Rolls, was to Godschalk van Han Kon, for breaking the arms of the king and queen depicted on the Conduit in London. These had been erected to honour the king and queen on their passage through the city to their wedding at Westminster. This pardon is dated to 18 May, exactly four months after her reception in London on the 18 January.⁵⁷ The van

⁵⁴ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 194-212; Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', pp. 156-72.

⁵⁵ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', pp. 41-72; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 50; Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 194-212.

⁵⁶ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 259-78; McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', pp. 22-42; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 333; Gervase Mathew, *The Court of Richard II* (London: Murray, 1968), p. 12; W. M. Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus', *Medium Ævum* 73, 2 (2004), p. 292; Patricia J. Eberle, 'The Politics of Courtly Style at the Court of Richard II', in Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (eds.), *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983)* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 168-78.

⁵⁷ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 22.

Han Kon example therefore holds a particular significance in that Anne was requesting a pardon for a rather more personal crime against herself, perhaps a result of her unpopularity as a choice for queen, and for a fellow foreigner and outsider. Godschalk (Godescalkus) Van Han Kon was found to have originated from Westphalia, having lived in London for ten years working for a French goldsmith.⁵⁸ Contemporary records demonstrate Anne's unpopularity as a choice for queen, a problem many foreign-born queens faced. The Westminster Chronicle implies that Anne was a poor selection as queen. As part of the marriage agreement, Richard had lent Anne's brother Wenceslas 80,000 florins, when dowries were usually paid to the marital family, rather than the other way around.

'set scrutantibus verum videbatur non dari set potius emi, nam non "modicum pecuniam" refundebat rex Anglie pro tantilla carnis porcione'.⁵⁹

Thomas Walsingham also records that Anne had been bought for a large sum of money, as well as the destruction of Anne's ship by a storm after her arrival, which was regarded as a bad omen.⁶⁰ The association of Anne with pardons for the Peasants' Revolt and for van Han Kon may thus have been engineered to overshadow any uneasiness about the choice of Anne as queen, demonstrating the possible impact of intercession on a queen's reputation.

Philippa's record of petitionary pardons, although fewer in number than that of Anne's, to some extent supports her reputation as an intercessor. The 58 pardons associated with Philippa's intervention made her the most proficient female requester of pardons for the reign of her husband, followed by her mother-in-law, Queen

⁵⁸ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 114; *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 2b.

⁵⁹ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 24; Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.*, vol. 7, ed. George Holmes (London: Joannem Neulme, 1704-35), pp. 301-2.

⁶⁰ Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, pp. 406 and 572-4.

Isabella, at 26 over 29 years.⁶¹ Between the year of Philippa's marriage, in 1328, and the death of Isabella in 1358, Philippa was associated with 39 pardons and Isabella 22 over the same period. Several men requested more pardons than Philippa during Edward's reign, particularly Henry de Grosmont, the Duke of Lancaster, at over three hundred, Edward, the king's eldest son, at 224, William de Bohun, the Earl of Northampton at 75, and Robert de Knolles at 63.⁶² Henry de Grosmont (c. 1310-1361) was a close friend and cousin of Edward III, and his daughter Blanche (c. 1346-1368) married Edward's son John of Gaunt.⁶³ Thus intercession through petitioning was in no way the sole preserve of the queen.⁶⁴ Aside from Edward III's wife, his mother, and his daughter-in-law Joan of Kent, other active female petitioners included Isabella, the king's eldest daughter, who requested 15, and one along with Joan, another of the king's daughters. Constance of Castile, the wife of Edward's son John of Gaunt, requested four, and Blanche Wake, the wife of Thomas, Lord Wake, and a cousin of the king with whom she apparently had a close relationship requested three. Most other female petitioners are mentioned only once. Edward's sister, Joan, requested one pardon alongside her husband, David, king of Scotland. David also requested five pardons alone.⁶⁵ Association with a woman related to the king was not necessary for

⁶¹ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 202.

⁶² Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 203, 200 and 206.

⁶³ W. M. Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-1361), soldier and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12960>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Walker, 'John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340-1399), prince and steward of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14843>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁶⁴ Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', p. 163.

⁶⁵ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 194-212; James L. Gillespie, 'Isabella, countess of Bedford (1332-1379), princess', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006:

David to make successful petitions, perhaps because of his own status as a king, but many of the female petitioners had connections to the king through blood or marriage.

No records exist that feature both Joan and Anne of Bohemia, nor Joan and Philippa requesting the same pardon, despite the expectation that Joan would inherit Philippa's position as queen, and the fact that Joan later acted as an intercessor on multiple occasions. Likewise, St John notes that there are no recorded examples of Isabella of France and Philippa requesting the same pardon together, despite the possibility of similar experiences.⁶⁶ However, Katherine Allocco highlights one example in which either Philippa of Hainaut or Isabella of France could have acted as the intercessor. In 1329, a woman named Cristina and her father were convicted and sentenced to execution for the murder of Cristina's husband, Thomas Scot. Cristina wrote to Isabella requesting her intercession, despite the fact that Philippa, although aged only about fourteen, had already interceded for the girl, Agnes de Penrith, accused of robbery the year before. Only the one letter to Isabella survives and,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14485>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Jessica Lutkin, 'Isabella de Coucy, daughter of Edward III; The Exception Who Proves the Rule', in Chris Given-Wilson, *Fourteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 130-48; Walker, 'John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340–1399), prince and steward of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14843>. Accessed 6 December 2018; W. M. Ormrod, 'Wake, Thomas, second Lord Wake (1298–1349), nobleman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28408>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Bruce Webster, 'Joan [Joan of the Tower] (1321–1362), queen of Scots, consort of David II', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14822>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Bruce Webster, 'David II (1324–1371), king of Scots', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3726>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁶⁶ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 50.

although Cristina could have petitioned Philippa as well, the expense of another letter makes a double petition unlikely.⁶⁷ Cristina therefore chose Isabella as an intercessor over Philippa.

Isabella at the time must have seemed the more effective intercessor. Allocco concludes that there were two main reasons for Cristina's choice of Isabella over Philippa, in addition to Isabella's status as a veteran intercessor and the fact that her political position may, after her role in Edward III's minority, have exceeded the function of intercessor.⁶⁸ Firstly, Philippa had yet to produce her first child, whilst Isabella was a successful mother with all the associations of intercession that motherhood entailed, and in her petition Cristina emphasised her own status as a mother and claimed to be pregnant again. In addition, Isabella was associated with 21 pardons during her role as queen consort in the years between 1308 and 1327, an average of barely one a year, and 26 in the longer period as mother of the king between 1327 and her death in 1358.⁶⁹ Philippa's childlessness at this point also coincides with the domination of Isabella over Philippa, again making her perceived influence the more obvious intercessor. Secondly, both Cristina and Isabella were now widows, and implicated in the deaths of their husbands, although historians disagree over Isabella's role in the deposition of Edward II.⁷⁰ In addition, Philippa had not yet had a coronation, whereas Isabella was a crowned, if dowager, queen. Cristina therefore perceived Isabella as the more accessible intercessor, and if others shared the same view this may explain the higher number of pardons facilitated by Isabella than the number by Philippa at the start of Philippa's marriage. Isabella overshadowed much of Philippa's

⁶⁷ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', p. 43.

⁶⁸ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', p. 71.

⁶⁹ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 200.

⁷⁰ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', p. 44.

tenure as queen, particularly in the earlier years, to the extent that the *Annales Paulini* referred to Philippa as 'the young queen' (*domina Philippa regina junior*) in 1328.⁷¹ Outsiders thus perceived Isabella as senior in position and presumably more effective as an intercessor than Philippa, which applied to Cristina as well, at least for the first few years of Philippa's marriage. The instance of Cristina demonstrates the importance of nurturing an intercessory reputation.

In contrast to Philippa, Anne was the most proficient petitioner of pardons overall during the reign of Richard II, not simply the most proficient female petitioner. Richard's uncle, John of Gaunt, at 64 associated pardons and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, at 53, followed Anne at 74.⁷² Behind them came Edward of Langley, Earl of Rutland, at 41, and then Joan of Kent at 32 during Richard's reign, making Richard's mother the fifth most proficient.⁷³ Musson argues that important magnates became the focus of petitioners whilst the king was absent or incapacitated. Richard II's minority of 1377-1381 was not an incapacitation, but explains some of the high numbers of pardons requested by noblemen. John of Gaunt, for example, filled the role of intercessor frequently.⁷⁴ There were also more female petitioners accounting for a higher rate of petitions during Richard's reign than the reign of Edward III, all the more notable since Richard had no daughters, and supporting the argument of the feminisation of Richard's court.⁷⁵ After Anne and Joan, the most active female intercessors throughout Richard's reign included the wives of two of Richard's uncles, Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, married to Richard's uncle Thomas of

⁷¹ 'Annales Paulini', p. 343; Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 136.

⁷² Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 213, 222 and 225.

⁷³ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 227 and 222; TNA C 66 and C 67.

⁷⁴ Musson, 'Queenship, Lordship and Petitioning', p. 164.

⁷⁵ Mathew, *The Court of Richard II*, pp. 12-31; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 333; McDonald, 'Chaucer's Legend of Good Women', p. 27.

Woodstock (11, with 7 in 1394 alone, the year of Anne of Bohemia's death), and Isabella of Castile, Duchess of York and Countess of Cambridge, married to Richard's uncle Edmund of Langley (7).⁷⁶ Both women thus had kinship links to Richard through marriage.

Even other women associated with petitions had connections to Richard, if not through marriage. Other female intercessors included Agnes de Vere (Lancecrona), Countess of Oxford and Duchess of Ireland, formerly one of Anne's ladies (7 pardons, in addition to another together with the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Nottingham), Elizabeth Mohun, Countess of Salisbury, incidentally married to Joan of Kent's annulled husband William Montagu (7), and Isabel Grey, the Lady of Poynings (6). These intercessors were more active than the king's own half-sisters, with Joan, Duchess of Brittany accounting for four pardons and Maud, Lady Courtenay and Countess of St Pol, only one.⁷⁷ The number of women involved supports the argument

⁷⁶ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 214-32; Anthony Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester (1355-1397), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27197>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Tuck, 'Edmund [Edmund of Langley], first duke of York (1341-1402), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16023>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁷⁷ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 214-32; Anthony Tuck, 'Vere, Robert de, ninth earl of Oxford, marquess of Dublin, and duke of Ireland (1362-1392)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28218>. Accessed 6 December 2018; C. Given-Wilson, 'Mowbray, Thomas, first duke of Norfolk (1366-1399), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19459>. Accessed 6 December 2018; John L. Leland, 'Montagu, William [William de Montacute], second earl of Salisbury (1328-1397), lord of Man and the Isle of Wight', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19002>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Peter Fleming, 'Poynings [Ponyngs], Michael, first Lord Poynings (c. 1318-1369), soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19002>

that Richard's court was more feminised than that of his predecessors, although it may also suggest a change in the practice of recording pardons.⁷⁸ Richard made several of these women Ladies of the Garter, his mother and sister Maud from 1379, and Queen Anne, Eleanor de Bohun, Isabella, Duchess of York, and Elizabeth Mohun from 1384, underlining both the importance of these women at court and their links to Richard. Other women who were both associated with pardons and who were Ladies of the Garter, according to accounts of garter robes issued in 1379 and 1389, included the second wife of Richard's uncle John of Gaunt, Constance of Castile, Philippa de Vere, Countess of Oxford, and Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke (from 1379), Lady Anne Gomenys (1387), Alice Holand, the wife of Richard's half-brother (1388), Lady Elizabeth Trivet (1390), and Joan Holand, Lady Willoughby, both the wife of Richard's uncle Edmund and niece by his half-brother (1399).⁷⁹ In contrast, during the reign of Edward III, only his daughter Isabella, in 1376, and Queen Philippa herself, from 1358, were associated with the Order.⁸⁰ Richard's reign therefore saw an increase in female petitioners with high numbers of successful petitions, broadening the circle from mainly his mother, wife and eldest daughter to more peripheral relatives of the king. The most successful intercessors were those of high rank, with a relationship to the king, or a presence at court, as demonstrated by many successful intercessors also having membership of the Garter.

nb-9780198614128-e-22684. Accessed 6 December 2018; Michael Jones, 'Montfort, John de, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond [John of Brittany] (d. 1399), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53088>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁷⁸ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 333.

⁷⁹ TNA E 101/400/12 and E 101/400/18; Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 264, 266 and 267; Shelagh Mitchell, 'Ladies of the Garter: Edward III; Richard II; Elizabeth II', *The Court Historian* 22, 2 (2017), pp. 151-67.

⁸⁰ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 264, 265 and 262.

Under Richard, women were more explicitly members of a female version of the Order of the Garter than in the preceding reign, with the women receiving similar robes to the Garter knights. Between two and twenty-two female members were named during Richard's reign, in comparison to the consistent number of twenty-six male members.⁸¹ The Great Wardrobe accounts of 1379, in preparation for the Garter feast, named Richard's mother Joan of Kent, her daughter and his half-sister Maud, Edward III's daughters Mary and Isabella de Coucy, as well as Philippa, countess of Oxford, as receiving Garter robes. Constance of Lancaster and Isabella of Cambridge, both married to Richard's uncles, and John of Gaunt's daughters Philippa and Elizabeth also received robes without garters. All of these women were related to Richard and each had a male relative who was also a member of the Order of the Garter. A similar list from 1381 also included Anne, countess of Pembroke, whose son John was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard's uncle John of Gaunt, in 1380. The 1384 account distributing Garter robes added Queen Anne, Eleanor, countess of Buckingham and Catherine of Lancaster, Joan, Lady Mohun and Elizabeth, a later countess of Salisbury. As the highest-ranking lady, Queen Anne received the most cloth and furs, with most of the others receiving five ells of cloth and one fur, although Joan of Kent may have owned two robes, presumably due to her status as mother of the king.⁸² The queen and other high-ranking women formed a visible part of the

⁸¹ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', p. 264.

⁸² TNA E 101/400/12 and E 101/400/18; Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', p. 264; R. Ian Jack, 'Hastings, John, thirteenth earl of Pembroke (1347–1375), magnate and soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12580>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Anthony Goodman, 'Elizabeth of Lancaster (1364?–1425), noblewoman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-54443>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

Garter and chivalric nature of the court, even if this was mainly symbolic and their rank remained lower than the male Order of the Garter.

The prominence of the Ladies of the Garter and theorised femininity of Richard II's court concurs with the high number of female intercessors, and the fact that Anne was associated with the highest number of petitions, followed closely by Joan of Kent. Given that Philippa and Isabella, Joan and Philippa, Anne and Joan each overlapped in their tenures, the fact that none of the pairs participated together in requesting pardons is perhaps surprising. However, the case of Cristina Scot choosing to write to Isabella over Philippa suggests that multiple circumstances could affect a petitioner's choice of a royal woman as intercessor, such as Isabella's length of tenure, her widowhood, and her age in comparison to Philippa.⁸³ Likewise, Anne's first pardon in England for the relief of a probable fellow foreigner demonstrates the links between intercessors and petitioners even when not personally related. In contrast, most female intercessors with the king had personal relationships, whether through marriage or blood. Intercession clearly relied on interpersonal relationships, beyond the wives and mothers of kings.

Household and Influence

Royal women collaborated with others in requesting pardons, such as noblemen or, in Philippa's case, her children. Some petitioners had pre-existing links to the intercessor in question, such as through the household or their land holdings. However, most petitioners did not, reflecting the status of the queen as apart from the government and uniquely accessible as an intercessory figure for all levels of society.⁸⁴ The queen derived her intercessory power from her relationship with the king, which meant that

⁸³ Allocco, 'Reginal Intercession and the Case of Cristina', pp. 41-72.

⁸⁴ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51; Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession', p. 154.

members of her household also enjoyed privileges stemming from their proximity to the queen.⁸⁵ Others recognised the queen's important relationship with the king, such as various popes, who repeatedly requested that Philippa in particular exercise her influence with her husband, often for reasons such as peace between England and France or Scotland, evidenced in the registers of papal letters. Likewise, queens made petitions to the pope often on behalf of their household members or family.⁸⁶ Royal women close to the king thus played an important role in the cycle of influence and petitions, both within and outside of the royal court.

Most pardons were requested by the individual woman alone, but occasionally the pardon was issued at the supplication of the female intercessor in combination with another or others. For example, in 1348 Queen Philippa collaborated with Henry, earl of Lancaster, for the release of Master Henry de Harwedon, who had been imprisoned for contempt.⁸⁷ Lancaster's daughter Blanche later married Philippa's son John of Gaunt in 1359, demonstrating how influence also relied on or deepened connections at the royal court.⁸⁸ In 1367 Philippa, alongside her son Edmund, earl of Cambridge, requested the pardon of William Scote for the death of his own father.⁸⁹ The influence

⁸⁵ Woodacre, 'Contemplating Royal Women's Access to Power', p. 65; Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', pp. 259-78.

⁸⁶ *CPL 1362-1404*, pp. 21, 24, 146, 163, 166, 219 and 445; *CPL 1342-62*, pp. 32, 40, 46-9, 116, 176, 237, 252, 477 and 626; *CPL 1305-42*, pp. 292-4, 297, 319, 323, 326, 349, 388, 406-10, 489, 492, 498, 511, 524-5 and 558; *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, pp. 29, 89, 103, 120 and 236.

⁸⁷ *CCR 1343-46*, p. 482.

⁸⁸ Ormrod, 'Henry of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-1361), soldier and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12960>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Walker, 'John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340-1399), prince and steward of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14843>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁸⁹ *CPR 1364-67*, p. 416.

of a mother may have given more weight to a son's request, with Philippa forming a link between Edmund and his father. One pardon in 1355 to John de Lyle, 'chivaler' of the king's suit, for the death of a knight, John de Goys, listed Philippa as well as her daughter Isabella, Henry, duke of Lancaster, and William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, in addition to other unnamed magnates.⁹⁰ Presumably more severe crimes required higher numbers of intercessors, and as a 'chivaler' de Lyle may have had many friends at court. Another pardon, from 1379, lists both Joan and the rector of Assherugge (Ashridge, Buckinghamshire), requesting a pardon for Robert Berecroft of Nether Wychendon, the rector's servant, for the death of Nicholas Hurne, provided he was not guilty of murder or malice.⁹¹ In 1378, Joan had requested a licence for the appropriation of a church and half an acre of land for the rector and house of Ashridge, suggesting that she continued the Black Prince's patronage of the house.⁹² Prince Edward had visited and in his will left a relic, part of the cross, to the house, suggesting that Joan was continuing the patronage in honour of her husband.⁹³ Religious patronage could extend not only to gifts but also to personal favours, including intercession for pardons.

Another request, dated 7 March 1384, for the pardon of John de Wylton, the king's minstrel, for the death of Roger Mewes of Brabant, listed Joan, the empress (Elizabeth of Pomerania), and the king of the Romans and Bohemians (Wenceslaus IV), presumably due to the location of Brabant within the Holy Roman Empire.⁹⁴ On this occasion the obvious intercessor should have been Anne of Bohemia, especially as her mother and half-brother were both listed. Joan may thus have known Mewes

⁹⁰ *CPR 1354-58*, p. 264.

⁹¹ *CPR 1377-81*, p. 335.

⁹² *CPR 1377-81*, p. 277.

⁹³ Goodman, *Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent*, p. 145; *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 71-2.

⁹⁴ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 384.

personally, and Elizabeth and Wenceslaus were both powerful intercessors and foreign monarchs. Similarly, Joan, alongside the king's kinswoman, the wife of Nicholas Daudele, requested a pardon for Griffin ap Morgan, dated 21 July 1379, accused of the death of Howe ap Jevan ap Adaf.⁹⁵ In combination with another family member, Joan, together with Thomas Holand, her son and the king's half-brother, requested a pardon for Philip Ouldefrend, the keeper of Wallingford gaol, dated 23 September 1380, for the escape of five men, whilst the keeper was at Southampton in the company of Thomas Holand.⁹⁶ In this case, Holand bore some responsibility for the keeper's absence, and Joan, as the king's mother, was in a powerful position to intercede for her other sons, as she did later for John Holand, as well as holding Wallingford as a part of her dower.

Few grants note a pre-existing relationship between petitioner and intercessor, although one petition records a pardon at Joan's supplication for Robert Snawe, her servant, for the death of John Botilmesse of Edenham in self-defence.⁹⁷ Thus most of those who approached the queens Philippa and Anne and Richard II's mother Joan had no prior relationship with them. Like other queens, however, they attracted petitioners from a range of social levels, because they were perceived as accessible.⁹⁸ Parsons argues that the queen became an important intermediary between the king and his subjects because of her growing separation from the increasingly administrative government, although she could still access the king directly.⁹⁹ The queen thus stood apart from the government, as did the people, which Philippa demonstrated in

⁹⁵ *CPR 1377-81*, p. 385.

⁹⁶ *CPR 1377-81*, p. 546.

⁹⁷ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 268.

⁹⁸ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession', p. 154.

Froissart's story of Calais, where she arrived after and separately from the king and his men.

The queen derived her influence from her relationship with and proximity to the king, and the combination of the households under Philippa and Edward led to an unusually close relationship between king and queen. As Woodacre argues in the case of female rulers and their consorts, the stronger the relationship between king and queen, the more personal influence available to that queen.¹⁰⁰ This theory applies not only to the queen, but to other family members, mistresses, and favourites, and must have been understood, even if tacitly, by medieval contemporaries. For example, in 1345, when negotiating the marriage of his daughter Joan to the son of Alfonso XI of Castile, Edward III wrote separately to the king, the queen, and the king's mistress, Eleanor de Gusman, asking her to use her influence with the king, and offering to take one of her sons as a companion to his own son, the Prince of Wales.¹⁰¹ One of Edward III's own mistresses, Alice Perrers, also wielded considerable influence and received a large quantity of lands and wealth from the king.¹⁰² However, although Edward III had multiple mistresses during his marriage, they did not challenge Philippa's influence. The most powerful, Alice Perrers, did not reach the peak of her influence

¹⁰⁰ Woodacre, 'Contemplating Royal Women's Access to Power', p. 65.

¹⁰¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 5, p. 478; Benjamin F. Taggie, 'The Murder of Leonora De Guzmán: A Reappraisal', *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 35, 1 (1982), pp. 36-45.

¹⁰² James Bothwell, 'The management of position: Alice Perrers, Edward III, and the creation of a landed estates, 1362-1377', *Journal of Medieval History* 24, 1 (1998), pp. 31-51; Given-Wilson, 'Perrers [married name Windsor], Alice (d. 1400/01), royal mistress', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21977>. Accessed 6 December 2018; W. M. Ormrod, 'The Trials of Alice Perrers', *Speculum* 83, 2 (2008), pp. 366-96; W. M. Ormrod, 'Who was Alice Perrers?' *Chaucer Review* 40, 3 (2006), pp. 219-29; Laura Tompkins, 'Alice Perrers and the Goldsmiths' Mistery: New Evidence Concerning the Identity of the Mistress of Edward III', *English Historical Review* 131, 547 (2015), pp. 1361-91; Tompkins, 'The uncrowned queen'; Stephanie Trigg, 'The traffic in medieval women: Alice Perrers, feminist criticism and *Piers Plowman*', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 12 (1998), pp. 5-29.

until after Philippa's death, despite Philippa's apparent lack of interference in politics, and Perrers is not noted as an intercessor in pardons.¹⁰³ The personal relationship between king and queen can only have been increased when in physical proximity, and especially after the merging of Philippa and Edward's households. Despite *maritalis affectio* being a legal phrase, medieval spouses were encouraged to love one another.¹⁰⁴ Philippa and Edward had a close relationship, as demonstrated by the unusual amount of time they spent together, despite Edward taking at least one mistress, Alice Perrers. Anne and Richard also had a close relationship, with no record surviving of Richard taking a mistress.

Any connection to the queen, and by extension the king, such as membership of her household, often brought reward to an individual, including money and property. The damsels of the queen's chamber were regular recipients. For example, in October 1346 Elizabeth de Vaux earned an annuity of 40 marks for life at Philippa's request.¹⁰⁵ In January 1332 Philippa herself granted Amicia de Gavaston her lands in Havering atte Bower and the rest of Essex for life.¹⁰⁶ Margery Lodewyk, a damsel to Queen Anne, acquired the lands of John de Beauchamp of Bynerton during the minority of his heir.¹⁰⁷ Margery was also able to use her position, then described as a damsel of Joan of Kent, to request three pardons.¹⁰⁸ Annuities and temporary grants such as wardships were more common gifts than the permanent gift of lands to royal servants, because they did not reduce the finite royal demesne and were in ready

¹⁰³ Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 137; Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, pp. 194-212.

¹⁰⁴ Conor McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature and Practice* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 94; Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 129.

¹⁰⁵ *CPR 1348-50*, p. 441.

¹⁰⁶ *CPR 1330-34*, p. 244.

¹⁰⁷ *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 318 and 328.

¹⁰⁸ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 223.

supply.¹⁰⁹ Such servants were also rewarded for their service at the queen's death, or compensated for the disbanding of her household. At the death of Philippa in 1369, the damsels Alice de Preston, Maud Fisser, Joan Kanley and Elizabeth Pershore gained an annuity of 10 marks each, Joan Cosin, Philippa Pycard and Agatha Langeyn 100s each, and Maud Radescroft and Agnes de Saxilby 5 marks.¹¹⁰ These relationships demonstrate the transactional nature of the court, in which individuals received reward for their service.

Others also recognised the queen's relationship with the king. Popes often wrote to Philippa in particular, urging her to use her influence for greater political change. Anne appears less often in the papal calendars and usually together with her husband, with the exception of one petition in 1393, to Pope Boniface IX, concerning Griffen Yonge, canon of Abergwily, seeking dispensations for his illegitimacy.¹¹¹ However, the pope did not always write to Philippa exclusively, but also to other members of the court and especially to Isabella, Edward III's mother. For example, in 1335 Pope Benedict XII urged the king, Philippa, and Isabella to receive and listen to nuncios advocating between France and England.¹¹² As the daughter of a French king, Isabella had a special interest and possibly a potential advantage in such matters. Successive popes including Benedict XII, Clement VI, and John XXII urged Philippa and others to induce the king to receive nuncios negotiating for peace between England and Scotland, and often for peace with France in 1347. Others advocated for Edward to liberate his hostage Charles, Duke of Brittany, to take part in a peace treaty at Calais in 1349 and later Louis, Duke of Bourbon, in 1366.¹¹³ In 1329, Pope John XXII wrote

¹⁰⁹ Bothwell, 'The management of position', p. 37.

¹¹⁰ *CPR 1367-70*, p. 342; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, p. 648.

¹¹¹ *CPL 1362-1404*, p. 445.

¹¹² *CPL 1305-42*, pp. 511 and 558.

¹¹³ *CPL 1342-62*, pp. 32, 40, 46-9 and 626; *CPL 1362-1404*, p. 24.

to Philippa as well as her mother-in-law Isabella and Maria of Portugal, queen of Castile, to urge Edward to give restitution to the Hospitallers in the form of Templar property, in accordance with previous papal orders.¹¹⁴ The same pope wrote to Philippa asking her to insist that Edward restore his goodwill to his mother after her disgrace in 1330, having first congratulated Philippa on her marriage and ascent to queenship with the reminder of her duty to her position, husband and the pope in 1328.¹¹⁵ Joan of Kent also received correspondence from the popes, asking her to use her influence with her husband, the Prince of Wales. Examples include Urban VI requesting that she urge Prince Edward to mediate between the kings of Castile and Aragon in 1366, and Gregory XI asking that she use her influence with the king and prince for peace in 1375, as well as consolation for the captives, the pope's brother Roger de Belloforti and his nephew John de Ruppe. The pope also requested the latter of the king's treasurer, Henry de Wakefield, and the king's eldest daughter, Isabella de Coucy.¹¹⁶ In 1375 Queen Philippa had been dead for some years, leaving Joan as the premier royal woman at court and prospective queen, suggesting that she might already have taken on some of the queenly duties. The evidence of papal correspondence demonstrates that popes recognised and accepted the fact that the queen had a persuasive influence with the king, which, though informal and unofficial, was nonetheless an important form of power.

The relationship between pope and queen was symbiotic, with Philippa also making many requests of the pope. Many of her petitions were for prebends and other positions for her clerks, as well as secretaries, her physician, chaplain and confessor,

¹¹⁴ *CPL 1305-42*, p. 492; Earenfight, *The King's Other Body*, p. 43.

¹¹⁵ *CPL 1305-42*, pp. 489 and 498.

¹¹⁶ *CPL 1362-1404*, pp. 21 and 146.

particularly at the beginning of her tenure in 1329.¹¹⁷ William de Colby and John de Eston, noted as her receivers and in other administrative positions such as treasurer and chancellor for Colby, were particular beneficiaries.¹¹⁸ Philippa often united with others in requests to the pope, as with Isabella and the French king Philip VI in 1328 in asking Pope John XXII for an indult for a clerk, the archdeacon of Berkshire, to enjoy benefices in Salisbury, Beauvais and Lichfield, despite not being resident there.¹¹⁹ However, grants to clerks and others of the queen's household were not without conflicts. In 1344 the king granted the custody of manor of Tettenhall, Wolverhampton, among other lands, to Queen Philippa, who granted the deanery there to her clerk, Robert Caldwell. The king later disregarded this grant, demonstrating that the king was easily able to override the decisions of his wife.¹²⁰ In 1344 Philippa together with Joan, queen of France (Joan of Auvergne, 1326-1360), requested a mandate from Pope Clement VI to compel John, earl of Warenne, to receive and treat his wife Joan de Barre in a marital manner. Despite their marriage of thirty-two years, Warenne claimed that a dispensation from a previous pope for marriage within the fourth degree was illicit, because he and his wife were also related in the third degree.¹²¹ Their marriage was childless, and Warenne had been living openly with successive mistresses and trying to divorce Joan since 1313, but Joan was a cousin of Edward III, as a granddaughter of Edward I through his daughter Eleanor's marriage

¹¹⁷ *CPL 1305-42*, pp. 292-4, 323, 388, 406-10 and 524-5; *CPL 1342-62*, pp. 163, 166 and 219.

¹¹⁸ *CPL 1305-42*, pp. 319, 326, 349 and 524.

¹¹⁹ *CPL 1305-42*, p. 297.

¹²⁰ *CIPM*, VIII, pp. 315, 316 and 319, X, pp. 177-8, and XIII, p. 65; *CPR 1343-5*, p. 118; *CPR 1348-50*, p. 47; *CPR 1370-4*, p. 140; *CCR 1369-74*, p. 274; M. W. Greenslade and R. B. Pugh (eds.), *A History of the County of Stafford: Volume 3* (London: Victoria County History, 1970), pp. 315-21.

¹²¹ *CPL 1342-62*, p. 116.

to Henri, Count of Barre.¹²² Joan de Barre was thus related to Philippa through marriage and could claim support against the divorce through this connection.

Aside from members of the queen's household, others also benefited from their relationship with the queen and her influence with the pope. For example, Philippa is noted as the godmother to Philip, son of Roger de Bellocampo, in requesting a dispensation in 1345 from Pope Clement VI for Philip to hold a benefice and later in 1353, from Innocent VI, for a canonry at Lincoln.¹²³ In 1346 Philippa also sought a canonry and prebend from Clement VI for John Bateman, a clerk of Matilda of Lancaster, countess of Ulster, her own kinswoman.¹²⁴ As a great-granddaughter of Henry III, Matilda was a cousin of Edward III, and with Philippa shared Louis VIII of France as an ancestor. Matilda's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, also married Philippa's son Lionel.¹²⁵ Many of the nobility and royalty were intermarried, but clearly capitalised on any relationship for their own benefit, including using the queen as an intercessor with the pope.

Individuals close to the queen, including members of her household as well as those who could claim kinship to the king or queen, could benefit from the queen through the award of grants of land, property, money and positions. Benefits could also include support for petitions to both the king and the pope, as well as mercy for a range of crimes from homicide to the failure to pay rents or fines. The fact that

¹²² Scott L. Waugh, 'Warene, John de, seventh earl of Surrey [earl of Surrey and Sussex, Earl Warene] (1286–1347), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28735>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹²³ *CPL 1342-62*, pp. 176 and 477.

¹²⁴ *CPL 1342-62*, p. 237.

¹²⁵ Robin Frame, 'Matilda [Maud] of Lancaster, countess of Ulster (d. 1377), noblewoman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-50027>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

petitions were successful demonstrates that the queen had influence with both the king and the pope, even if this was simply due to her position, as in the case of Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), but still fulfilling a useful purpose. Queens could combine with others to support petitions, although the fact that Philippa was never listed alongside Isabella of France or Joan of Kent, and Anne of Bohemia never with Joan, suggests that one queen or queenly figure was sufficient.

Religious Patronage

In addition to their personal relationships with popes and monastic members of their own households, royal women also bestowed donations ranging from food or cloth to money and properties on their chosen benefices. For queens, the recipients were often already established institutions affiliated with the royal family, such as Westminster Abbey. By the fourteenth century, queens followed their predecessors in the patronage of institutions such as the Hospital of St Katharine by the Tower and Greyfriars, London.¹²⁶ The evidence of lesser donations to smaller institutions may seem inconsequential, but these examples suggest more personal connections between the donor and the chosen beneficiary, the ability to exert agency through choice, and their own concerns such as fertility.¹²⁷ Donations supported the queen's relationships between religious individuals on a personal level, as well as the religious patronage expected of high status individuals.

Religious patronage could have an effect during the lifetime of the donor. In her study of the thirteenth-century countesses, Jeanne and Marguerite of Flanders, Erin

¹²⁶ Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London', pp. 53-76; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 165; Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', pp. 117-142; Page, *A History of the County of London*, pp. 525-30.

¹²⁷ Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews', pp. 62-3; T. D. Atkinson, Ethel M. Hampson, E. T. Long, C. A. F. Meekings, Edward Miller, H. B. Wells, and G. M. G. Woodgate, *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 4, City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R. B. Pugh (London: Victoria County History, 2002), p. 80; Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England*, p. 16.

Jordan suggests that religious patronage, despite the perception of private piety, could also be used as a form of power through spending, whilst Parsons emphasises the effect that piety could have on the reputation of a medieval queen with regards to the thirteenth-century queens Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) and Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), the wives of Henry III and Edward I respectively.¹²⁸ Whereas praise of religious piety seems a literary convention in memorials of queens, Parsons argues that the absence of such for Eleanor of Castile emphasises her reputation for exploiting bishops.¹²⁹ In the twelfth century, the controversial Empress Matilda (1102-1167) somewhat redeemed her popularity in later life, after a bloody civil war, through her patronage of monasteries such as Bec-Hellouin, Normandy.¹³⁰ A queen could also affect her husband's choice of recipient for patronage, an important point given that the patronage of women is often obscured either through poor record-keeping by religious institutions, or the assumption that a gift of the wife is a gift of the husband.¹³¹ For example, evidence for Anne of Bohemia's patronage is often obscured through the physical proximity and close relationship between husband and wife. The comparatively abundant evidence for Philippa's concern with religious matters is more typical for a medieval queen, whereas the absence of such activities for Joan of Kent is concurrent with her status as princess rather than queen consort or dowager.

¹²⁸ Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Erin Jordan, 'The Countesses of Flanders and the *Curtis Beguinage*: Challenging Traditional Restriction of Religious Women in Thirteenth-Century France', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 29, (2001), pp. 33-44; Erin Jordan, 'Female Founders: Exercising authority in Thirteenth-century Flanders and Hainaut', *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, 4 (2008), pp. 535-61.

¹²⁹ John Carmi Parsons, 'Piety, Power and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens', in Theresa M. Vann (ed.), *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), pp. 115-6.

¹³⁰ Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', p. 204; Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1987), pp. 35-48; Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Church Reform', pp. 107-30.

¹³¹ Karen Stöber, 'Female Patrons of Late Medieval English Monasteries,' *Medieval Prosopography*, 31 (2016), pp. 117-8.

Other areas of religious patronage also built on the traditions of earlier queens rather than personal piety. For example, Philippa followed the customs of her predecessors in patronising the friary of Greyfriars, London, and St Katharine's hospital. Philippa is listed among the benefactors to Greyfriars in the *Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londonie*, but is not, as Laura Slater points out, described as 'illustissima', as in the case of the earlier queens, Margaret and Isabella of France. Queen Margaret had founded the church and Isabella may have felt a personal connection, because Margaret was her aunt, and she may have wanted to maintain that French connection in her new country. Philippa may have simply been continuing a tradition when she donated towards the roof of Greyfriars, a way of maintaining memory in the marital family.¹³² Although no record exists of Anne donating to Greyfriars exists, two of her damsels (*domicelle*), Katherine and Margaret, were buried there, suggesting the possibility of some link between Anne and Greyfriars.¹³³ Charles Kingsford also suggests that Philippa carried on the practice of queens favouring Franciscan confessors. Philippa's confessor John Mablethorpe and Isabella's confessor John Vye both originated from Greyfriars.¹³⁴ Christian Steer suggests that the queens' patronage of the Greyfriars formed a parallel to their husbands' patronage of the Black Friars, from where kings took their own confessors.¹³⁵ Altogether, the queenly patronage of Greyfriars for Philippa seems to have been a queenly convention rather than due to a personal connection.

¹³² Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London', pp. 56 and 60; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 165; van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23.

¹³³ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 87. Margaret could refer to Margery Ludwyk or Lodewick, described as a damsel of Queen Anne's bedchamber (*CPR 1391-96*, p. 249).

¹³⁴ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 56; Jens Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221-1539* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), p. 216, *CPR 1367-70*, p. 432.

¹³⁵ Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration', p. 119.

Philippa was also associated with the patronage of Franciscan friars in other ways. In 1347, the king and queen together requested that Pope Clement VI issue a licence for a house in Little Walsingham for twelve friars.¹³⁶ In 1329, Pope John XXII asked that the king and queen support his *nuncio*, Itherius de Concoreto, in a case of two friars arrested in Cambridge for heresy and sent to the papal court for trial.¹³⁷ Philippa's patronage of friars continued Eleanor of Castile's preferment of supporting friars and universities over bishops and clergy. By the fourteenth century, the friars had become a popular choice of patronage for the wealthy. Eleanor of Castile and Margaret of France both patronised Franciscans, whereas Eleanor of Provence particularly supported the Dominican order.¹³⁸ Joan of Kent also supported the Franciscans, a preference she may have adopted from her father. Goodman also notes her lack of interest in the Dominican friars, who had participated in her father's downfall and eventual execution.¹³⁹ Philippa was once again following in the patronage choices of earlier queens of England, whereas Joan was to some extent able to follow her own personal choices in religious patronage.

Another popular choice for queenly patronage was the hospital of St Katharine's by the Tower of London. St Katharine's was founded by a queen, Matilda of Boulogne (c. 1103-1152), the wife of Stephen, in 1148, with the intention to keep

¹³⁶ William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1906), p. 435; *CPL 1342-62*, p. 252.

¹³⁷ *CPL 1305-42*, p. 492; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1948), pp. 276-82.

¹³⁸ Parsons, 'Piety, Power and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens', pp. 118 and 121; Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 109; Jens Röhrkasten, 'The English Crown and the Franciscans in the Order's Early History', in Michael J. P. Robson (ed.), *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 80; Tim Rayborn, *Against the Friars: Antifraternalism in Medieval France and England* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2014); G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, & Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁹ Goodman, *Joan, The Fair Maid of Kent*, p. 20.

the choice of master for herself and succeeding queens. The hospital was later dissolved after a number of issues and re-established by Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), wife of Henry III, in 1273. A 1332 inspeximus at the request of Queen Philippa references a previous example, dating from 16 June, 10 Edward II (1317), which in turn confirmed the foundation charter of Eleanor of Provence dated 20 January, 20 Edward I (1291/2), ratified by her son. The charter gave certain rights, such as the filling of positions, to the succeeding queens.¹⁴⁰ The earlier inspeximus suggests that the charter may have been challenged before in the previous reign. These rights were reinforced under Queen Philippa, who removed her predecessor Isabella of France's choice as master of the hospital. Isabella had selected Richard de Lustehall as master for life in 1318.¹⁴¹ A previous inspection of the hospital ordered in 1327 had given permission to remove the warden and other ministers, provided they had the permission of Isabella.¹⁴² In early 1327, Philippa had not yet married Edward and so was not yet queen at this point. There was no queen consort, only a queen dowager. In addition, Howell notes that after Eleanor of Provence's own refounding of the hospital, it had become customary for queens to continue their patronage of St Katharine's as dowagers, as Eleanor herself did.¹⁴³ When the original master, Richard de Lusteshull, took his case to Parliament, the king at first ordered an investigation, before Philippa was able to prove that the right to choose the master of the hospital belonged to the queens using Eleanor's charter. The king then turned the matter over to the queen and her council.¹⁴⁴ As this took place in 1333, the event was probably one of the first times

¹⁴⁰ *CPR 1330-34*, p. 314.

¹⁴¹ *CPR 1317-21*, p. 164.

¹⁴² *CPR 1327-30*, p. 60.

¹⁴³ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 285.

¹⁴⁴ *CCR 1333-7*, pp. 47, 48, 63 and 171.

that the new queen asserted her higher status over the queen mother.¹⁴⁵ Philippa also made a number of reforms to the Hospital, including ordinances mandating that the brothers and sisters were to own no property without the permission of the master, instructions for their clothing and appearance, and limitations on fraternisation between the brothers and sisters.¹⁴⁶ Power exerted through religious patronage could be directed into the confirmation of queenly influence and status.

As well as reforms, Philippa donated directly to the hospital of St Katharine's. A petition to the pope demonstrates that in 1342 Philippa acquired the church of St Peter in Northampton and two chapels in Kingsthorp and Upton for the hospital, which was described as poor.¹⁴⁷ Philippa also attempted to give extra lands to the hospital and successfully founded a chantry and funded a chaplain through the gift of further lands and property, including a tenement in London.¹⁴⁸ Cecily de Bosenham gave Philippa a tenement which the Queen in turn gifted to John de Hermerthorp, a warden of St Katharine's.¹⁴⁹ Edward III later gave a further ten pounds per year for Philippa's chantry after her death, which Richard II confirmed in 1378.¹⁵⁰ No record exists of Anne of Bohemia donating to the hospital, but Richard II gave certain rights in 1380 and 1381, with the first mandating that prayers be said for the souls of Richard's royal grandparents and father.¹⁵¹ Richard's actions suggests that in the absence of a queen, obligations to St Katharine's fell to the king, further emphasising that the connection to the hospital was a part of his family's commemoration, one usually in the charge of

¹⁴⁵ Page, *A History of the County of London*, pp. 525-30; Jonathan Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy in Fourteenth-Century England: Plantagenet Kings and the Search for the Philosopher's Stone* (London: Continuum, 2012), p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ J. B. Nichols, *Account of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of Saint Katharine near the Tower of London* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1824), p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, p. 236; *CPL 1305-42*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1367-70*, p. 338.

¹⁴⁹ *CIPM*, XV, p. 81; *CPR 1367-70*, p. 338.

¹⁵⁰ *CPR 1377-81*, p. 151.

¹⁵¹ *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 559 and 613.

the queen. Notably, Joan of Kent did not attempt to take over this role. Although Philippa's patronage of the Hospital may have originated from the tradition of prior queens, Philippa's reforms suggest a more genuine, personal patronage, in comparison to her perfunctory patronage of Greyfriars, London, which also had an established history with the queens of England.

Other examples of religious donation suggest explicitly personal connections. For example, Philippa's son Lionel of Antwerp was born in 1339 and baptised at the abbey of St Michael in Antwerp, and the king and queen gave the advowson of the church of Thyngden in Northamptonshire to the abbot and convent at Antwerp in gratitude.¹⁵² The *Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey* relates how the tenants of the abbey, in an uprising against their landlords, deceived Queen Philippa into believing that they were the men of her son, Prince Edward, attempting to use Philippa as an intercessor between themselves and the abbot. Philippa wrote to the abbot ordering him to leave the men alone. The matter was eventually settled before the king and queen in the abbot's favour.¹⁵³ Elsewhere, Philippa had spent her first Christmas after her arrival in England before her marriage with the Bishop of Ely.¹⁵⁴ T. D. Atkinson argues that Philippa had a set of personal pews with a private entrance and a canopy in Ely Cathedral. Philippa was also a close friend of Prior Crauden there and he may have built a lodging for her near to his own, Queen's Hall. Philippa later gave the Bishop the velvet robe embroidered with gold squirrels which she had worn at her Churching ceremony after the birth of her eldest son, which Stella Mary Newton called the 'squirrel suit', a valuable and personal gift, probably a gift of thanks for the safe

¹⁵² *CPR 1338-40*, p. 313.

¹⁵³ *The Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey*, ed. John Brownbill (Manchester: Manchester Record Society, 1914), pp. 39-40; Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 165-9.

¹⁵⁴ Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 115.

delivery of her son.¹⁵⁵ Philippa also leased her manor of Soham, which she been given from the properties of Queen Isabella, to the priory from the 1340s until the 1360s.¹⁵⁶ Religious donations could include both property and money as well as seemingly less generous gifts of objects, although embroidery was an expensive luxury.

Not all donations to religious institutions were large amounts of land or property. Gifts of cloth such as Philippa gave to Prior Crauden were a common gift from women to religious institutions, with the material often reused for altar coverings.¹⁵⁸ Often the nature of the gift could suggest a purpose for the donation, such as clothing repurposed for vestments or altar coverings, or given on special occasions, such as thanks for the safe birth of a child.¹⁵⁷ Philippa also offered a cloth of gold at the tomb of Hugh de Courtenay, according to the book of Philippa's household controller, and donated several cloths of gold to Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral on the day before and of her coronation.¹⁵⁹ In 1341, Philippa joined her husband and eldest son in donating gifts at the shrine of Edward II, giving a gold heart and urn.¹⁶⁰ Gifts to religious houses were often for the sustenance of their members, whether food or money. For example, on her travels through Kent and other counties,

¹⁵⁵ Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews', pp. 62-3; Atkinson *et al*, *A History of the County of Cambridge: Volume 4*, p. 80; Stella Mary Newton, 'Queen Philippa's Squirrel Suit', in M. Flury-Lemberg and K. Stolleis (eds.), *Documenta Textilia: Festschrift für Sigrid Müller-Christensen* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981), pp. 342-8.

¹⁵⁶ A. F. Wareham and A. P. M. Wright (eds.), *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 10, Cheveley, Flendish, Staine and Staploe Hundreds (North-Eastern Cambridgeshire)* (London: Victoria County History, 2002), pp. 2-3; TNA SC 6/1091/5; *Calendar of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library (Oxford)*, ed. William H. Turner and H. O. Coxe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878), p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 226.

¹⁵⁷ Katherine L. French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion After the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 41-2.

¹⁵⁹ TNA E 35/203; George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: William Pickering, 1841), p. 393; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 84; TNA E 101/383/13, m. 3 and E 101/385/12, m. 1; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 117-8.

¹⁶⁰ *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 1, ed. W. H. Hart (London: Rolls Series, 1863), pp. 47-8; M. Palliser, 'Royal Mausolea in the Long Fourteenth Century (1272-1422)', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth Century III* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 9.

Philippa donated the monetary equivalent of an extra meal and drink to the religious houses she passed.¹⁶¹ An inspeximus of 1332 also noted a special relationship between Philippa and the abbot of Chertsey, Surrey, in confirming a charter of the abbey.¹⁶² A petition to the pope from Philippa in 1331 asked Clement VI to give the church of Swaneton, Lincoln, to the monastery of Barlings, and another in 1343 to the parish church of St. John Baptist in Steynton by Langwath.¹⁶³ Another petition of 1345 listed Philippa in addition to the king and her mother-in-law, and another with the earls of Lancaster, Derby and Warwick amongst others, asking the pope to respect an earlier papal exemption from ordinary authority for the order of Sempringham.¹⁶⁴ Religious patronage could take the form of political protection, in the same way that queens could intervene to request pardons for individuals.

Aspects of personal piety are also present in Anne of Bohemia's choice of patronage. In perhaps further attempts to link the queen with St Anne, a request by Queen Anne to donate houses in the manor of Gravesend to the abbot and convent of St Mary Graces by the Tower of London, cited the presence of St Anne's head in the abbey.¹⁶⁵ Richard and Anne also made at least one pilgrimage together, to Our Lady of Walsingham.¹⁶⁶ The patronage choices of queens also show their concerns, in the case of Anne to pray for fertility, just as Philippa donated in thanks for the safe birth of her son. Parsons suggests that kings and queens visited shrines and pilgrimage destinations so frequently during their peripatetic lives that not all their donations were recorded.¹⁶⁷ However, Thomas Walsingham noted that Anne and Richard's stays at

¹⁶¹ JRULM Latin MS 235, fols. 7v-8v; Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', p. 14.

¹⁶² *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226-1516*, Vol. V, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte and Charles G. Crump (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1916), p. 261.

¹⁶³ *CPL 1305-42*, p. 367; *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁴ *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, pp. 89 and 103.

¹⁶⁵ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 306.

¹⁶⁶ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 44; Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁷ Parsons, 'Piety, Power and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens', p. 110.

religious institutions actually cost the sites money, with the abbey of Bury, for example, spending 800 marks hosting the royal couple and their entourage for ten days. Likewise, Richard expected to receive gifts for himself and his wife, which Walsingham claims was resented because they were immediately distributed to the Bohemians, a remark demonstrative of the distrust of chroniclers towards foreign queens and their entourages.¹⁶⁸ Still, Walsingham recorded Anne's death with praise of her piety and generosity to paupers and the Church.¹⁶⁹ Less evidence of religious donations survives for Anne than for Philippa, and most mention Anne alongside her husband, but she was named as a patron of the convent of Bromholm.¹⁷⁰ Anne contrasts with Philippa as a prime example of the ways in which a husband could subsume his wife's agency in choosing recipients of patronage.

Queen Anne was also associated with the pardon of the reformer John Wycliffe, with Steel arguing that Joan allowed her daughter-in-law to take the credit. Steel's general view is that Anne's influence was less important than that of the Bohemians who came to England in her retinue. Taylor argues that Steel was distracted by his dislike of Agnes Strickland, on whose biography Steel based his judgment, with Anne's interference probably a legend fuelled by the nineteenth-century scholars Nicolas and Strickland.¹⁷¹ Other historians emphasise Anne's links to Bohemia in the context of the reformist movement there.¹⁷² Anne did however play a role in the cultural transference of Bohemian values to England. Joan already had a

¹⁶⁸ Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, pp. 688-90; Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, pp. 19-20; János M. Bak, 'Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 228.

¹⁶⁹ Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, p. 960.

¹⁷⁰ *CPR 1385-89*, p. 7.

¹⁷¹ Anthony Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 110; Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', p. 100.

¹⁷² Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 13.

tenuous link to Wycliffe, with a papal bull of 1377 instructing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to warn the king, his sons and Joan in particular about Wycliffe's heresies. Walsingham records that Joan sent her knight, Lewis Clifford, to intercept Wycliffe's trial in 1378, which may have fed Walsingham's dislike of Joan and his censure that she was too overweight to move.¹⁷³ Joan is nevertheless listed in the list of donors to the abbey of St Albans, alongside queens including Isabella and Philippa, apparently esteemed enough to earn a portrait where the others did not (Figure 2).

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Figure 2: Joan of Kent in the Liber benefactorum of St Albans Abbey, late 14th century (BL Cotton MS Nero D VII, fol. 7v)¹⁷⁴

Joan's special treatment suggests that she was apparently more generous, or had some other personal link to St Albans. Joan's religious patronage is otherwise mostly

¹⁷³ Walsingham, *Chronica Maiora*, pp. 196 and 750.

¹⁷⁴ BL Cotton MS Nero D VII, fol. 7v in Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, pl. 21.

undocumented, suggesting that like many noble women, her agency through choice of religious patronage is largely obscured by that of her husband.

Despite the difficulties in separating the religious patronage of royal women from their husbands, two distinct trends in patronage emerge. Some religious patronage was personal, with the gift of possessions, or for the reasons which spurred pilgrimages, such as praying for fertility or giving thanks for the safe birth of children. Other choices for the bestowal of patronage followed preceding queens, such as Greyfriars, London, and friars in general, and the Hospital of St Katharine's by the Tower. Philippa's especial attention to St Katharine's through donations and her reforms demonstrates that personal and precedent could also combine in religious patronage. Donation to religious houses and individuals formed a major area of patronage, taking on a grander scale for queens and royal women, who nevertheless found ways to exert personal agency through religious patronage.

Conclusion

Patronage through direct donation, such as to religious institutions, as well as indirectly through intercession, formed a key part of the queen's influence and agency at court. Religious patronage in particular built upon the precedents of earlier queens, perhaps particularly important for acclimatising and building the reputations of foreign queens to their new culture. The choices and reasons behind religious patronage also offered a route for queens to establish their own preferences. Religious patronage also extended to the queen's own household, of whom many members were clerical and rewarded with prebends and other privileges. The queen could use her own relationship and status with the pope in order to intercede on behalf of others. Likewise, the pope's requests for queens to intercede with their husbands for various

political causes demonstrates that the pope, and others, recognised the power of the queen's influence and relationship with her husband.

Queens also used their relationship with their husbands for intercession through petitions such as for pardons, and Philippa and Anne's high numbers of pardons and intercessory reputations are to an extent reflections of their positive relationships with their husbands. The contrast between Edward III's reign, where Philippa was the most frequent female intercessor but not overall, and Richard II's reign, where Anne was the most frequent of all intercessors, is also symptomatic of Richard's more feminised court.¹⁷⁵ Richard's reign witnessed a higher number of female intercessors, many of whom were either related to Richard or associated through marriage to one of his friends, and were also Ladies of the Garter, which Richard popularised. Circumstances also affected the numbers and choice of intercessors, given the use of Anne as an intercessor for many of the rebels of the Peasants' Revolt. Likewise, Anne's childlessness may have meant that she was more active in petitioning. The frequently pregnant Philippa was rarely associated with pardons at times of childbirth, despite the association between intercession and pregnancy popularised in literature. Intercession remained vital for both Philippa and Anne through their petitionary activities, still in regular practice despite arguments that queenly power decreased after the twelfth century. The high numbers for both queens demonstrate how royal women could access indirect power through positive relationships with their husbands, and resulting in positive mediatory reputations.

¹⁷⁵ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 259-78; McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', pp. 22-42; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 333; Mathew, *The Court of Richard II*, p. 12; Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus', p. 292; Eberle, 'The Politics of Courtly Style', pp. 168-78.

Chapter III: Queen's Gold and Revenues

Although a part of the queen's expected duties, intercession was not an entirely selfless act, but rather one which formed a part of the social bonds and transactions at court. More immediately, the queen's intercessory activities contributed to her revenues, and indirectly to her patronage and spending, through the traditional custom of queen's gold. Queen's gold meant that the queen could claim a proportion on top of any fine paid to the king, a kind of tax symbolic of her intercessory role, demonstrating that the queen could profit from the association with a seemingly selfless act. Queen's gold, along with other traditional prerogatives, formed one of the three main sources of the queen's wealth categorised by the early twentieth-century historian Hilda Johnstone.¹ This chapter will first discuss the sources of the queen's revenues, including her dowry, rights to collecting the profits from wrecks and queen's gold, and extra grants from the king, before discussing queen's gold in particular.

Like all of her financial sources, the queen faced problems in ensuring the collection of queen's gold. For example, individuals who challenged a demand for queen's gold argued that their fines were not valid, instead of disputing the queen's right to collect gold, therefore demonstrating respect for and validating the queen's rights even through their refusal to pay.² Similar problems plagued the queen when collecting her other types of revenue, from the profits from wrecks to income from her dower, facing challenges from other claimants or unreliable accounting.³ In the case of Philippa, her financial problems and overspending resulted in the combination of

¹ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 264-5.

² Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-299; Prynne, *Aurum reginae*; Prynne, *An additional appendix to Aurum reginae*; Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 10-33.

³ Crawford, 'The Queen's Council', pp. 1193-211; Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', pp. 372-93; Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*.

her household with that of her husband, partly due to the varying incomes from her sources of revenue.⁴ Queen's gold in particular illustrates many of the possible problems associated with Philippa's revenues, such as the effect of outside circumstances and the interference of the king, which across her revenues eventually led to larger problems with debt, the final section of this chapter. Queen's gold also demonstrates the links between the queen's intercessory activity, beneficial both to her reputation and indirectly to her revenues, meaning that intercession could contribute towards other types of patronage.

Household and Revenues

The difficulties which Philippa and Anne experienced in the collection of their queen's gold are symptomatic of their financial problems overall. Philippa in particular experienced difficulties with certain areas of her income, such as the profits from wrecks and the management of her dower lands and properties, and the collection of *amobrages*, which women paid upon marriage in Wales, leading to a high quantity of debt.⁵ Like queen's gold, the varying levels of revenue collected from *amobrages* demonstrates that outside circumstances affected the amounts collected, alongside inconsistent accounting and evidence. Likewise, the queen's right to collect the profits from wrecks was often challenged, leading to the king's arbitration.⁶ These problems,

⁴ Cartwright, 'The Desire to Corrupt', p. 36; Jones, 'Flintshire Ministers' Accounts', pp. xviii-xix; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-99; Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', pp. 183-7; McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 269; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 89; Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, Vol. 4*, p. 174; Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 73-4; Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 125; Whiteley, 'The Courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France', pp. 153 and 164-5; Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 139 and 144-5.

⁵ Cartwright, 'The Desire to Corrupt', p. 36; Jones, 'Flintshire Ministers' Accounts', pp. xviii-xix.

⁶ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-99; Crawford, 'The Queen's Council', p. 1194; Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 373; Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*.

in addition to Philippa's high level of spending, eventually led to the combination of the royal households under Philippa and Edward.

In her seminal study on the queens' households extending from Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) to Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), the second wife of Richard II, Johnstone listed dower lands and supplementary grants alongside the queen's rights to the collection of *amobrages* and other profits. Johnstone also acknowledged that every queen took loans, although these did not count as regular resources.⁷ Although Johnstone has remained generally unchallenged, Margaret Howell argues that Johnstone's categorisations were incorrect in several ways. For example, Eleanor of Provence received none of the revenue from her dower whilst the king was alive. Technically the dower was meant to support the queen after the death of the king, but in practice the dower often supported the queen and her household throughout her marriage.⁸ Howell also argues that Johnstone's categorisations of the various financial resources, of prerogatives, dowers and supplementary funds, were too inflexible, and not applicable across all queens.⁹ In the case of Eleanor of Provence, the queen's revenues from supposedly 'supplementary' grants actually outstripped those from sources such as her dower, as well as queen's gold.¹⁰ These grants included both money and lands held in wardship, sources which the queen might only possess for a few years in comparison to lifelong grants of land.¹¹ Similar problems plagued the financial resources of Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia, dependent on outside circumstance and spotty evidence.

⁷ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 264-5.

⁸ Crawford, 'The Queen's Council', p. 1194.

⁹ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 373.

¹⁰ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 373.

¹¹ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 384.

The queen's household and administration are one of the few areas to have attracted scholarly attention before the development of gender and women's history.¹² These works formed part of a consideration of the king and his various departments of government and wardrobe, rather than as part of queenship studies. To a great extent the queen's council managed her affairs, including her holdings, so how much personal control the queen possessed in comparison to other great male landowners is difficult to ascertain, although Johnstone argues that ultimately the queen could have influence, in the same way that her name held influence when used in petitions.¹³ The use of the queen's title alone conveyed power. In particular, T. F. Tout argued that the queen's wardrobe first developed under Henry III and Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), as the first subsidiary wardrobe to the royal Great Wardrobe, copied by his offspring and other royals, and in turn by magnates.¹⁴ Part of Facinger's argument is that as the queen's power devolved from the twelfth century onwards, she became further separated from the government through the machinery of her own household.¹⁵ The queen's wardrobe was at first dependent on the king's wardrobe, but accounted separately to the Exchequer.¹⁶ The combination of the households under Philippa and Edward, continued under Anne and Richard, is a reflection of their personal relationships as much as practicality.

Historians disagree over the immediate factors which prompted the merger of Edward and Philippa's households in the early 1360s. Johnstone attributes Philippa's debts to circumstances, mismanagement, and a poor choice in administrators, but

¹² Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-99.

¹³ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, p. 291.

¹⁴ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, The Chamber and the Small Seals, Vol. I*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), p. 252.

¹⁵ Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship', p. 40.

¹⁶ Tout, *Chapters, Vol. I*, p. 253; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 233.

dismisses other arguments, including that general prices were rising, the expenses of travelling abroad, or extra expenditure from wards and children, due to the fact that such circumstances often warranted extra grants.¹⁷ For example, when Edward named their son John of Gaunt as earl of Richmond, Philippa was granted the honour of Richmond until John came of age.¹⁸ Edward III later returned the earldom to the dukes of Brittany, earlier holders of the land. The duke, John de Montfort, also married to Richard II's half-sister through his mother, Joan Holand, later formed an alliance with France, to protect his duchy of Brittany. Richard II then granted the honour to Anne for her lifetime in 1384, the year in which Joan Holand died. Depending on political events, the honour returned to John in 1386, then back to Anne by 1388, to John in 1391, and back to Anne from the next year until her death in 1392.¹⁹ Thus even supposedly lifetime grants could not be relied upon, although Anne was meant to receive compensation for her loss, according to a grant of lands of equal value in England and Wales.

The queen's dower formed the base of her financial resources. C. Given-Wilson argues that the dower awarded to Philippa was insubstantial in relation to her needs, in addition to her apparently lavish spending.²⁰ Queens including Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), Margaret of France (1279-1318), Isabella of France, and Anne of Bohemia all received a dower worth £4500, so unsurprisingly this value may have

¹⁷ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 281.

¹⁸ William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1* (London: Victoria County History, 1914), pp. 1-16; *CPR 1340-43*, p. 569; *CCR 1341-43*, p. 622; *CPR 1343-45*, p. 197; *CPR 1345-48*, p. 466; *CPR 1348-50*, p. 319; *CPR 1350-54*, pp. 204 and 287.

¹⁹ Page, *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1*, pp. 1-16; *CPR 1381-85*, p. 511; *CPR 1385-89*, p. 175; *CPR 1388-92*, pp. 393, 427 and 432; *CPR 1391-96*, pp. 13, 68, 101, 105 and 217; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, Vol. V, p. 309; Jones, 'Montfort, John de, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond [John of Brittany] (d. 1399), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53088>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

²⁰ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 184.

become insufficient over the years between 1272 and 1382, particularly due to an increase in expenditure.²¹ Cycles of inflation also took place within reigns, as in the 1350s and 1360s, and across the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.²² In addition to these problems, Philippa's dower was eventually awarded two years after her marriage in 1330, with the grants of the castle and honour of Pontefract and lands of Glamorgan worth the promised amount of £3000.²³ However, a petition to the king and his council that same year argued that Glamorgan and Pontefract were only worth £150 per year, an insufficient quantity to support her household, especially because of the additional presence of Lady Eleanor, the king's sister, and other guests. The petition also asked for a grant from the king for necessities.²⁴ That queens often received additional grants during the course of their lifetimes suggests that the usual assigned dower and revenues were frequently insufficient for their needs, or dependent on their relationship with the king.

The dower assigned to each queen usually consisted of the same lands, with many holdings held successively by multiple queens, regardless of the queen's individual demands or other sources of revenue. Both Isabella and Philippa held Knaresborough, Tickhill and Cowick in Yorkshire, and Peak in Derbyshire.²⁵ Margaret, Isabella, and Philippa were all successively granted Marlborough in Wiltshire, Banstead in Surrey, Feckenham in Worcestershire, Gillingham in Dorset, and Havering in Essex.²⁶ King's Cliffe in Northamptonshire and Odiham in

²¹ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 270, 273, 274 and 280.

²² Scott L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 91; N. J. Mayhew, 'Money and prices in England from Henry II to Edward III', *The Agricultural History Review* xxxv (1987), pp. 121-33.

²³ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, p. 277.

²⁴ *CPR 1327-30*, p. 501; TNA SC 8/265/13210.

²⁵ Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*, pp. 688, 845, 917 and 777.

²⁶ Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*, pp. 738, 897, 938, 945 and 959; McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community*, pp. 58-60 and 102.

Hampshire were held by Margaret, Isabella, Philippa and Anne of Bohemia.²⁷ Isabella, Philippa and Anne also held Bristol, Rockingham in Northamptonshire and Langley Marsh in Buckinghamshire.²⁸ Philippa eventually held lands worth £7000, and Isabella of France, although she occupied an unusual position during the deposition of her husband, at one point held an amount accounting to £13000.²⁹ Part of the reason that Philippa had to wait for her dower to be assigned was the presence of the queen dowager, who also held more lands than preceding queens. When Isabella's lands were broken up in 1330 many of them went to Philippa, worth £3850 per year, and after Isabella's death Philippa received further holdings worth £2000.³⁰ Thus even the extent of traditionally assigned lands fluctuated from queen to queen.

After the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, Joan of Kent was assigned several holdings in dower, although these were not worth as much as a queen's dower. Eleanor of Castile's holdings as wife of the heir were comparably small, including Peak in Derbyshire, Grantham in Lincolnshire and Tickhill in Yorkshire.³¹ Joan's holdings included Wallingford, Berkshire, where she eventually died in 1385, a house belonging to the Prince of Wales in London known as the 'Wardrobe', and castles including Aberystwyth and Harlech, which Anne later took over.³² One third of the revenues from the duchy of Cornwall also went to Joan.³³ In addition, she was already a wealthy woman in her own right, as the heir to the barony of Wake and earldom of

²⁷ Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 969, 767 and 768.

²⁸ Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 581, 818 and 979.

²⁹ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 281.

³⁰ B. P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 54.

³¹ Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, pp. 164, 180 and 196.

³² Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 851 and 982; *CPR 1364-67*, pp. 375 and 374; Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. I, pp. 308 and 365; *CPR 1348-50*, p. 11; *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 405 and 453.

³³ *CCR 1374-77*, pp. 407-8; Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 92.

Kent.³⁴ However, the queen's assigned lands did not always bring in the revenue which they were supposed to be worth, resulting in complaints about the overestimated worth of Philippa's lands in Glamorgan and Pontefract and some of Anne's as well. The Black Death also negatively impacted land prices, which may also have affected Joan's assigned lands.³⁵ The dowers of queens formed the base of their household finances, but by the late fourteenth century were clearly becoming insufficient for the queen's needs.

In addition to her dower, the queen's traditional sources of revenues as classified by Johnstone also included the custom of queen's gold alongside the rights to wrecks, and arguably the collection of *amobrages*. *Amobrages*, also called *amobr* or *ambrogium*, were a sum paid by or for a Welsh woman on her first marriage, deriving from older customs before Wales came under English control. The rate paid was dependent on social status and wealth, ranging from one pound for the daughter of a *maer cynghellor*, a king's representative, down to twelve pence for the daughter of a slave.³⁶ Recent scholarship, including Jane Cartwright and Danna R. Messer, argues that *amobrage* was payable upon loss of virginity, not only on marriage, or on pregnancy or cohabitation.³⁷ In contrast to the English *merchet*, a fine paid by a tenant to his lord on the marriage of his daughter, *amobrages* were payable on women from all ranks of society, and usually payable by the father, but only if he had arranged the marriage. Arthur Jones explains the custom of *amobrage* as compensation to the bride's kin for the loss of one of their members and her dower, as opposed to *merchet*,

³⁴ *CIPM*, X, pp. 41-57.

³⁵ McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community*, p. 58.

³⁶ Cartwright, 'The Desire to Corrupt', p. 36.

³⁷ Cartwright, 'The Desire to Corrupt', p. 36; Matthew Frank Stevens, *Urban Assimilation in Post Conquest Wales: Ethnicity, Gender and Economy in Ruthin, 1282-1348* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 197; Danna R. Messer, 'The Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency in Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', (unpubl. PhD diss., Bangor University, 2014), pp. 83-4.

which compensated the English lord for the loss of one of his villeins.³⁸ Unlike queen's gold, the queen played no symbolic part in *amobrages*, unless the convention arose from the link in gender between the queen and a tax on women. Despite Johnstone's grouping of *amobrages* with queen's gold, arguing that both were traditional prerogatives, *amobrages* bore more similarities to revenues such as those derived from wrecks, rather than queen's gold with its links to intercession and a longer history with queens of England.

Several fourteenth-century queens derived part of their wealth from the collection of *amobrages*, but unlike queen's gold, the right to collect was not automatically awarded to queens. Yet Johnstone argues that *amobrages* were traditionally a prerogative of the queens of England, like queen's gold, but presumably only since the tenure of Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) when Wales was conquered.³⁹ In 1385, Anne of Bohemia was granted the right to *amobrages* throughout Wales for her lifetime.⁴⁰ Lake argues that by the late fourteenth century this meant that *amobrages* had ceased to be an automatic right of the queen, because Anne was specifically awarded the collection of *amobrages* throughout Wales for the her lifetime.⁴¹ However, few references to the granting of *amobrages* to other queens exist, suggesting that *amobrages* had never been an automatic right of the queen, but, perhaps similarly to the rights to queen's gold in the earlier Middle Ages, had always

³⁸ Jones, 'Flintshire Ministers' Accounts, 1301-1328', pp. xviii-xix; R. R. Davies, 'The Status of Women and the Practice of Marriage in Late-medieval Wales', in Morfydd E. Owen and Dafydd Jenkins, *The Welsh Law of Women* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), p. 110; Dafydd Jenkins, 'Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women', in Owen and Jenkins, *The Welsh Law of Women*, pp. 82-5 and 100-3; Morfydd E. Owen, 'Shame and Reparation: Women's Place in the Kin', in Owen and Jenkins, *The Welsh Law of Women*, p. 84; D. B. Walters, 'The European Legal Context of the Welsh Law of Matrimonial Property', in Owen and Jenkins, *The Welsh Law of Women*, pp. 117-20 and 127-30.

³⁹ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 265.

⁴⁰ *CPR 1385-89*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 205.

been assigned individually to a queen for her lifetime or otherwise. The grant of *amobrages* to Anne makes no mention of past queens claiming *amobrages*, as claims for queen's gold often did, and grants her the right for life, unlike queen's gold, which was always the right of the queen during her marriage and not during her possible widowhood.⁴² The late development of granting the revenues of *amobrages* to queens may have been to try and fill the gap for the rising costs of living for queens, as Philippa's debts demonstrate.

Although accounts exist for the collection of *amobrages* for both Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainaut, Howell actually notes the absence of *amobrages* as a resource for Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), given that the conquest of Wales was not complete until 1283.⁴³ Additionally, Henry IV, Richard II's successor, granted the revenues from *amobrages* collected in various parts of Wales to other individuals, both before and during his second marriage, to his queen Joan of Navarre (1368-1437).⁴⁴ For example, in 1399, Henry granted the county of Anglesey along with many of its rights, including the collection of *amobrages*, to Henry de Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland.⁴⁵ Although Henry IV's marriage to Joan of Navarre would not take place for over another year, presumably King Henry's grant meant that he had no intention of granting the right of *amobrages* to any future wife. In 1444, after Joan's death, and before his own marriage to Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI granted John

⁴² *CPR 1385-89*, p. 22.

⁴³ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 373, n. 2; For Isabella, TNA SC 6/1090/13 and for Philippa, TNA SC 6/1091/4 and SC 6/1091/9.

⁴⁴ Henry's first wife, Mary de Bohun, died before he took the throne. A. L. Brown and Henry Summerson, 'Henry IV [known as Henry Bolingbroke] (1367–1413), king of England and lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1295>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁴⁵ *CPR 1399-1401*, p. 155.

Stanley, an usher of the chamber, various manors and their rights including *amobrages* in return for a rent of two greyhounds per year.⁴⁶ However, no evidence survives to suggest that Henry IV granted Joan herself the right to *amobrages*, although she received queen's gold.⁴⁷ Again this suggests that the right to *amobrages* was not an automatic privilege of the queen like queen's gold, and might reflect a change in customs along with the change of regimes from Richard II to Henry IV.

Regardless of whether all queens received the right to *amobrages* or not, the few accounts that survive for Philippa suffer from similar problems as those for queen's gold, such as a lack of evidence for the claiming or paying of *amobrages*, and inconsistent accounting. For example, in the Easter period between 1336 and 1337, queen's gold amounted to £41, 15s and 8d according to the accounts of Philippa's receiver of queen's gold at that time, John de Eston, whilst *amobrages* produced £33, 6s and 8d. The Michaelmas period of the same time varied much more widely, with £41, 15s and 8d from queen's gold and only £23 from *amobrages*.⁴⁸ There is no mention of *amobrages* in the accounts for Easter 1339, and they may have been accounted separately or at a different time. As with queen's gold, the intensity of the collection of profits from *amobrages* may have varied with other circumstances, from wars to plagues and famines, and the corresponding state of the queen's coffers, affecting whether the queen had the resources or pressing need to collect revenues from *amobrages*, or other priorities.

The collection of revenues from wrecks also proved a problem, with Philippa of Hainaut repeatedly having to assert her rights to the collection of the profits. For

⁴⁶ *CPR 1441-46*, p. 296.

⁴⁷ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 62-6.

⁴⁸ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 265; TNA E 101/387/23.

example, in May 1349, Edward III ordered a commission of oyer and terminer over the theft of a whale worth £1000, from the Lek, Lincoln, which belonged to the queen as part of her ‘immemorial custom wreck of sea’ in the earldom of Richmond.⁴⁹ In the case of a ship called ‘la Marie of Santander’ in 1368, the king ordered that the queen’s bailiffs of Laigle, Sussex, restore the goods and merchandise, that they had claimed for the queen’s use, back to the merchants. The merchants’ attorneys had proved that, although the ship was broken and lost on the coast, the fact that the seamen landed safely on shore meant that the case was technically not a wreck and therefore the queen could not collect.⁵⁰ In terms of wrecks, the queen was limited in what she could claim, and these claims might prove difficult to pursue as well as absorbing resources.

Philippa’s issues exemplify the ways in which queens faced problems for the collection of their revenues, including the profits from wrecks and the collection of *amobrages* as well as queen’s gold. As with queen’s gold, the revenues derived from *amobrages* could vary enormously. The problems across all the areas of Johnstone’s categorised sources of the queen’s revenues had particular ramifications for Philippa, leading at least in part to the merger of the royal households. However, despite Johnstone’s categorisations of queen’s gold and *amobrages* as ‘traditional prerogatives’, *amobrages* bore more similarities to the rights to profits from wrecks, in that the prerogative was not linked to the queen through a tradition such as intercession, and the king often awarded the right to collection to individuals other than the queen.

⁴⁹ *CPR 1348-50*, p. 319.

⁵⁰ *CCR 1364-68*, p. 415.

Queen's Gold

Queen's gold was a custom unique to medieval queens, by which the transformation of intercessory capital into economic could then fund the queen's household and patronage. Queen's gold also formed a reward for the queen's intercession, which acknowledged and confirmed her role. The profits from queen's gold allowed the king to fulfil the queen's inability to wield power, whilst also providing the queen with her own source of wealth.⁵¹ This section will first discuss the development of queen's gold and the restrictions established under prior queens, before examining the surviving evidence for Philippa in particular, and the difficulties encountered in both collecting and accounting for queen's gold. Queen's gold could offer a lucrative amount of revenues, but the reluctance of those liable to pay only added to queenly debts.

In terms of historiography, the antiquarian William Prynne produced an early published work on queen's gold, for Catherine of Braganza, the wife of Charles II, as well as an additional appendix. Prynne defined queen's gold as 'a royal debt, duty or revenue' payable to the queen on all voluntary fines worth over ten marks, in return for 'Priviledges, Franchises, Dispensations, Licenses, Pardons, Grants' and similar favours from the king, at a rate of one mark on every ten.⁵² In her article focussing on Eleanor of Aquitaine, Geaman traced a link between the medieval queen's tradition of intercessory activities and queen's gold, arguing that the queen's ability to persuade her husband helped others to gain offices or reduce the amount of fines that they owed to the king.⁵³ Geaman also suggests that intercession allowed the queen to provide mercy, perceived as a feminine quality, which the king could not provide without

⁵¹ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 11-2; Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', pp. 39-61; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 99-105.

⁵² Prynne's work followed a preliminary treatise by the seventeenth-century William Hakewill. W. Hakewill, 'Treatise on the Queen's claim to *Aurum Reginae*' (1607), The National Archives, Kew, SP 14/29; London, BL Add. 25255, fols. 1-23; Prynne, *Aurum reginae*, p. 2.

⁵³ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 5.

looking weak and feminine, as in the case of Philippa saving the lives of six men of Calais, a story providing Philippa with the reputation of a famed intercessor.

Although the form of queen's gold had changed, the Anglo-Saxon origins of the custom demonstrate the links between intercession and queen's gold, which had become essentially a formality by the late fourteenth century. In his treatise, Prynne dated the tradition back to ancient Roman empresses such as the fourth-century Helena, who had an English connection as the supposed daughter of King Coel of Colchester, before noting the first surviving records for Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204).⁵⁴ The link between Helena and England was dubious, but the origins of queen's gold certainly predated the Norman Conquest, probably in a less formal model. Investigating the link between queen's gold and intercession under Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), Geaman suggests that the custom had roots in Anglo-Saxon queens such as Ælfthryth (959-975), wife of Edgar, and Edith (1025-1075), the wife of Edward the Confessor. These queens received money and other objects as gifts, in return for the use of their informal influence in persuading the king towards the petitioner's favour.⁵⁵ Influence with the king was not limited to queens during the Anglo-Saxon period, but men interceding with the king on behalf of others were generally rewarded for their actions with land, rather than objects or money. The gifts

⁵⁴ Prynne, *Aurum reginae*, p. 2; A. Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), p. 79.

⁵⁵ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 15-16; P. Stafford, 'Ælfthryth (d. 999x1001), queen of England, consort of King Edgar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-194>. Accessed 6 December 2018; M. Alamichel, *Widows in Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 50. Alamichel notes a gift of 50 mancuses of gold from Bishop Aethelwulf to the queen, specifically for her help in King Edgar confirming the freedom of Taunton, citing *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 58-9; A. Williams, 'Edith [Eadgyth] (d. 1075), queen of England, consort of Edward the Confessor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8483>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

to the queens during this period were often worth more than ten per cent of that given to the king, the value of queen's gold standardising to ten per cent only after the Conquest.⁵⁶ Thus there is a clear change in the customs of queen's gold after this point, although the Anglo-Saxon customs provide a clear antecedent. Traces of a similar tradition to queen's gold, payable to queens as well as wives of earls, may also survive in the Domesday Book, including references to gifts to the wives of earls, which suggests that a tradition similar to queen's gold may have at one time applied to those further down the social strata than the royal couple.⁵⁷ Writing in the nineteenth century, Henry Ellis interprets these gifts of gold also as queen's gold, although in this case the gifts did not comprise a ten per cent proportion of that given to the king.⁵⁸ The move to the accepted ten per cent proportion may have been gradual over time.

While queen's gold may have originated as an Anglo-Saxon tradition, queens after the Conquest certainly adopted some version of the fine. The Conquest may mark the point at which queen's gold became formalised as a right of the queen, no longer applicable to countesses as well. Limiting the right to claim the fine also had the result of making the queen's role more unique. Huneycutt suggests an early form of queen's gold taking place during the time of Matilda of Scotland (1080-1118), wife of Henry I. The bishop of Durham offered a thousand marks to the king and a hundred to the queen in an attempt to influence their decision over a dispute, although both the king

⁵⁶ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 15-16.

⁵⁷ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', p. 16; *Domesday Book, vol. 17: Herefordshire*, ed. F. Thorn and C. Thorn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), no. 1, 6, involved the reeve of Eardisland manor, Herefordshire, paying money to 'his lady' in order to please her.

⁵⁸ H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to the Domesday Book* (London: Commissioners on the Public Records, 1833), pp. 171-4; Loitone (Luton) gave four ounces of gold, Houstone (Houghton Regis) gave 2 ounces, and Leston (Leighton Buzzard) 2 ounces 'for the queen's work', *Domesday Book, vol. 20: Bedfordshire*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester: Phillimore, 1977), nos. 1.2, 1.3 and 1.1. The counties of Oxford and Warwick gave 100 shillings each, *Domesday Book, vol. 14: Oxfordshire*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), no. 1.12.

and queen rejected these advances. The bishop offered the money to the queen specifically in return for the use of her influence with the king.⁵⁹ The proportion of money offered to the queen was also a tenth on top of that offered to the king, the same proportion which Prynne defined as the rate of queen's gold.

Thus queen's gold was a formalisation of giving money or gifts to the queen in return for her use of personal influence with the king, and an acknowledgment that she had such influence. The earliest surviving examples, however, do not explicitly reference 'queen's gold'. The first records to do so date from the reign of Henry II, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, in reference to his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), which has led Prynne and some successive scholars to date the tradition of queen's gold to his reign.⁶⁰ The *Dialogus* was a treatise on the Exchequer dating from the late 1170s or possibly 1180s, which noted that those owing voluntary fines to the king also owed the queen, '*licet expressum non fuerit*', without it being expressly stated, which may account for some confusion among those liable, and provided an excuse for those unwilling to pay. The *Dialogus* also notes that the sheriff should collect the gold for the queen only after the king's debts are paid, demonstrating the lesser importance given to queen's gold than the obligations to the king.⁶¹ Many of those seeking to avoid paying the additional queen's gold on top of their fine to the king did not challenge the queen's right to her gold, but rather argued that the fine in question was not a voluntary one, as several cases during Philippa's tenure demonstrate.

⁵⁹ L. L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 59.

⁶⁰ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 8.

⁶¹ Richard Fitzneale, *Dialogus de Scaccario: the dialogue of the Exchequer*, ed. Emilie Amt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. xix and 183-185, '*uiccomes per omnia utetur, qua in regiis usus est, non tamen ante set post.*'

There were other complications to the claiming of queen's gold. According to Prynne, queens supposedly held the right to queen's gold only during their marriage to their living husband, not before their marriage or the king's coronation, nor after the king's death.⁶² However, Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204) also received queen's gold during the reign of her son Richard, even after his marriage to Berengaria of Navarre (c. 1165-1230) in 1191, continuing into the reign of her son John, despite his marriage to Isabella of Angoulême (c. 1188-1246) in 1200. Richardson therefore posits that queen's gold may have formed a part of Eleanor's dower specifically, rather than the automatic right of all queens.⁶³ Geaman, however, argues that Eleanor of Aquitaine continued to receive queen's gold because she was still the principal intercessory figure with Richard I.⁶⁴ Berengaria never came to England and had a relatively short marriage to Richard I, between 1191 and 1199, mainly spent apart, thus providing few opportunities for her to intercede with the king.⁶⁵ Alternatively she may have been unable to assert her rights to queen's gold. Nicholas Vincent suggests that Richard's successor King John kept the revenues of queen's gold for himself, both that which was due to his wife and possibly also his mother, ordering that the accounting of queen's gold should return to the royal exchequer alongside the king's

⁶² Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 2.

⁶³ H. G. Richardson, 'The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', *The English Historical Review* 74, 291 (1959), pp. 219-21.

⁶⁴ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', p. 21.

⁶⁵ E. Hallam, 'Berengaria (c.1165–1230)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2192>. Accessed 6 December 2018; E. Hallam, 'Bérengère de Navarre: les Plantagenets et les Capétiens', *La province du Maine*, 93 (1991), 225-37; J. Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 53 (1980), 157-73; Ann Trindade, *Berengaria: In Search of Richard's Queen* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999); Gabrielle Storey, 'Berengaria of Navarre and Joanna of Sicily as crusading queens: Manipulation, reputation, and agency', in Valerie Schutte and Estelle Paranque (eds.), *Forgotten Queens in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Political Agency, Myth-Making, and Patronage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 41-59.

debts.⁶⁶ Although queens were only supposed to receive queen's gold during their marriage to the king, and ceasing after his death, Howell argues that Eleanor was collecting queen's gold that she had already claimed before her husband's death, rather than beginning in the reign of her sons, but agrees that John may have kept the revenues for himself, proving again that a queen's access to the revenues from her gold often relied upon the king and his whims.⁶⁷ Despite the comparatively considerable quantity of historiography on Eleanor of Aquitaine and queen's gold, and the formalisation through records such as the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, she was in several ways an anomaly in comparison to other queens, including Philippa of Hainaut, who were more conventional in their claims. Queens such as Philippa and Anne however did rely on the history of previous queens for validity in their own claims and rights to collect.

Although queen's gold was supposedly an independent source of wealth, queens could also lose their rights to collection if they displeased their husbands in some way. For example, Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) lost hers for a short period in 1252, after a quarrel with the king over a particular holding. Eleanor of Aquitaine's access to queen's gold was probably suspended during her imprisonment, between 1173 and the death of her husband in 1189, which may explain the lack of records accounting for the revenues of queen's gold during those specific years.⁶⁸ During her imprisonment, Eleanor was also no longer in a position to provide intercession with the king. In another example from 1324, while Edward II was engaged in a war with France over Gascony, a writ granted queen's gold to Isabella of France and was then cancelled two days later, the revenues assigned instead to the

⁶⁶ Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 191.

⁶⁷ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 373, n. 3.

⁶⁸ Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 385-6; Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', p. 19.

king. At the same time, Isabella's lands were confiscated and her French attendants dismissed, due to her French origin.⁶⁹ Like all the queen's other sources of wealth, rights to queen's gold ultimately relied on the generosity of the king.

As the case of King John demonstrates, the king was often an enthusiastic supporter of his wife's rights to queen's gold, whilst those liable were frequently unaware or reluctant to pay, particularly in the case of certain cities or areas. In response to Philippa of Hainaut complaining of attempted fraud, due to individuals arguing that their fines were not liable for queen's gold, Edward III issued a confirmation of his wife's rights to queen's gold in 1338, and repeated a similar proclamation at least once in 1341, suggesting that the first proclamation at least was unsuccessful.⁷⁰ Ireland proved a particular problem, with Edward issuing an order in 1342-3 and again in 1360-1, despite the fact that queens had claimed their gold there as early as Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) in 1268.⁷¹ Philippa reported that a specific man, Robert de Holiwode, had refused to pay queen's gold there in 1360, arguing that queen's gold was not due in Ireland, and Edward's subsequent proclamation specifically referenced that Holiwode and others liable in Ireland should pay the queen's gold they owed.⁷² Another order references a Robert Ryng, who claimed to have a commission under Philippa's seal from the office of the queen's attorney general, to receive queen's gold in Ireland in 1360. The commission was false, which meant that Ryng had to appear before the council of the king and queen. Ryng escaped

⁶⁹ TNA E 159/100, m. 9d; M. Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 152.

⁷⁰ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 34-5; *The statutes of the realm: printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third, Vol. 1: 1101-1377* (London, 1810-1828), p. 298.

⁷¹ *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, Vol. II: King John to Henry V*, ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin: H. M. Stationery Office, 1907), p. 588; Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 45-6; *CCR 1360-64*, p. 61; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, 266; *CPR 1272-81*, p. 199.

⁷² *CCR 1360-64*, p. 61.

and had to pay a fine to the queen.⁷³ Ryng's crime suggests that queen's gold could be lucrative, and that he at least perceived queen's gold as payable in Ireland. Philippa's intended successor, Joan of Kent, because she never became queen, could also not claim queen's gold. Yet there may have been a possible precedent in the case of Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), who claimed queen's gold in Ireland before the accession of her husband, Edward I, in England. However, at this point Edward I was actively ruling as Lord of Ireland, whilst Joan of Kent's husband, Edward, was only Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine.⁷⁴ Despite Earenfight's assertion that similar customs existed around Europe, Jessica Nelson, for example, found no such similar tradition in Scotland.⁷⁵ Therefore queen's gold may not have been an accepted custom in Aquitaine, which was not a kingdom. The fact that Joan was not able to claim rights to queen's gold even in the absence of a queen consort highlights Joan's lesser position as the mother of a king, but not a queen dowager.

Problems with claiming queen's gold in Ireland persisted beyond Edward's reign. Richard II also issued a proclamation to Ireland on behalf of Anne, once in 1389 and twice in 1393, and Anne appointed her own attorney, William de Karlell, for the collection of queen's gold in Ireland.⁷⁶ This appointment dated Anne's claim to queen's gold to the date of her coronation, 22 January, 5 Richard II, or 1382.⁷⁷ These writs drew on the fact that previous queens had received queen's gold, referencing 'all queens time out of mind', a legal phrase which had been fixed at the date of Richard I's coronation, despite the fact that in this case Richard I's mother, Eleanor of

⁷³ *CCR 1360-64*, p. 77.

⁷⁴ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 22-3.

⁷⁵ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, p. 146; Jessica Alice Nelson, 'Queens and Queenship in Scotland, circa 1067-1286', (unpubl. PhD diss., King's College London, 2007), p. 220.

⁷⁶ *CCR 1389-92*, p. 6; *CCR 1392-96*, p. 158 and 170-1; *CCR 1381-85*, p. 313.

⁷⁷ *CCR 1381-85*, p. 313.

Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), had received queen's gold, rather than his wife.⁷⁸ For example, Henry III confirmed that queen's gold was payable in Ireland to his queen, Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), and Edward I issued similar letters patent for his first wife, Eleanor of Castile.⁷⁹ The wording of these confirmations suggests that queen's gold was by this time regarded as a traditional right of the queen. The fact that kings often issued confirmations of their wives' rights to queen's gold emphasises that the revenues formed a significant part of the queens' funds, a gap which the king would otherwise have to fill, as well as problems with collection that queens were not able to solve alone.

Despite the supposed independence of the queen's gold from her husband the king, in practice the king often interfered, regularly cancelling writs for the payment of queen's gold due to other circumstances. The collection of queen's gold was not always a priority, with the tracking of revenues often rendered difficult for a variety of reasons. For example, the administrative area in which queen's gold was accounted for changed between and during reigns, and external circumstances also affected the levels of revenue, in addition to times when the queens had other priorities.⁸⁰ Pregnancy, for example, could limit the queen's concern with collecting her gold, just as there was no discernible rise in pardons during those times. Philippa's receivers of queen's gold also included John de Eston, Roger de Cloune and John Cooks.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Paul Brand, 'Time Out of Mind': the Knowledge and Use of the Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Past in Thirteenth-Century Litigation', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994), pp. 37-54.

⁷⁹ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 18; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 266; *CPR 1281-92*, p. 199.

⁸⁰ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', p. 14; Christian D. Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1250-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 70; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, p. 263; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 253 Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 374; Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 205.

⁸¹ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 137.

Although Philippa had begun with three separate receivers, one south of Trent, one north of Trent, and the last for the collection of accounts such as queen's gold and *amobrages*, in 1331 she appointed John de Eston as the receiver for all three.⁸² Evidence from Philippa's tenure demonstrates that her household often issued writs to the same individuals or areas repeatedly for years after the initial writ, only for the king to cancel the writs.⁸³ The king thus undermined the queen's efforts to collect her gold as much as he supported her rights.

Although theoretically the king had no right to interfere with the queen's gold, in practice he often did so, particularly concerning the gold claimed on tenths and fifteenths, a form of taxation based on moveable goods. Geaman argues that the tenths and fifteenths were frequently excluded from claims for queen's gold due to the fact that these grants were more akin to a favour from parliament to the king in allowing him to receive the money, not involving the queen or her intercessory powers.⁸⁴ When parliament granted a tenth or fifteenth to the king, the city often paid a lump sum, as London did in 1334 and 1335, rendering 1,100 marks, with an additional 110 marks to the queen as her gold.⁸⁵ The reluctance of cities to pay queen's gold is shown through the example of Leicester, which in 1357 paid a fifteenth, with the condition of a pardon for certain fines, including queen's gold.⁸⁶ One writ of 1341 demanded that the people of London paid 110 marks of queen's gold, due on the 1,100 marks akin to a fifteenth from the ninth year of Edward's reign (1335-6). The Exchequer

⁸² TNA C 47/9/58, m. 12; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 255.

⁸³ TNA E 5/347, E 5/349, E 5/352, E 5/354 and E 5/355.

⁸⁴ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', p. 14.

⁸⁵ *Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, Letter Book F, 6 (1337-1352)*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1904), p. xxxi.

⁸⁶ *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, Vol. ii, ed. M. Bateson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901). p. 106.

summoned the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of London to explain why they had not paid the same amount three months later, which they were presumably unwilling to pay.⁸⁷ In 1336, another writ forbade the exchequer from claiming queen's gold on money that London paid around that time.⁸⁸ In a parliament of 1357, Edward III also pre-emptively reassured his government that the queen would not be permitted to claim her gold on the fifteenth and tenth that parliament had just granted to him, demonstrating the low priority of collecting queen's gold in comparison to other concerns.⁸⁹ The claims of queen's gold on these tenths and fifteenth were particularly unpopular and cities often sought ways to avoid paying, limiting how much the queen could claim for her revenues.

Whole towns could also be liable for gold separate from grants, such as the town of Bury in 1385, which had paid 2000 marks to the king for a charter pardoning all treasons and felonies. A number of men were then appointed to assess their town for each individual to pay in proportion to their means towards the 200 marks due for queen's gold, to the point of compelling by distress.⁹⁰ In another example from May 1354, one letter from Philippa references a previous order to her attorney, John de Edington, to postpone the writs from a search by Richard de Cressevill, until the octaves of the following Easter, whilst the queen and her council found which writs could be paid and the others cancelled. Philippa may have known she was pregnant with Thomas of Woodstock at this time, who was born in early January 1354, possibly a higher priority. Crawford suggests that the letter relates to queen's gold, and that Philippa was generously attempting to make life easier for her subjects.⁹¹ However,

⁸⁷ *Letter Books of the Corporation of the City of London: Letter Book F, 6 (1337-1352)*, pp. 66-8.

⁸⁸ *Letter Books of the Corporation of the City of London: Letter Book E, 5 (1314-1337)*, p. 300.

⁸⁹ *Records of the Borough of Leicester, Vol. ii*, p. 106.

⁹⁰ *CCR 1385-89*, p. 38.

⁹¹ TNA E 13/79; Anne Crawford, *Letters of the Queens of England 1100-1547* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), pp. 99-100; Fryde et al, *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 40.

this seems a change from Philippa's usual determination to gain the money owed to her, and her pursuance of other claims to queen's gold, when she was probably no more lenient on her own holdings.

Johnstone links several houses in Calais given to Queen Philippa with her possible intercession in that town in 1347, suggesting that Philippa was given the houses in return for her intercession, in a form of queen's gold.⁹² The houses were granted to Philippa in August 1347. Susan Rose, however, argues that they were probably given to Philippa around the birth of Philippa's daughter Margaret in July 1346, in keeping with the grants regularly given to the queen to fund the keeping of her children, which would date before Philippa's possible intercession.⁹³ The disconnect between the timing of the grant to Philippa further discredits the reality of Philippa's actions at Calais.

Demands for queen's gold elicited from cities or towns were particularly contested. One example concerns a writ delivered in 1353 on the 24 February, which claimed £22 in queen's gold on a payment of £220 from Eborard le Frensshe, a former mayor of Bristol, which he had paid in 1338.⁹⁴ Philippa may have been exacting this queen's gold as part of a wave of investigations into her rights and holdings during the 1350s, with similar inquiries in Havering taking place at the same time.⁹⁵ Havering and Bristol both belonged to the queen, although she could claim her gold from any land whether she owned it or not, and she may have been particularly exacting on holdings of her own. The bailiffs of Bristol refused to cooperate with the demand, even

⁹² Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 279; *CPR 1343-46*, p. 566.

⁹³ S. Rose, *Calais: An English Town in France, 1347-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 24; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 130; Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, p. 434.

⁹⁴ Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 70; Prynn, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 37 and 112-4; *CPR 1334-38*, pp. 564-5.

⁹⁵ Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 71; M. K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 58.

claiming that they had not received the writ, and one bailiff, Walter de Derby, appeared in the court of the exchequer, arguing that queen's gold was not due because the original £220 was a recognisance, rather than a fine, and therefore not liable for queen's gold, again not challenging the queen's right in general to claim her gold. A year later de Derby admitted that he had not answered the original writ and paid a fine for contempt of 100 shillings to the queen, suggesting that the queen and her officials remained tenacious in following up on the demand.⁹⁶ No record exists for the settlement of the 1338 writ, although Prynne argues that the dispute was probably resolved in the queen's favour, based on the argument that the queen had proved that she was due queen's gold.⁹⁷ However, Christian Liddy speculates that the king or his council probably cancelled the writ, as Edward had done for similar demands on Bristol for queen's gold in 1336 and 1338. Liddy argues that Edward was probably hoping to conserve peace at home whilst he pursued his wars abroad, especially because Bristol was an important financial supporter of the king.⁹⁸ There is no surviving evidence for the outcome either way, although Edward cancelled many of his wife's writs for queen's gold.⁹⁹ Edward's possible interference on this occasion and others demonstrates how often the king intervened in queen's gold, and how unreliable queen's gold could prove as a regular source of income.

As with other records, more writs survive for Philippa due to her comparatively long reign than for Anne. Many of the writs for queen's gold transcribed by Prynne were claimed on fines paid for grants of wardship, marriage or lands.¹⁰⁰ Five bundles in the National Archives contain at least a hundred writs each from the regnal years

⁹⁶ Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*, p. 70.

⁹⁷ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 114.

⁹⁸ Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*, pp. 69 and 71.

⁹⁹ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 49-57; Prynne, *An Additional Appendix to Aurum Reginae*, pp. 9-39.

¹⁰⁰ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, p. 263.

41, 42, and 43 Edward III (1367-70), presumably relating to the king's writs from the same years, and another contains two writs from 25 Edward III (1351-2).¹⁰¹ However, the surviving examples remain only a sample of those issued, and may not be representative of all demands for queen's gold. In times of war, for example, there would be more collections on fines for the avoidance of fighting, such as the gold of four marks on a fine of forty for the exemption of 'hobelers', soldiers mounted on small horses, paid by the town of Leicester in 1352.¹⁰² Circumstances were therefore a factor in the amount and types of fines liable for queen's gold. In the regnal years 28-29 Edward III (1354-56), the men of Lenn (King's Lynn) paid £4, 13s and 4d of queen's gold on fines for range of transgressions. The accounts of the chamberlains, Ancelm Braunch, Thomas de Bukworth, Rogers Wyth and Robert Bryselee, also recorded the payment of ten shillings on wine for the Sheriff of Norfolk's bailiffs when they came to collect the gold.¹⁰³ Far more records survive for Philippa of Hainaut than for Anne of Bohemia, both because of Anne's comparatively shorter tenure as queen, and the fact that Richard and Anne shared a household throughout Anne's marriage, meaning that many of her records and accounts became obscured within the combined household.

Demands for the payment of queen's gold were issued through the Exchequer through writs of *fieri facias*. Examples of the writs exist from the last years of Philippa's life, and Prynne includes transcriptions taken from the Plea Rolls for both Edward III and Richard II.¹⁰⁴ The examples of writs surviving for Philippa seem

¹⁰¹ TNA E 5/347, E 5/349, E 5/352, E 5/354, E 5/355 and E 5/570.

¹⁰² *Records of the Borough of Leicester, Vol. ii*, pp. 80-81; A. R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 180-1.

¹⁰³ *The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn Eleventh Report, Appendix: Part III*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1887), p. 219.

¹⁰⁴ TNA E 5/347, E 5/349, E 5/352, E 5/354 and E 5/355; Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 33-61; Prynne, *An Additional Appendix to Aurum Reginae*, pp. 8-39.

unusually high in number, including the surviving writs and those making up a large proportion of those transcribed by Prynne. For example, Myers records only 11 claims in the household accounts of Elizabeth Woodville (c. 1437-1492), a tenure of 19 years as queen consort (1464-1483), and 59 for Margaret of Anjou (1445-1461, and again briefly 1470-1471, about 16 years).¹⁰⁵ However, outside circumstances may have affected these numbers, given that both queens lived during the Wars of the Roses and Elizabeth gave birth to almost a dozen children during her queenship. One example of the surviving writs for Philippa provides a case of a writ pertaining to the queen's gold owed by a woman, rather than a man as was usually the case, or a town as was less common. In this instance, dating from 1365, Petronilla, the widow of the knight John de Benstede, owed queen's gold on a licence allowing her to marry who she wanted.¹⁰⁶ The figure noted as 'Ravensere' at the end of the writ refers to Richard de Ravensere, referred to as both Philippa's treasurer and receiver for the issues of her lands, rents,

¹⁰⁵ A. R. Myers, *Crown, Household and Parliament in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 141-2; Michael Hicks, 'Elizabeth [née Elizabeth Woodville] (c. 1437-1492), queen of England, consort of Edward IV', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8634>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Dunn, 'Margaret [Margaret of Anjou] (1430-1482), queen of England, consort of Henry VI', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18049>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁰⁶ TNA E 5/355, *Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie & Aquitonie vicecomiti Essex & Hertford salutem. Praecipimus tibi sicut pluries quod de bonis et catillis Petronillae que fuit uxor Iohannis de Benstede Chivaler etiam de terris et tenementis quae sua fuerunt anno regni nostri xxxix seu postea in quorumcumque manibus eadem terrae et tenementa tunc existant in balliva sua fieri faceret xl l d quos debet Philippe Regine Anglie consorti nostre carissime de auro suo de fine xx l. pro licentia se maritandi ubicumque voluerit ita quod denarios illos habeas ad Scaccarium nostrum apud Westmonasterium in crastino sancte Trinitatis Ricardo de Ravensere receptori auri de solvendo et habeas ibi hoc breve Thoma de Lodelowe apud Westmonasterium primo die Maii Anno regis nostri quadragesimo primo per originale de anno xxxix Regis nunc de per breve retornavit in crastino clausi Paschae proximo praeterito. Ravensere.*

CPR 1364-67, p. 193, references 'Pernell late the wife of John de Benstede'. *CIPM*, XV, pp. 37-8, notes that Petronilla died 19 July 1377, still named as 'late the wife of John de Benstede', apparently not having married again; Sue Sheridan Walker, 'Litigation as Personal Quest: Suing for Dower in the Royal Courts, circa 1272-1350', in Sue Sheridan Walker (ed.), *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 83.

and profits from 1359 onwards.¹⁰⁷ The writ to Petronilla was also one of many which Edward III cancelled after Philippa's death, Prynne also noting many examples of the cancelled records. Some were even carried over into the reign of Richard II, which suggests that for the king at least the difficulties in claiming queen's gold outweighed the benefit in terms of profit.¹⁰⁸ Like the demands for queen's gold levelled on towns, many demands for queen's gold remained unpaid and were repeatedly requested, often until their ultimate cancellation.

Most other surviving records mentioning queen's gold relate to the king issuing writs of *supersedeas*, cancelling the demands for queen's gold. For instance, in 1332 the king sent a writ of *supersedeas* to a number of sheriffs for £1000 of queen's gold, a significant amount, due from William de la Zouch de Mortuo Mari and his wife Eleanor.¹⁰⁹ Some examples gave specific reasons, such as a writ of 1350 superseding a demand for £10 on Edmund de Bereford, because he had not paid the sum for which he had been assessed.¹¹⁰ The knights John Darcy, Elias de Assheburn, Nicholas de Snyterle, and the deceased Walter de Bermyngham, as well as their heirs, executors and tenants, did not have to pay £10 for queen's gold, because the fine was paid for the king's security on the good behaviour of the late Walter de Bermyngham, who was judged to have met this condition, rendering the fine void.¹¹¹ The exchequer also sought to exact queen's gold from William Fifhide for the marriage of the heir of Roger Norman, which Fifhide had purchased. However, the king ruled that no profit above buying price could be claimed for the marriage of heirs in the king's wardship.¹¹² Richard II also issued a writ of *supersedeas* towards the sheriff of Kent

¹⁰⁷ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 253.

¹⁰⁸ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 49-57; Prynne, *An Additional Appendix to Aurum Reginae*, pp. 9-39.

¹⁰⁹ CCR 1330-33, p. 553.

¹¹⁰ CCR 1346-49, p. 197.

¹¹¹ CCR 1349-54, p. 546.

¹¹² CCR 1354-60, p. 572.

in 1383, attempting to levy queen's gold on the archbishop of Canterbury, who had purchased the issues and profits of the archbishopric which would fall to the king during its vacancy. The archbishop had proved that the purchase was not a fine and was therefore not liable for queen's gold, and the writ confirmed the queen was not able to exact gold upon purchases such as wardships, marriages and vacancies from the king.¹¹³ Anne faced just as many problems as Philippa in attempting to claim her gold. Although the revenues for queen's gold had the capacity to be extremely lucrative, forming a significant part of the queen's revenues, payment was often delayed or ultimately cancelled, whether due to the king's intervention or a successful argument on the part of those liable.

Difficulties in measuring the revenues that queen's gold brought in are exacerbated by the changing nature of where and how demands for queen's gold were recorded, a problem which persisted under multiple medieval queens. In the case of King John and his wife Isabella of Angoulême (c. 1188-1246), for example, the Exchequer pipe rolls did not record all cases of queen's gold, and copied unpaid fines from year to year, which also emphasised the difficulties in claiming queens gold.¹¹⁴ The repetitions may also explain the multiple writs of *fieri facias* issued to the same individual over and over again, in addition to the problems in compelling people to pay. For instance, the Register of Simon de Sudbury notes that Edward III ordered the Bishop to collect £20 from the clerk Roger de Holm for the queen on a fine to the king on 8 May 1362, as well as 13s, 4d on a fine of 10 marks from Richard de Walton, the parson of Rocheford. Another order of execution, issued on the 2 July that year, demanded £9 of Roger de Holm's same fine of £20, repeated on 18 June 1363, and by

¹¹³ *CCR 1381-85*, p. 292.

¹¹⁴ Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 191.

10 October the demand had risen to £12, 10s of £40 of queen's gold. The concurrent entries in the Memoranda roll note that Roger de Holm had no ecclesiastical goods with which to pay the fine, later demanding £40 from Roger on 1 June 1367 and 16 February 1367-8.¹¹⁵ In another example, at least two writs were issued to the sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire to collect queen's gold from a man named John de Olney during Philippa's tenure.¹¹⁶ Edward probably eventually cancelled many of these after Philippa's death, as he did with many other writs for queen's gold.¹¹⁷ In addition, the writs surviving still survive from the regnal years 41, 42, and 43 Edward III (1367-70), the end of Philippa's life, when the mechanisms for collection under her tenure would presumably be most developed, were not the only writs issued.

Johnstone argued that the revenue derived from queen's gold could fluctuate widely, both between and within reigns, often depending on a range of circumstances. For example, Philippa of Hainaut received £41, 15s and 8d from queen's gold during the Easter term during 1337-8, and £112, 14s and 4d the Michaelmas term, yet only £16, 1s and 8d in the Easter term of 1339. The number of pardons associated with Philippa during these years also dropped, with eight between 1337-8, and only one recorded in 1339. The low sums also contrast with those collected under Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), when queen's gold at times produced more income than that of her lands, at £4875 compared to 4821 in the years 1286-1289. From September 1289 to November of 1290, however, the revenues from queen's gold accounted for only £1564 of a sum of £4937.¹¹⁸ Johnstone also stated that Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) received low sums, but Howell argues that Johnstone was incorrect in her

¹¹⁵ *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, diocesis Londoniensis AD 1362-1375*, ed. R. C. Fowler, Canterbury and York Society 34 and 38 (1916-38), pp. 45, 47 and 55, and II, p. xxiv.

¹¹⁶ TNA E 5/355.

¹¹⁷ Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, pp. 49-57; Prynne, *An Additional Appendix to Aurum Reginae*, pp. 9-39.

¹¹⁸ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 265.

assumption of where queen's gold was normally accounted. Under Eleanor of Provence, the keeper of queen's gold at the Exchequer accounted for queen's gold, rather than the keeper of her wardrobe.¹¹⁹ Lake also argues that during these years in particular, collection of queen's gold was not necessarily at the top of Philippa's priorities. During those years she bore five children and aided in the establishment of a network of imported Flemish weavers. Alternatively, a period of high collection between 1342-3 coincided with both a drop in the prices of wool exports and a grant towards Philippa's debts from the king, suggesting that Philippa's finances were under particular pressure at that time.¹²⁰ No pardons associated with Philippa are recorded during these years.¹²¹ Regardless of Philippa's activity levels, pardons, despite their associations with queen's gold, provided no immediate profit. Again circumstances affected the revenues brought in by queen's gold, this time depending on the queen's priorities and the state of her own finances.

Queens experienced many problems with the collection of queen's gold, both at a general level, forcing kings to issue multiple confirmations of their wives' rights to collect the gold, and on a more individual case by case basis, with writs repeatedly issued to the same individuals, as evidence from Philippa's tenure demonstrates. By the late fourteenth century, the link between intercession and queen's gold was less direct, but the custom certainly had its rights in essentially paying the queen for the use of her influence with the king. Although understandably individuals were often reluctant to pay an extra fee on a fine they had already paid to the king, the king probably welcomed and supported his wife's rights because queen's gold formed a substantial opportunity for revenue, without depleting the king's resources. Both

¹¹⁹ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 265; Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', p. 374.

¹²⁰ Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 205.

¹²¹ Lacey, *The Royal Pardon*, p. 207.

Edward III and Richard II issued multiple proclamations in support of their wives' rights to queen's gold, contrasting with prior reigns in which kings restricted their queens from collecting, at times based on personal disagreements, demonstrating one advantage for queens in maintaining a positive relationship with their husbands. The link between intercession and queen's gold also demonstrates how the queen's patronage of individuals through petitions helped to fund the patronage of cultural production including material possessions, literature and piety, as well as enhancing the queen's own reputation. However, the problems encountered by Anne and Philippa in claiming the collection of and rights to queen's gold to some extent accounts for the debts accrued by Philippa especially.

Household and Debt

As Johnstone argues, all queens accumulated a certain quantity of debt, some more than others. Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) in particular was often perceived as a spendthrift, overspending and borrowing substantial amounts.¹²² Eventually Philippa of Hainaut's debts were so high that Edward III combined Philippa's household with his own in the 1360s, although there are debates over whether this was due to her poor management, overspending, or the insufficiency of her dower, as well as to when exactly and how gradually the merger took place.¹²³ However, the inability to collect sufficient revenues from the queen's sources certainly formed a factor in the merging of the royal couple's households, with the difficulties encountered in claiming and

¹²² Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 269; Howell, 'The Resources of Eleanor of Provence', pp. 292-3.

¹²³ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', pp. 183-7; Hilton, *Queens Consort*, p. 258; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 231-89; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 250-99; Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 236; McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 269; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 89; Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, Vol. IV*, p. 174; Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 73-4.

collecting queen's gold endemic of the queen's problems in utilising her resources to their full potential. In addition, examination of royal palace architecture and the closeness of the royal relationship suggests that the merger was in part also for practical reasons when the couple spent much time together.¹²⁴ The fact that Anne and Richard maintained the situation is indicative of a larger change for royal couples.

The problems demonstrated with collecting queens' revenues and managing their estates question traditional scholarship, which argues that Edward III absorbed Philippa's household into his own because she was an uncontrollable spendthrift creating debts from spending on clothes and other valuables.¹²⁵ However, other factors were also present, such as the unreliability of Philippa's household administrators, the shortfalls of her dower, and even Edward himself, through his own debts and impositions on the queen's resources. Johnstone argues that queens regularly overspent their actual income and often had to borrow from moneylenders, such as Philippa borrowing from the Bardi.¹²⁶ This was a particular pattern in the reign of Edward III, with Edward himself borrowing substantial sums from Italian moneylenders. Lake argues that the king and queen were so much in debt in 1343 that the Prince of Wales had to pay for the funeral of his sister, Blanche.¹²⁷ However, Edward was acting as in his role as guardian of the realm, while his father was in France, when arranging the burials of Blanche and Robert d'Artois, although the lack of funds resulted in Blanche not receiving funeral rites until almost a year after her

¹²⁴ Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 50-2; Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 125; Whiteley, 'The Courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France', pp. 153 and 164-5; Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 139 and 144-5; Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 185; St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 89.

¹²⁵ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 184; McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 269.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1330-34*, p. 34; *CCR 1330-33*, p. 86; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 279.

¹²⁷ Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 235.

birth and early death.¹²⁸ The general overspending meant that the merger of the king and queen's households may not have been such a radical move, but rather a practical necessity, combined with the timing of Philippa and Edward spending more time together.

In addition, the king himself may have been responsible for at least some of the queen's debts. Hilton argues that Edward III's own spending during the course of the Hundred Years' War was to blame.¹²⁹ The queen met over £6500 of Edward's foreign expenses between 1353 and 1360, according to the account book of the king's keeper of the household wardrobe.¹³⁰ Lake argues that Edward was equally to blame for Philippa's debts, and Philippa's death led to a reduction of only one or two thousand in the annual household expenses, bringing the total down to £16000.¹³¹ For grants such as customs, the queen was often also dependent on the king's collectors rather than her own.¹³² In addition, Philippa's own administrators were not necessarily reliable. For example, John Molyns, appointed as Philippa's steward in her holdings south of Trent from 1352, had already lost his lands and possessions to the king as punishment for his failure to keep Edward adequately funded, and John's lands were seized again in 1357.¹³³ Tout, however, blamed Philippa herself for her inability to control these ministers or protect herself from them.¹³⁴ Philippa and Edward both had expensive spending habits and high levels of debt.

¹²⁸ le Bel, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 13, n. 1.

¹²⁹ Hilton, *Queens Consort*, p. 258.

¹³⁰ TNA E 101/393/11; Tout, *Chapters*, Vol. IV, p. 149.

¹³¹ Lake, 'Queenship in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 236.; TNA E 101/393/11; Tout, *Chapters*, Vol. IV, p. 173.

¹³² Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 281-2.

¹³³ Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, pp. 257-8; Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History*, III, p. 123; *CPR 1330-34*, p. 37; *CPR 1350-54*, p. 287.

¹³⁴ Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History*, IV, p. 174.

Ormrod also argues that Philippa's spending was symptomatic of Edward III's court, which emphasised a show of more opulence and splendour than previous courts, citing the ostentatiousness of court events such as Philippa's churchings after her first two children in particular, Edward and Isabella, which included both new clothes for Philippa, two beds with silk hangings and a gold cradle. Shenton explains the extravagance as a part of Edward's programme of royal spectacle to emphasise his reputation as a family man, particularly in his early reign.¹³⁵ Much of Philippa's spending was directed towards purveyors of clothes, jewels and gold, so Given-Wilson suggests that Philippa was an avid purchaser of clothing and objects.¹³⁶ Thus Philippa's spending was not necessarily due to her own reasons, but influenced also by changes in the court spending in general and encouraged by her husband.

There were other practical reasons for the combining of Edward and Philippa's households. St John argues that because the couple spent much of their time together, unusually so for a medieval king and queen, the merger was based on convenience.¹³⁷ Similarly, Christopher Wilson argues that the timing matches the remodelling of Windsor, which unlike other royal residences, did not include a separate hall or chapel for the queen. Rather the couple intended to share these rooms, in a change to the previously accepted pattern, presumably with a private gallery or pew in the chapel for the use of the queen and her ladies.¹³⁸ In addition, Westminster may also have no longer had a separate queen's hall after 1360.¹³⁹ Tout dates the actual merger of the king and queen's households to February 1363, based on an ordinance issued then.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 128; TNA E 101/385/12, m. 1; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 105-7.

¹³⁶ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 184.

¹³⁷ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 89.

¹³⁸ Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 73-4; Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 123.

¹³⁹ Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 73-4.

¹⁴⁰ *CPR 1361-64*, p. 306; Tout, *Chapters, Vol. IV*, p. 175.

However, Given-Wilson highlights the fact that the queen's receiver, Ravenser, actually began paying £10 per day to the treasurer of the king's household, for the expenses of the queen's household, on the 26 May 1360, according to the wardrobe accounts.¹⁴¹ The merger was the result of a combination of circumstances, with Philippa's dower insufficient for a queen expected to employ a large household and present herself as the mistress of a sumptuous court, triggered by Edward III's intention to settle down closer to his wife in the later years of his life, or the fact that they were now spending more time together. 1360 also marked the negotiations of the Treaty of Calais or Brétigny, in which Edward gave up his rights to the French throne.¹⁴² In addition, Philippa had given birth to her final child, Thomas of Woodstock, in 1355, meaning that she was now able to travel with Edward without the inconvenience of pregnancies or confinements.¹⁴³ Edward's intention to present the royal couple and family as a more united one in comparison to the reign of Edward II and Isabella of France may also have influenced the decision, with a combined royal household reinforcing the image of a united royal house, which solidified after the death of Isabella in 1358.

In addition to the differing opinions of scholars for the reasons above, the practical extent of the merger is not clear. Whilst Philippa's servants received most expenses through a joint wardrobe and their supplies from a joint conveyance, on at least two occasions after the combining of the royal households, robes for the queen's servants from the Great Wardrobe were issued for 'the queen's household', probably for accounting purposes. In addition, Sir John Lee's tenure as steward of Philippa's

¹⁴¹ TNA E 361/4/5, E 101/394/20 and E 101/396/9; Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 185.

¹⁴² Clifford J. Rogers, 'The Anglo-French Peace Negotiations of 1354-1360 Reconsidered', in J. S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 193-214.

¹⁴³ Fryde et al, *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 40.

household overlapped with his time as the king's steward for several years, but Lee was never styled as steward of their joint household, and from 1366 onwards, Philippa returned to having a separate steward, Sir John Delves.¹⁴⁴ Philippa's own ministers continued to manage her lands separately from the king's.¹⁴⁵ If Philippa had outlived Edward, the lands comprising her dower would have had to be separated or redistributed from the king's lands.

Edward and Philippa's households may have combined in order to pay off Philippa's debts. Most of the revenues from Philippa's lands went to pay these debts, except for the stipulated £10 per day to the king's household. Philippa also received 4000 marks 'for her chamber'.¹⁴⁶ The ordinance states that the combined household was only intended to last for six years to pay off Philippa's debts. However, Philippa died a few months after the six years ended, during which no change was undertaken. She may have already been ill, or there had not yet been enough time yet to affect a change in circumstances. Likewise, the efficacy of this method is questionable as Philippa's debts were not entirely paid off, although Given-Wilson argues that the reduced spending was a step in the right direction for the spiralling royal finances.¹⁴⁷ The fact the combined households resulted in reduced spending suggests that overspending formed a factor for the merger.

Edward and Philippa also had an unusually close family which may have contributed towards the merger of the households, although Hilton argues that Philippa became estranged from her eldest daughter, Isabella, because of Edward III's

¹⁴⁴ TNA E 101/395/10; Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', pp. 185-6; *CCR 1364-68*, p. 104.

¹⁴⁵ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 186.

¹⁴⁶ *CPR 1361-64*, p. 306.

¹⁴⁷ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 186.

favourable treatment of Isabella.¹⁴⁸ Edward commissioned artwork emphasising his family, such as the wall painting of St Stephen's chapel and figures surrounding his own effigy, his children arranged in birth order beginning at the king's head.¹⁴⁹ Like many monarchs and nobles of the time, including Philippa herself, Edward probably began planning his own monument during his lifetime, although it was not completed until later. McKisack contrasts Philippa with queens such as Isabella of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), implying that Isabella's evil and untraditional queenly behaviour sought to divide both the royal family and the kingdom, in the manner of older scholarship on Isabella.¹⁵⁰ Although this portrayal is an exaggeration, clearly a positive relationship between king and queen could influence the opinions of both historians and contemporaries, depending on their ideal image of a family.

The closeness of the royal couple's relationship is reflected in the architecture of their living spaces. Mary Whiteley compares the physical space of royal palaces in England and France. Between 1357 and 1368, Edward III remodelled part of Windsor Castle, which formed the main residence for Philippa and their children. Philippa had given birth to two of their children at Windsor, Margaret in 1346 and William in 1348, and Edward held a number of tournaments there, two of which were in celebration of Philippa's churchings in 1348 and 1355.¹⁵¹ Although Philippa's rooms were smaller and fewer in number than those of the king, the king and queen's chambers were on the same level and their bedchambers close together, despite the fact that by the completion of Edward's renovations, Philippa had already borne her last child in

¹⁴⁸ Hilton, *Queens Consort*, p. 264.

¹⁴⁹ BL MS Lansdowne 875, fol. 135v; Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, pp. 119-20.

¹⁵⁰ McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, p. 269.

¹⁵¹ Fryde et al, *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 39-40; Richard Barber, 'The early years of Edward III', in Julian Munby, Richard Barber and Richard Brown (eds.), *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor: The House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 35.

1355.¹⁵² In comparison, the rooms that Jeanne de Bourbon (1338-1378), wife of the French king Charles V, occasionally stayed in at the Louvre palace were on the level below that of her husband, although similar in size and shape. In their familial residences of St-Pol and Vincennes, Jeanne's rooms were in an entirely different building, although with a connecting corridor at St-Pol.¹⁵³ The difference in architecture may also be attributable to personalities or relationships between the couples.

Although differences between the palace layouts represent general patterns in royal architecture, the layout of Windsor does suggest that Edward intended to live close to Philippa. During Edward's reign, however, the layout of the queen's rooms at palaces such as Westminster remained similar to their original design for Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), wife of Henry III, at a distance from public areas.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, at Kennington, Edward, the Prince of Wales built rooms for his wife overlooking the gardens and away from the public areas, with no processional access and distanced from Edward's rooms. The layout remained unchanged under Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. As Richard favoured this palace, perhaps because of the connection to his father, the unaltered state may have been sentimental rather than practical.¹⁵⁵ However, the general changes in the principal royal residences, which had transformed the fortified castles of the twelfth century to more luxurious palaces by the fourteenth century, also reflect the increase in royal splendour under Edward III and Richard II.¹⁵⁶ As leading ladies of these courts, Philippa, Anne and Joan would have shared in spending and luxury with their husbands and sons.

¹⁵² Wilson, 'The royal lodgings of Edward III', pp. 50-2.

¹⁵³ Whiteley, 'The Courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France', pp. 153 and 164-5.

¹⁵⁴ Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', p. 139.

¹⁵⁵ Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 144-5.

¹⁵⁶ Whiteley, 'The Courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France', p. 153.

This new royal splendour may have formed the basis for some of Philippa of Hainaut's overspending, in order to appear as a wealthy and stable monarchy, which led to her debts and the eventual combining of the royal household. For example, one order to search for the murderers of the merchant John de Landes and the objects he was carrying for Queen Philippa included references to a gold ring, a velvet robe decorated with pearls, and other valuable jewels.¹⁵⁷ Although Philippa obviously purchased luxury goods such as these, the largest expenses for the queen's wardrobe between 1330 and 1331 were actually bread, wine and similar items at £2238, 17s and 8½d for the first quarter and £3085, 6s and 11¼d for the second. Next followed 'necessaries', including sundry expenses such as robes and shoes for the queen's confessor, for escorts for the transportation of money, and fees for the queen's chief officers, at £1192, 5s and 2d for the first period and £1055, 1s and 10d for the second. The third highest, above alms, shoes, gifts and messengers, were the expenses for the Great Wardrobe, at £1122, 9s and 4½d for the first period and £1095, 9s and 3¼d for the second. The Great Wardrobe dealt with large quantities of supplies for the queen's household, including wax, furs, cloth, sugar and spices.¹⁵⁸ Philippa funded her chamber expenses through lands specifically granted to her for that purpose, as well as the revenues from queen's gold and *amobrages*.

The luxury now expected in royal courts also meant that kings encouraged their wives' spending, and in Edward's case exacerbated Philippa's debts because she supported him financially. In addition, the changed layout of favoured royal residences such as Windsor, with shared communal spaces and closer bedchambers, suggests that Philippa and Edward were a close couple and family overall and may have genuinely

¹⁵⁷ *CPR 1338-40*, pp. 174 and 207.

¹⁵⁸ JRULM MS 235; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Willard and Morris, pp. 273-5.

preferred to spend time together. Philippa's debts and the desire or practicality of living together encouraged the merger of the king and queen's households since Henry III had first set up a separate wardrobe, an arrangement which Richard and Anne continued. The emphasis on luxury also continued into the patronage and gift exchange that formed the basis of social bonds at the royal court.

Conclusion

A study of the revenues of Philippa and Anne exemplifies many of the issues encountered by medieval queens. Expectations for spending as a demonstration of luxury and financial security fed into problems on overspending for Philippa's household, which led to the merger with her husband's households. However, other factors, such as the actions of Edward III himself, and the close relationship between the couple also influenced the decision to meld the two households into one. The queen's revenues also proved insufficient, with the problems encountered in tracking and collecting queen's gold under both Philippa and Anne an example of the difficulties faced by the queen and her household in other areas, such as *amobrages* and the profits from wrecks.

In addition, despite Johnstone's classification of *amobrages* as a traditional right similar to queen's gold, the right to collect *amobrages* was actually a privilege that the king might grant to a queen for her lifetime akin to any other right. However, the fact that the basis of many people's refusal to pay queen's gold was based on the validity on the fine, rather than questioning the queen's right to collect gold on fines demonstrates a level of respect for the queen's position. Queen's gold also represents the symbolic links between the queen as intercessor and her role as patron. In many ways her sources of income and intercessory activities demonstrated not only a kind

of power in themselves, but also formed the basis for her power and influence as a patron of arts and culture.

Chapter IV: Material Culture and Patronage

Foreign-born queens acted as transmitters of material culture, and patronage of artisans accounted for one of their major expenditures. The crown of Anne of Bohemia forms one of the few surviving contemporary objects from the medieval era, also known as the crown of Princess Blanche (1392-1409), in reference to a later owner, the daughter of Henry IV, or the Palatinate crown (Figure 3).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 3: Crown believed to have belonged to Anne of Bohemia, also known as the 'Crown of Princess Blanche' and the 'Palatinate Crown', c. 1380 and 1402. Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz (Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen) Inventory number 16¹

In addition to its value as a surviving object, the crown represents several aspects of the experiences of Anne of Bohemia, and the possessions of queens in general. For

¹ 'Crown, c. 1380 and 1402: Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz (Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen) Inv. no. 16', Richard II's Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: <https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/crownbig.jpg>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

example, the crown's journey from Bohemia to England as part of Anne's dowry reflects the physical journey of Anne herself. Moreover, the fact that the crown was not necessarily crafted in Bohemia, but probably in France, demonstrates the ways in which queens transferred with them a complex cultural history, often originating from places other than their birth country.² The crown may also appear in several successive inventories and records, suggesting ways in which to trace the history of an object.³ As the provenance of the crown suggests, the crown became a possession of the English royal family, despite Anne's childlessness and Richard II's deposition. Blanche, the daughter of Richard's usurper, Henry IV, later took the crown to Germany in her own dowry in 1402, demonstrating how jewels were often repurposed and regifted.

This chapter will first explore the notion of the queen as 'gift', with the transfer of highborn women to seal alliances or friendship between kingdoms for wider dynastic purpose. The queen herself arrived as a 'gift' as part of the marriage contract, and proceeded to become a participant herself in the gift-giving cycle, which included the transfer of positions, pardons and lands, in addition to objects. In addition to her own function as a 'gift', the queen also received and gave gifts herself, forming a part of the gift-giving cycle which helped to create and maintain social bonds within medieval society, including with her own kin.⁴ The social bonds created through gift-

² Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schösser, Gärten und Seen, no. 16; Ronald W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery* (London, 1992), pp. 119 and 123; John Cherry, 'Late Fourteenth-century Jewellery: The Inventory of November 1399', *The Burlington Magazine* 130, 1019 (1988), p. 138.

³ TNA E 101/411/9, m. 1; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 261; *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer, together with other documents illustrating the History of that Repository*, ed. Francis Palgrave, vol. 3 (London: The Commissioners on the Public Records, 1836), p. 339.

⁴ Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', pp. 208-28; Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', pp. 157-210; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 76; Gibbons, 'The Queen as 'social mannequin'', pp. 371-95; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*; Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', pp. 6-18.

giving were especially important for women, who had less access to economic and political routes to maintaining relationships than men. Keane and Martin argue for the broader definition of the ‘maker’ of a work to extend to a person without whom the art would not exist, such as the commissioner or recipient, which challenges the traditional assumption of a patron as male. Such a person would also affect the formation of an object with their intention, whether through aesthetic taste, such as the decoration of beds or jewellery, or the intention to flatter or educate through gift-giving, such as conduct books.⁵ Literary evidence such as chronicles and poetry suggests that specific occasions formed opportunities for gift-giving, including celebrations such as weddings, times of the calendar such as the New Year, and other public, ritualised occasions such as the reconciliation between Richard II and the city of London.⁶ Even when the objects themselves do not survive, descriptions of such events still provide evidence of types of gift-giving.

The next section will continue to analyse gifts through the relationships between givers and receivers, and consider several inventories and other records for the possessions of late fourteenth-century royal women, such as the crown of Anne of Bohemia, and surviving household accounts for Philippa of the years 1331-2, including jewellery and crowns.⁷ The final section will consider other items, chiefly jewellery and beds, in their dual roles as both personal possessions and objects of ‘state’, and analyse badges and other marks of ownership, particularly the ostrich, which was associated with Philippa, Anne and Joan in different ways, often derived

⁵ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*, pp. 3-6; Martin, ‘Exceptions and Assumptions’, p. 6.

⁶ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London, Routledge: 1990), p. 36; Brigitte Buettner, ‘Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400’, *The Art Bulletin* 83, 4 (2001), pp. 598-625; Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 313.

⁷ Loengard, ‘Which May Be Said to Be Her Own’, pp. 162-76; Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, pp. 201-28; Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery 1100-1870* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970), p. 55; JRULM MS Latin 234 and 235.

from their natal families and lands.⁸ The use of these symbols formed a way in which royal women could portray themselves and create a lasting legacy when these symbols were adopted by others, whether through livery or on a more personal level. The transference of these symbols through familial or marital relationships reflect the ways in which the queen was herself a 'gift', transmitting cultural values as well as political advantages through her marriage.⁹ The maintenance of memory through symbols and objects demonstrates that women retained values from their natal kin, even when absorbed into their marital families.¹⁰ Gift-giving therefore offered a way for the queen to channel her own cultural influence through her marital court and family.

Gift-Giving and Queenship

Like many royal women, Anne and Philippa married for political reasons, becoming themselves a form of gift from one ruling house to another. As an example of the royal bride as gift, Petrarch (1304-1384) described Clémence of Hungary (1293-1328), on her way to marry Louis X of France in 1315, as a 'rare and select object of distinction', and Proctor-Tiffany terms Clémence a 'diplomatic gift', because the transference of the daughter of one house as the wife to another sealed an alliance between the two families. At this point Clémence herself was the object, but Proctor-Tiffany emphasises that Clémence also became an active participant in the cycle of gift-giving herself, through donating to religious houses, presenting gifts to her contemporaries, and leaving many testamentary gifts in her will.¹¹ Examples of royal women such as

⁸ Ward, *The Livery Collar*, p. 43; Fisher, 'A Study of the Plants and Flowers', pp. 155-64; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 24; Harvey, 'Mediaeval Plantsmanship in England', pp. 14-7; Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 109; Gade, *Luxemburg in the Middle Ages*, p. 102; Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', pp. 32-59; Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', pp. 69-82; Loengard, "Which may be said to be her own", p. 164; *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 72-4.

⁹ Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', pp. 175-7.

¹⁰ van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23.

¹¹ Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', p. 209.

Clémence demonstrate that the queen had many roles, from sealing alliances, providing money in the form of dowries, as well as then giving gifts to others, both on a personal level and more generally through patronage. Gift-giving at court thus formed part of a complex cycle of giving linked by intercession, in which the queen gave to others through grants, pardons and gifts, and received money, as in the case of queen's gold, or other gifts in return, which she could use to fund her cultural patronage.

In addition to exploring the concept of the queen as a 'gift', this section will examine the importance of gift-giving for royal women in particular, in addition to the purpose of gift-giving to maintain or create social bonds, and the opportunities at which gift-giving often took place.¹² The literary evidence including contemporary poetry and monastic records demonstrates that occasions for gift-giving included specific times of the calendar, as well as weddings and ostensibly spontaneous opportunities, such as the reconciliation between Richard II and the city of London in 1392, as described in Maidstone's poem, the *Concordia facta inter regem et cives Londonie*.¹³ Gift-giving for women formed part of their expected duties as hostesses. Queens were also expected to care for hostages, perhaps fittingly as foreign wives were themselves in a way hostages, volunteered by their families, based on their role as the security for treaties or alliances. Like a gift the queen also maintained a foreign quality, having moved both physically and symbolically from one family and country to another, accounting for the distrust from her new subjects, which many queens

¹² Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', p. 209; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 76; Gibbons, 'The Queen as 'social mannequin'', p. 389; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 5; Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', p. 8; Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 219.

¹³ Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 36; Buettner, 'Past presents', p. 598; Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 313.

faced.¹⁴ The concept of the prospective queen as a gift underlines her total dependency on her husband for her wealth and position.

As queens represented the role of gifts and brought dowries with them to their new homes, so royal women also gave and received gifts of varying types. Most scholarship on medieval gift-giving focusses on religious donations, and mainly on those of men, whose own gifts often obscure those of their wives in all ranks of society.¹⁵ Men also tended to give more frequently than women, or were recorded as so, and usually donated more expensive or ostentatious gifts than their female contemporaries.¹⁶ However, gift-giving may have actually been more important for medieval women than men, precisely because of the lesser social and economic power accessible to women, meaning that the bonds that women could forge through social ties were more valuable than for men.¹⁷ Aside from the historiographical emphasis on giving by men and to religious institutions, anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss argue that gifts must theoretically appear to be voluntary, although in practice, medieval gift-giving was part of a system of obligations that involved giving, receiving, and responding with another gift or act.¹⁸ Queen's gold is an example of this system, in which the queen indirectly received money in return for the theoretical use of her influence with the king, but other kinds of gift-giving also helped to form and maintain social bonds in the medieval period. The system of gift-giving is equally

¹⁴ Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', p. 209; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, p. 76.

¹⁵ For example, Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007); Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London: Routledge, 1972) concentrates on the ecclesiastical patronage of the nobility; Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics and the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), focusses on secular gift-giving between men in the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland.

¹⁶ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 24 and 302.

¹⁷ Aafke E. Komter, *Social Solidarity and the Gift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 90.

¹⁸ Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 36.

reflected in the concept of conferring a new queen on her husband, which often accompanied obligations in political alliances or military assistance, such as the men of Hainaut supplied to Edward III to depose his father, which his marriage to Philippa confirmed.

The giving of gifts to and by queens in the medieval period was vitally important, both for maintaining social bonds, as well as showing off the queen's wealth and the concurrent financial security of the king and his court, even in times of poverty. Rachel C. Gibbons has emphasised the need to present stability in the case of the French queen, Isabeau of Bavaria (1370-1435), through spending to appear secure in both wealth and position. Although the case of Isabeau was slightly different, in that she was essentially acting as an unofficial regent for her incapacitated husband, Gibbons' analysis demonstrates that Isabeau spent a large amount on jewellery, particularly on gifts for her children and for companions of the king.¹⁹ Long-lasting, expensive gifts such as jewellery or plate served to remind kin and courtiers of their obligations to the king and queen. The queen was a representative of her husband and his court, and thus a representative of his wealth and stability. In the case of Philippa of Hainaut especially, Edward III's lavish court necessitated spending on gifts as well personal possessions, such as clothes, attracting criticism to Philippa for her levels of debt, as discussed in the previous chapter.²⁰ The court of Richard II was equally concerned with ostentatious spending and luxury.²¹ Like owning expensive clothes and possessions, the giving of precious gifts could portray royalty as wealthy and

¹⁹ Gibbons, 'The Queen as 'social mannequin'', p. 389.

²⁰ Given-Wilson, 'The Merger of Edward III's and Queen Philippa's Households', p. 184; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 128; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 105.

²¹ Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard II and London', in Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 139; Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity*, p. 83.

secure, even when they were not so. The giving of objects was also more effective than simply purchasing and retaining them, because the distribution of wealth demonstrated that the family or king was stable enough to afford the expense.²² Queens especially were very visible representatives of their kingdoms, and so was their spending.

In addition to creating the impression of a stable and well-funded royalty, queens gave gifts in order to create or preserve social bonds, particularly with their natal families in their homelands. Proctor-Tiffany's analysis of Clémence of Hungary's gift-giving practices emphasises that the exchange of gifts helped to maintain international relations with the family that Clémence had left behind.²³ Similarly, Anne of Bohemia sent home gifts of objects and jewels in 1382 and later cloth in 1389, described as for her mother.²⁴ Cultural transference thus went both ways, and gifts were important in maintaining familial bonds across geographical distances. Anne's gifts demonstrate that, despite a wife theoretically becoming part of her new marital family, in practice queens continued to correspond with and remember their natal kin, including bringing members of their own households from their native country, as Philippa did with some of her ladies, including Isabella de la Mote, Philippa Roet and Stephanetta Olney.²⁵ Given the political ramifications of royal marriages, however, the maintaining of such relationships may not have derived entirely from affection or sentiment.²⁶ Queens formed a key conduit between their birth and marital families.

²² Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', p. 217.

²³ Proctor-Tiffany, 'Transported as a rare object of distinction', p. 228.

²⁴ *CCR 1389-92*, p. 7; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 4, p. 134; Suchý, 'England and Bohemia in the Time of Anne of Luxembourg', p. 13.

²⁵ van Houts, 'Introduction', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23; Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', p. 194.

²⁶ McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England*, p. 94; Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, p. 129.

At court, the medieval queen rewarded loyal individuals with lands or positions, and often received gifts from those hoping to gain or maintain her favour. Other gifts were used to confirm political friendships. For example, Philippa sent a diamond ring along with her letters to Pope Clement VI in 1343, whilst the pope asked her to use her influence with her husband the king.²⁷ Popes regularly received expensive gifts, usually responding with gifts that were both priceless and of no material worth, in the form of social capital, and the granting of requests.²⁸ Gift-giving also took place within the wider family. For example, Joan of Kent exchanged gifts with her brother-in-law, John of Gaunt, such as when John gave to Joan a brooch in the shape of her badge of a hart.²⁹ Although Joan was not herself foreign born, the young age and tenuous claim of her son Richard as king, in addition to her own lack of powerful allies in the form of a foreign royal family, made maintaining political friendships all the more important, given her lack of political leverage from a powerful foreign country.

Medieval contemporaries believed that objects once owned or worn by an individual retained aspects of that person, hence the importance of holy relics. John of Gaunt also gave gifts to Richard's wife Anne, including a pair of basins on her marriage, which the city of London had already given to him.³⁰ A gift might retain a special aspect of the giver, and become more valuable when owned by an important person.³¹ Likewise, Philippa owned a pair of large silver gilt basins, enamelled with

²⁷ *CPL 1342-62*, pp. 1-8.

²⁸ Karsten Plöger, *England and the Avignon Popes: The Practice of Diplomacy in Late Medieval Europe* (Leeds: Maney, 2005), pp. 211-3.

²⁹ *Issues of the Exchequer, Being a Collection of Payments Made Out of His Majesty's Revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI, inclusive*, ed. Frederick Devon (London: John Murray, 1837), pp. 96, 112-3, 191-3 and 278; Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, p. 188.

³⁰ *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-83*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, *Camden*, 3rd series, 56-7 (1937), I, p. 232; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 318.

³¹ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 203.

the arms of her mother-in-law, Isabella of France, described as given by Isabella to her grandson Lionel.³² The record listing this gift is undated, but Lionel may have been a child when Isabella gave him the basins. Lionel was no more than twenty at Isabella's death in 1358.³³ Alternatively, Lionel may have in turn given the basins to his mother as a present. Gift-giving even within the family could therefore have an ulterior purpose in terms of visibility and memory, whether Isabella was simply displaying her affection for her grandson or intending to remind him of his royal French ancestry through her own heraldry.

References to gift-giving in chronicles and other literature are often all that survive of the gifts themselves. Brigitte Buettner argues that gifts, often valuable and well-crafted objects, tend to survive in both better quantity and quality than objects made cheaply for everyday use.³⁴ The objects designed as gifts would also be fewer in number than the everyday versions. Tracing the physical routes of objects and confirming their provenance is still difficult, with Jenny Stratford arguing that the rate of survival for most medieval objects is still low, other than for gifts given to the Church.³⁵ In addition, less wealthy people must have given a huge number of gifts in perishable form, such as foodstuffs, and royalty also regularly gave food, for example to the poor. Gifts of food were special in their own way, given that food was both

³² TNA E 361/4; Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History of the Badge and Mottoes of Edward Prince of Wales', *Archaeologia*, 31 (1846), p. 353.

³³ John Carmi Parsons, 'Isabella [Isabella of France] (1295–1358), queen of England, consort of Edward II', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14484>. Accessed 6 December 2018; W. M. Ormrod, 'Lionel [Lionel of Antwerp], duke of Clarence (1338–1368), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16750>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

³⁴ Buettner, 'Past presents', p. 598.

³⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 5.

necessary and consumable.³⁶ In general, however, many gifts were of the everyday variety, such as plate, rather than jewellery or other decorative objects.³⁷ Similarly to food, gifts of plate for the everyday table would be visible at court, as well as used frequently, a constant reminder both of the donor and the obligations associated with gift-giving.

As well as confirming friendships, during the reign of Richard II, gifts were also given to the king and queen as part of the reconciliation with the city of London, in order to demonstrate the city's submission to the king and as thanks to the queen. Maidstone's *Concordia* records the Londoners presenting a horse to the queen when asking for her help, as well as crowns and engraved tablets to both the king and queen in 1392.³⁸ Horses made an expensive gift, but if meant as symbolic in this case, horses were known for their loyalty to their masters, suggesting that the Londoners may have been hoping to flatter Anne with a gift complimenting her faithfulness to her husband.³⁹ The *Westminster Chronicle* records the gift of the crowns, as well as a gold table worth a hundred marks to the pair. During Epiphany in 1393, the Westminster Chronicler also notes that the Londoners presented gifts of animals to the king and queen, providing the queen with '*unam magnam avem et mirebilem habentem guttur latissimum*', 'a large and marvelous bird with a very wide throat', possibly a pelican. Pelicans were known for their Christ-like self-sacrificing nature, regularly depicted in manuscripts as pecking their own breasts to feed their blood to their offspring. The bird was probably therefore an allusion to Anne's intercessory actions at London, with

³⁶ Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', p. 8; Maria A. Moisà, 'The giving of leftovers in medieval England', *Food and Foodways* 9, 2 (2001), p. 83.

³⁷ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 219.

³⁸ Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 62, lines 233-242, p. 64, lines 285-289 and p. 72, lines 430-434.

³⁹ Carmen Brown, 'Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust', in Debra Hessig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 64, n. 5.

the Londoners representing her children. Although, like the reconciliation scene in London, this gift-giving may have been carefully staged by the king himself, Richard pardoned the Londoners £20,000 of the money owed to him.⁴⁰ The king was therefore receiving a benefit, in this case money, in return for his perceived generosity. Although the gifts of animals would have nowhere near the same value as the debt, the king also received political capital through the Londoners' submission, rendered highly visible through the elaborate ceremonies and symbolic gifts.

In addition to gift-giving at individual events, particular dates of the calendar and the life cycle presented opportunities for the giving of gifts, such as celebrations, the birth of children and especially the first child, as well as coronations and weddings. Buettner notes that from the late fourteenth century onwards, New Year's Day was the preeminent date for gift-giving between the nobility, although women participated in gift-giving less than men and often formed the recipient, rather than the giver. Women also tended to receive jewels or plate as gifts rather than books. The exchanging of gifts at the royal court formed almost a public ritual, meaning that the gifts were visible and a method of displaying wealth.⁴¹ Royal weddings also presented public opportunities for the exchange of gifts, in addition to the bride herself forming a gift. Although few records survive for the weddings of Anne and Philippa, the amounts spent and gifts given in 1332, at the wedding of Edward III's younger sister, Eleanor, provide some idea of similar costs and types of gift for Anne and Philippa's weddings. Although Eleanor was marrying the count of Guelders, rather than a king or prince, she was still both the daughter and sister of kings. On this occasion, the gifts included

⁴⁰ *The Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 504-510 and p. 511, n. 4; Paul Hardwick, *English Medieval Misericords: The margins of Meaning* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 56.

⁴¹ Buettner, 'Past Presents', pp. 619-20.

the exchange of horses, with 56 given to Eleanor and others accompanying her, and in return the English presenting 41 horses to Eleanor's new husband and his household.⁴² In addition to horses, Eleanor also gave gifts to knights and other members of her household, with seventeen men each receiving a bejewelled clasp, pearl and silk belt, and an ell of embroidered silk. A further five knights and two clerks received only the clasp, and the herald only silk items.⁴³ These objects were elaborate versions of everyday items, both useful and frivolous, and might act as pegs of memory to remind the recipient of their connection to the giver.

However, gifts were not only given to kings and queens at their own weddings. For example, the *Westminster Chronicle* records that in the July of 1384, the Richard II and Anne attended the wedding of Thomas Mowbray, the earl of Nottingham, to the daughter of the earl of Arundel at Arundel Castle. The earl presented each guest with a gift according to their rank, '*secundum statum cuiuslibet eorum unumquemque remuneravit*'.⁴⁴ In addition, the king and queen gave gifts to fellow visiting royals, with the Westminster Chronicler noting that not only the king, but also the queen and other nobles gave presents to the king of Armenia, Leo VI (1373-1393), in 1385.⁴⁵ In a tradition ongoing from the earlier medieval period, the queen was expected to provide hospitality to guests and members of the royal court, including gifts.⁴⁶ In some

⁴² TNA E 101/386/7, fol. 10v; Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 312.

⁴³ TNA E 101/386/7, fols. 10r-10v; Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 313.

⁴⁴ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 89; Given-Wilson, 'Mowbray, Thomas, first duke of Norfolk (1366–1399), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2011:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19459>. Accessed 6 December 2018; C. Given-Wilson, 'Fitzalan, Richard, fourth earl of Arundel and ninth earl of Surrey (1346–1397), magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9535>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁴⁵ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 155.

⁴⁶ Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, p. 99.

ways, the queen herself was a kind of hostage in her role as the ‘gift’ to cement a political alliance, and usually also a fellow foreigner of the court. The good treatment of hostages was thus a fitting trait for a medieval queen. Le Bel’s rendition of Philippa interceding for the lives of the burghers of Calais notes that after her intercession, the burghers were handed over to the care of Philippa, who ordered that they receive clothing and comfort.⁴⁷ Despite the doubts over the veracity of the story, this detail indicates the expected duties of the queen in relation to hostages, a form of gift-giving.

Gifts given to the queen were as visible as the queen herself, particularly when the gifts were objects such as jewellery, which might be worn, or plate, which might be used. Gifts cemented social bonds in the same way that the queen, a ‘gift’ herself, secured political alliances. In addition, the gifts themselves represented the queen’s spending power, and by extension that of the king and his court. Regifting presents was also regarded as an honour rather than an insult, because medieval contemporaries believed that objects accrued a special significance from their former owners, particularly if that owner was themselves significant. The social bonds formed could include their birth family, such as Anne of Bohemia sending gifts to her mother, as well as members of their marital court, or outside individuals such as the pope, often when asking for intercession. Joan of Kent and John of Gaunt exchanged gifts in order to maintain their alliance. In addition to the obligations associated with giving and receiving gifts, specific occasions also necessitated the giving of gifts, such as weddings, or calendar dates such as the New Year. More unusual were the gifts given by the city of London when reconciling with Richard II, as described in Maidstone’s *Concordia*. On this occasion the value of the objects was mainly symbolic, with gifts such as a bird given to Anne which might reference through meaning her part in the

⁴⁷ le Bel, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 203.

reconciliation. Literary evidence such as the *Westminster Chronicle* and the *Concordia* provides contextual details on occasions for gift-giving, although a far greater number of references to objects survive in inventories and other records, without such information. The literary evidence situates the queen or royal woman within the cycle of gift-giving at the royal court.

Jewellery and Crowns

Outside of literary evidence for occasions of gift-giving, inventories and wills are key sources of evidence for gifts and possessions, which in turn demonstrate the personal preferences and spending habits of royal women. Inferences can also be made from the relationships between individuals, such as husbands giving the most gifts to their wives, as in accounts of Philippa's jewels, followed by family members.⁴⁸ Evidence for these objects provides information for the experiences of medieval queens, as well as agency through their choice of personalisation.⁴⁹ This section will first examine the key inventories for the reign of Richard II, mainly concerning jewellery, before focussing on crowns, which could function as both personal gifts as well as symbols of rank and office, and particularly the crown of Anne of Bohemia (Figure 3). Unusually this crown can be traced through several records such as inventories and indentures, and is one of the few items that almost certainly survives documented in contemporary evidence.⁵⁰ As the example of Anne's crown suggests, jewels and jewellery were frequent gifts given to and by queens. Such gifts demonstrate the tastes

⁴⁸ Loengard, "Which may be said to be her own", p. 174; Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 219; Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 78-9; Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, 'Lost and Found: Visualizing a Medieval Queen's Destroyed Objects', in Woodacre (ed.), *Queenship in the Mediterranean*, pp. 73-96; Marguerite Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best: value in the collection of a medieval queen', *Journal of Medieval History* 34, 4 (2008), pp. 360-73.

⁵⁰ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 6; *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. 3, p. 357; Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, p. 121; Cherry, 'Late Fourteenth-century Jewellery', p. 138; Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schösser, Gärten und Seen, no. 16; TNA E 101/411/9, m. 1.

and experiences of the queen herself as well as the court she inhabited, and could prove vessels for the transportation of fashions, as well as forming a potent symbol of the queen and her image.

Wills and inventories offer some possibilities for tracking ownership and the origins of objects, although between Philippa, Anne and Joan, only an example for Joan of Kent's will survives.⁵¹ Froissart records Philippa's last words to Edward III as asking that her husband pay off her debts, fulfil the legacies she had left to her servants, and be buried beside her.⁵² Froissart's story may be a literary trope, given that queens predeceasing their husbands often did not leave wills, but Edward did reward many of the members of Philippa's household after her death and pay her debts, such as to her clerk, Thomas de Bernolby.⁵³ The incident and Philippa's age suggest that she had written a will, although Anne may not have because she died at a relatively early age, and with no children or grandchildren to leave legacies. However, the wills of others also list objects which they left to queens, or objects which they had themselves inherited or been given by those queens, especially in the case of crowns and jewellery. In the case of husbands, their own wills and inventories include items belonging to their wives, although there were not always identified as such.

Few inventories from the medieval period survive either, even those of royalty, although their possessions may be pieced together from the lists that do exist. For example, a list of New Year gifts from 1330-1 for Philippa notes the amounts of money given to members of her household. Inventories of the possessions of husbands, fathers

⁵¹ *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 78-9; Proctor-Tiffany, 'Lost and Found', pp. 73-96, explores the testamentary gifts of Clémence of Hungary; Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best', focusses on the will of the French queen Blanche of Navarre (c.1331-1398).

⁵² Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 4, p. 20.

⁵³ *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer of England*, ed. Frederick Devon (London: John Rodwell, 1835), p. 10.

and sons can also be useful, because husbands often subsumed their wife's possessions into their own, even bequeathing them back to the widow in their will, or inherited their wives' objects after their deaths.⁵⁴ One such example is the inventory taken of Richard II's possessions, undated but possibly taken after his death during the early reign of Henry IV and partially based on earlier lists. The inventory was probably compiled to record the possessions taken from forfeited estates in 1397.⁵⁵ The Henry IV inventory can also be cross-referenced with a surviving indenture, recording the delivery of goods from the Treasury to the King's Chamber, in the first year of Henry IV's reign, which identifies the former owners of the objects listed as Edward III, Richard II, and Queen Anne, as well as the Duchess of York (Isabella of Castile, wife of Richard's uncle Edmund), the Duke of Gloucester (Richard's uncle Thomas of Woodstock), and Sir John Golafre, a knight close to the king. This indenture notes only one item as explicitly belonging to Queen Anne, a gold collar decorated with branches of rosemary, which Anne used as one of her personal badges.⁵⁶ Such items could pass through multiple owners, and individuals often gave objects bearing similar identifying marks to friends, kin, servants and political allies.

Those closest to the queen were the most frequent givers of gifts to her, such as family members, demonstrating that gifts were an important element of maintaining social bonds even between family members, and to some extent how others viewed

⁵⁴ TNA E 101/384/18; Loengard, "Which may be said to be her own", p. 163.

⁵⁵ TNA E 101/411/9; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 6.

⁵⁶ *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. 3, p. 357; Tuck, 'Edmund [Edmund of Langley], first duke of York (1341–1402), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16023>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Tuck, 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester (1355–1397), prince', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27197>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 335.

the queen. For example, Edward III gave the highest number of gifts to Philippa, followed by Philippa's mother-in-law, Isabella of France, according to the account books of the controller of the queen's household for the years 1331-1332, still in the early years of Philippa's marriage.⁵⁷ Queenly mothers and presumably mothers-in-law were expected to educate their daughters for marriage, of which gift-giving may have formed a part.⁵⁸ Likewise, Richard II frequently gave gifts to Anne, such as, shortly after their marriage in 1382, a hair fillet with a ruby and two sapphires, which might support braided hairstyles, and four rings with pearls and diamonds, which the queen's chamberlain, Richard de Abberbury, purchased at the king's command from the London goldsmith, John Palyng, according to the Issue Roll of the Exchequer.⁵⁹ Other possessions were the result of the forfeiture of estates, resulting in the dispersal of possessions to the king's family and favourites. For example, after the downfall of Alice Perrers, the mistress of Edward III, during the reign of Richard II, Richard's mother Joan of Kent received some of the twenty-two thousand confiscated pearls.⁶⁰ The pearls may have had a special significance if, for example, Alice had effectively blocked some of the access to the king that Richard and Joan expected as his heir and daughter-in-law. As the mother of the king, Joan may also have seemed a more fitting recipient of such finery, especially given the bitterness which had developed towards Alice Perrers.

⁵⁷ JRULM MS Latin 234 and 235; Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 219.

⁵⁸ Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power', pp. 63-78; Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, p. 167.

⁵⁹ *Issues of the Exchequer, Being a Collection of Payments Made Out of His Majesty's Revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI, inclusive*, ed. Frederick Devon (London: John Murray, 1837), pp. 221-2; Simon Walker, 'Abberbury family (per. c. 1270–c. 1475), gentry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-54517>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Simon Walker, 'Sir Richard Abberbury (c. 1330–1399) and his Kinsmen: The Rise and Fall of a Gentry Family', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 34 (1990), pp. 113-40; Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 84.

⁶⁰ Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, p. 55; *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 209.

The relationship between giver and receiver could also have an effect on the type of gift given. For example, personal items such as jewellery tended to be exchanged between women and their close family members, such as husbands.⁶¹ Due to their wealth and status, more evidence survives for the possessions of royal women than the less wealthy, and they also received a greater number of, and more valuable types of gift than other women. Gifts of objects which touched skin may have been perceived as too intimate for unrelated men to give to women. By the late fourteenth century, jewels were becoming increasingly important as they moved from a predominantly ecclesiastical association to a secular one, to the extent that the use of the word '*jouel*' or '*joyau*' to mean jewellery specifically, rather than plate in general, can be traced to 1390.⁶² However, Joan Evans argues that the growing emphasis towards fashion in fourteenth-century jewellery is part of the reason that few examples of contemporary jewellery survive, because many items were lost through lack of use or reused in newer pieces.⁶³ Most of Philippa, Anne and Joan's jewellery therefore survives only in references in accounts such as inventories.

Badges and other symbology can also help to identify the ownership of other objects listed. However, the departure of Richard II's widow, Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409), to her home country of France in 1401 rendered the Henry IV inventory useless at the time because she took a number of the listed objects with her.⁶⁴ Isabelle's departure raises further difficulties in identifying whether an object belonged to Richard, Anne or Isabelle, or at times more than one individual. As succeeding queen, Isabelle may have received some of Anne's jewels, particularly her crowns, which could have functioned as symbols or accessories of the queenly office. The inventory

⁶¹ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 219.

⁶² Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, p. 55.

⁶³ Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 7.

also includes objects inherited from Edward III and possibly earlier kings, in addition to gifts given on the occasions of Richard's weddings, in 1382 and 1396, and for New Year's celebrations, which means that the inventory also provides a source for some of Joan of Kent's and Philippa of Hainaut's possessions.⁶⁵ Despite not listing exactly which items belonged to which individual or their origins, inventories still provide information about articles belonging to queens, their agency through choice and methods of personalising their possessions, and the journeys of particular objects.

Inventories are especially important sources of information given that most of the objects listed no longer survive. The Henry IV inventory listed over two thousand valuable objects in total, of which Anne's crown (Figure 3) is the only known item that can conclusively be traced to this inventory.⁶⁶ The crown travelled with Anne of Bohemia from Anne's homeland to England, but had probably been crafted in France. On Anne's death, the crown remained with her husband's possessions, and on Richard II's deposition by Henry IV, eventually became a part of the dowry of Henry's daughter Blanche, accompanying her to her new marital home, and remaining in Germany.⁶⁷ Appearing in several inventories and other records, the crown offers one physical example of the transference of cultural values through different kingdoms and dynasties, as well as partially reflecting the physical journey of Anne of Bohemia herself. The crown therefore offers a traceable example of the ways in which objects could demonstrate cultural transference.

The inventory describes Anne's crown as '*Item, j coronne de xj overages*', possessing only eleven plaques because one was missing, with eleven sapphires,

⁶⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schösser, Gärten und Seen, no. 16.

thirty-three rubies, 132 pearls, and thirty-three diamonds, with eight being counterfeit (Figure 4).

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*Figure 4: Description of crown in inventory (TNA E 101/411/9, m. 1)*⁶⁸

The inventory describes the crown as featuring six large and six smaller ‘fleurons’, a traditional element which may have derived from Byzantine imperial crowns and later the crowns of the Carolingian kings of France and modelled on the fleur-de-lis.⁶⁹ Each fleuron was decorated with further sapphires, rubies, emeralds and pearls. The number of pearls and rubies present on the crown, and other objects associated with Anne also including pearls and rubies, indicate a personal preference on the part of Anne, who used red and white as her personal colours. Despite possessing many jewels, the crown was valued at £246 13s. 4d., a large amount for the fourteenth century, but a small

⁶⁸ Description of crown in inventory, TNA E 101/411/9, m. 1, Richard II’s Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/crown_rollbig.jpg. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁶⁹ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, p. 121.

price compared to some of the heavier crowns meant for Richard II, which included examples valued at £33,584, £10,101, 6s. 8d., and others worth over a thousand pounds each.⁷⁰ The lower value of Anne's crowns in comparison to those of Richard denoted her lesser status as queen.

The crown may have been intended as a coronal or wedding crown, given that it accompanied Anne on her initial journey. Before marriage a young woman traditionally only wore one simple headpiece, with her wedding marking the point at which she was expected to dress more richly.⁷¹ If so then the crown would have been created around the time of Anne's wedding in 1382. Ronald W. Lightbown argues that the fact that some of the diamonds were artificial suggests that the crown was created in England, because important French crowns tended to use real stones, although in this case, the stones may have been replaced over time, perhaps used in new jewellery, or sold or pawned for funds. Earlier historiography such as Lightbown suggested variously that the crown was created in Bohemia, England, or Paris. Most historians now agree that the crown was created in Paris, with John Cherry suggesting that Parisian craftsman created the crown because of use of the white opaque enamelling layered upon red and blue enamel, a technique used in both late fourteenth-century England and France. The pearls bordering the fleurons also share similarities with jewellery found elsewhere in England, the Oxwich brooch, and in France, on rings of the Colmar hoard.⁷² Many French fashions passed from France to England, which included jewellery techniques, and the journey of the crown itself demonstrates how queens could introduce fashions including new techniques in craftsmanship, even those not originating from their native country.

⁷⁰ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 9 and 13.

⁷¹ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, pp. 119 and 123; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 258.

⁷² Cherry, 'Late Fourteenth-century Jewellery', p. 138.

The crown also appears in the list of goods delivered from the Treasury in 1399, which describes the crown in the same damaged state, missing one of the twelve plaques, as in the Henry IV inventory. The crown was later fixed in 1402, ready for the marriage of Henry IV's daughter Blanche (1392-1409) to Ludwig III, duke of Bavaria (1378-1436), as according to goldsmith and royal receiver accounts, there was '*amendement d'une corone d'or pur madame Blaunche*'.⁷³ The crown would remain in Germany, eventually finding its way to a museum, the Schatzkammer der Residenz, in Munich (Figure 5).⁷⁴

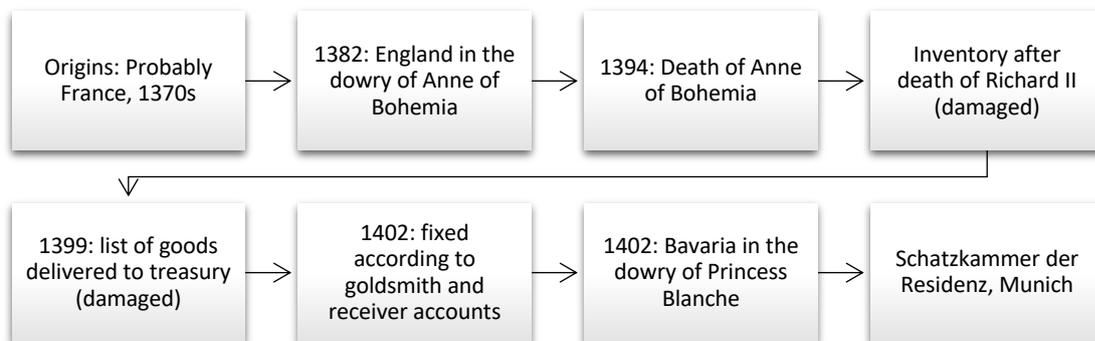


Figure 5: Possible journey of the crown of Anne of Bohemia

The inventory lists eleven crowns in total, with the less expensive and physically lighter examples probably meant for Richard's queens rather than himself, including Anne of Bohemia's surviving crown.⁷⁵ The crowns of kings tended to be heavier, grander and more expensive than those of their wives, reflecting their greater status. However, Marian Campbell suggests that Richard II may have owned a crown matching this particular example, depicted on the Wilton Diptych, an altarpiece commissioned after Anne's death but which features several elements relating to her

⁷³ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 261; *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. 3, p. 339; TNA E 101/335/5, m. 3 and E 101/404/18 m. 1.

⁷⁴ Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schösser, Gärten und Seen, no. 16.

⁷⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 9.

memory (Figures 6 and 7).⁷⁶ Symbols such as Richard's broomcod collar and the combination of his arms with those retrospectively attributed to Edward the Confessor have led to a dating of 1395.⁷⁷ In addition, if Richard had commissioned the diptych during Anne's lifetime, he may well have included Anne herself in the decoration, as in the no longer surviving altarpiece featuring Anne and Richard, which survives only in the form of an illustration.⁷⁸ Anne's crown may thus have been emblematic of her image and one shared by Richard, enhancing their close status through similar crowns.

In addition to forming significant gifts and symbols of royalty, crowns could also fulfil a more prosaic purpose, as demonstrated by the fact that Edward III pledged several crowns in order to fund his expeditions abroad, including one of Philippa's crowns.⁷⁹ Another crown which Richard II had pledged to the city of London was returned in time for his marriage to Anne, which Henry IV later gave to his wife, Joan of Navarre (1368-1437), according to a jewel account dating from 1402-3.⁸⁰ The pledged crown had ten fleurons with emeralds, rubies, pearls and diamonds, and was worth much more than the crown associated with Anne of Bohemia, valued at £1,313, 6s. 8d., in contrast to 246, 13s. 4d.⁸¹ Crowns were obvious symbols of rank and wealth, but like plate, they might also be seen frequently at court. Woolgar argues that Philippa wore such lesser crowns on an everyday basis, even in her chamber, and that other members of the royal family and even the queen's ladies also wore much less valuable

⁷⁶ Marian Campbell, 'White Harts and Coronets': The Jewellery and Plate of Richard II', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), p. 108.

⁷⁷ Dillian Gordon, 'A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych', *The Burlington Magazine* 134, 1075 (1992), p. 664; Maude V. Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych', *The Burlington Magazine*, 58 (1931), pp. 283-94; John H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych - A Re-examination', *Archaeologia*, 98 (1961) pp. 1-24.

⁷⁸ Silvester Petrasancta, *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (Rome, 1638), pp. 677-8.

⁷⁹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 11; *CCR 1339-41*, p. 510; Kathryn Brush, 'The *Recepta jocalium* in the wardrobe book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340', *Journal of Medieval History* 10, 4 (1984), pp. 252, 263 and 266.

⁸⁰ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 257; TNA E 101/404/22, m. 1.

⁸¹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 257.

circlets, some of which may have been decorated with heraldry relating to the queen.⁸² Circlets may have been a grander version of the livery worn by lesser members of the royal household, in a similar manner to collars, in addition to emphasising the wealth of the court where women of lesser rank than the queen also wore crowns.

Official crowns might form part of the royal regalia, passed down from one generation to the next, for use during coronations and other important ceremonies, but there were also lesser crowns in more commonplace use. For example, Philippa owned a number of crowns, some described as ‘great crowns’ in the account books, which were larger and more richly decorated, and may have been created for her specific use, for wearing on special occasions.⁸³ Other lesser crowns and circlets also existed, with Woolgar identifying one crown bearing enamelled coats of arms of England and Holland as passed on from Elizabeth (1282-1316), the daughter of Edward I, who had married a count of Holland, John I.⁸⁴ For Philippa, such a crown might form a reminder of her homeland and natal family, as well as her own position and descent from an English king.

Other crowns might be less symbolic, perhaps reflecting the queen’s personal taste instead. A crown decorated with parrots featured in an inventory of plate and jewels residing in the tower of London in 1324, as well as later in a delivery of jewels to Philippa in 1337. A crown with parrots as well as greyhounds appeared in the inventory of 1398, which may have been an adaptation of the first or a completely different object.⁸⁵ Parrots do not seem to have been a badge of Philippa’s, but rather a popular motif and a popular pet for the rich. Parrots also appear on other objects listed

⁸² Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, p. 211.

⁸³ JRULM MS Latin 235, fol. 25r; Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, pp. 209-10.

⁸⁴ Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, p. 210.

⁸⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 257; Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, p. 211; BL Add. MS 60584, fols. 59v and 60v.

in the inventory, including a beaker, two hanaps, one described as given by Thomas Holand, earl of Kent, a brooch or nouche with a pair of parrots given by John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, and a pot.⁸⁶ Parrots may have had a connection to May Day celebrations, and were associated with the Virgin Mary. The birds symbolised purity due to their natural noise sounding like the word ‘Ave’, the same way Gabriel greeted Mary in the Bible.⁸⁷ The crown therefore may have been created for or given to Philippa on May Day, or simply demonstrate some of the fashions for crowns and jewellery at this time, if not Philippa’s own preference.

The various crowns, and especially the surviving crown associated with Anne of Bohemia, reveal many of the influences which affected the experiences of medieval queens. For example, fashion could affect the symbols, jewels and crafting techniques used, as could the tastes of the queen herself, or that of the commissioner of the object. Crowns were both personal items as well as visible identifiers of position, as the parrot crown of Philippa demonstrates. Even if women other than queens wore crowns at the royal court, like the spending of the queen herself, these objects demonstrated the wealth and security of the royal court. This is especially true given that Edward III ransomed several crowns. Anne of Bohemia’s crown provides a unique case study through which to trace the journey of an object which partially reflects the journey of Anne herself, as well as the transference of cultural values through craftsmanship, in addition to being an unusual surviving object in its own right. Much of the journey is outlined in references to the crown through records, which demonstrates the

⁸⁶ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 143, 156, 159, 166, 170 and 220.

⁸⁷ Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 109; Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 23; Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 15; Malcolm Jones, ‘“Popinjay, Jolly May!” Parrot-badges and the Iconography of May in Britain, France and the Netherlands’, in Dory Kicken (ed.), *Gevonden voorwerpen: opstellen over middeleeuwse archeologie H. J. E. van Beuningen* (Rotterdam: Bureau Oudheidkundig Onderzoek Rotterdam, 2000), pp. 214-29.

importance of inventories and other documents as evidence for the possessions of medieval queens and their connotations.

Livery and Badges

In addition to descriptions in inventories and other records, devices and symbols can also suggest the personalisation and ownership of possessions, including initials as well as heraldry, or less obviously, devices such as flowers or animals. Livery came to fruition in fourteenth-century England especially, with the changing use of brooches, which became increasingly detailed and symbolic, transforming into badges signifying political allegiance, and then into collars of livery, the development of which is often attributed to John of Gaunt.⁸⁸ Collars were worn around the neck or shoulders by both men and women.⁸⁹ However, even before livery and clearly defined badges, many objects still bore identifying marks such as heraldry or initials.⁹⁰ The choice of badges or other symbols suggests a possible route of agency for queens. Philippa and Anne both used symbols associated with their birth family or country, such as the ostrich, fern, rosemary and broomcod, a plant.⁹¹ This section will discuss the personalisation of objects through initials, colours or jewels, animals, and other badges such as rosemary. Although deciphering whether objects were gifts or chosen by the woman herself can be difficult, analysis of the personification of objects

⁸⁸ Ward, *The Livery Collar*, p. 43.

⁸⁹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 16; Ward, *The Livery Collar*; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 24.

⁹⁰ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', pp. 201-28; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 301.

⁹¹ Richard Hayman, *Trees: Woodlands and Western Civilisation* (London, 2003), pp. 35-7; Fisher, 'A Study of the Plants and Flowers', p. 161; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 24; Harvey, 'Mediaeval Plantsmanship in England', pp. 14-7; Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 109; Gade, *Luxemburg in the Middle Ages*, p. 102; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 360; Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', pp. 80-1; Loengard, "Which may be said to be her own", p. 164; *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 72-4.

provides evidence for the experiences of medieval queens, their spending habits and patronage.

The personalisation of jewellery could be as obvious as initials, although this could also produce difficulties given the number of related individuals with the same name, or the use of puns. For example, a bejewelled brooch with the initial 'J' may have been intended for Philippa's mother, Jeanne, Countess of Hainaut, or Philippa's sister of the same name, recorded in the account books of the controller of the queen's household. Another gold brooch with the letter 'A' may have signified the Latin 'Alianora', for Edward III's sister, Eleanor, noted in the same records.⁹² Other items, such as plate decorated with the letter 'P' or the arms of England and Hainaut, were clearly meant for the use of Philippa and her household.⁹³ Symbols and devices more easily identify the owners of other objects. For example, Anne almost certainly owned a belt decorated with the crowned letter 'A' and red and white roses, her initial and colours, (*Item, j autre ceinture, le tissue noir, garnese ove lettres de 'A' coronez et flours de roses rouges et blancs, pois' ix unc', dont la somme, x li. xs.*).⁹⁴ However, symbols were not always as straightforward as initials. For example, Stratford suggests that the letter 'N' may have been a phonetic symbol for 'Anne', citing manuscripts which use the initial for St Anne.⁹⁵ The multiple symbols associated with each individual only serve to obfuscate identification further.

Anne of Bohemia is also associated with pearls in particular. This may have been a Bohemian preference which she brought to England, or a fashion which she

⁹² JRULM MS Latin 235, fol. 23v; Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 213.

⁹³ Woolgar, 'Queens and Crowns', p. 217.

⁹⁴ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 186.

⁹⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 301.

started there.⁹⁶ Pearls feature on her surviving crown, and the literary figure of Alceste, the queen of love in Chaucer's poem *The Legend of Good Women*, associated with Anne and probably dating from the late 1380s, is also depicted as wearing a crown of pearls.⁹⁷ Anne of Bohemia may also have owned a brooch decorated with a white falcon alongside rubies and pearls.⁹⁸ Anne was not particularly associated with falcons, which may have been simply an allusion to the sport of falconry traditionally connected with high status women as depicted on many earlier seals of women, which often portrayed the woman holding a hunting bird. However, Anne's livery colours were red and white, also the colours of the Bohemian coat of arms, which may explain why so many of the objects that she might have owned feature rubies and pearls. A silk red and white chaplet may also have belonged to her, given by Thomas Percy, presumably the Earl of Worcester, a steward and trusted member of Richard's household.⁹⁹ The vast number of pearls which had belonged to Alice Perrers and then partly to Joan of Kent also suggests that pearls were popular generally, across Europe, with large numbers appearing in the ownership of several other high status women, including Marguerite, Countess of Flanders (1350-1405), and another Marguerite, Countess of Angoulême.¹⁰⁰ Anne's use of birds and falcons were conventional. Animals were often a popular choice for badges. For example, Joan of Kent adopted the hart or stag as a personal badge. Stratford suggests that Joan may have been the

⁹⁶ John Hurt Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), p. 241.

⁹⁷ John M. Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl: Court Poetry in the Age of Richard II* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), p. 157; Collette, *The Legend of Good Women*, p. 85.

⁹⁸ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 55 and 157.

⁹⁹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 60, 277 and 154; A. L. Brown, 'Percy, Thomas, earl of Worcester (c. 1343–1403), soldier and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21955>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁰⁰ R. A. Donkin, *Beyond Price: Pearls and Pearl-Fishing: Origins to the Age of Discoveries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998), pp. 254-75.

original owner of the two relatively inexpensive hart's head 'nouches', which were clasps or brooches used by both men and women decoratively or to secure garments, recorded in the inventory of 1398.¹⁰¹ Richard adopted the hart as one of his own devices, probably owning two further nouches decorated with white harts, and is depicted on the Wilton Diptych as wearing a hart badge (Figure 6).¹⁰²

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 6: The Wilton Diptych, interior, tempera on oak, late 14th century. London, National Gallery¹⁰³

Richard may have inherited the nouch which John of Gaunt gave to Joan of Kent. Richard expanded his use of the hart badge as livery and for ceremonial purposes, with the Evesham chronicler first recording the use of the hart as a royal badge at a

¹⁰¹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 19, 157 and 257.

¹⁰² Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 19, 158-9 and 280-1.

¹⁰³ 'The Wilton Diptych: interior (London, National Gallery). Egg tempera on oak 57 x 29.2 cm', Richard II's Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/wiltfront_big.jpg. Accessed 3 August 2019.

tournament in 1390.¹⁰⁴ The hart had religious connections from the story of St Eustace, in which Christ disguised himself as a hart, and the ten parts of the hart's antlers representing the Ten Commandments.¹⁰⁵ These religious connections may have had a special connotation for Richard, given his association with Edward the Confessor, further wanting to associate himself with the religious symbolism of harts, as well as the link to his mother. The Wilton Diptych represented Richard's devotion to John the Baptist as well as St Edmund and Edward the Confessor, and Richard was also associated with St Etheldreda, another St Edward, and the cult of the Magi.¹⁰⁶ Richard's saintly devotion was thus wider than simply the Confessor.

The Wilton Diptych also featured a white hart lying on rosemary, a plant associated with remembrance, which may allude to Joan (Figure 7).

¹⁰⁴ Helen Barr, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 63-5; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 97; *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. George B. Stow (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1977), p. 132.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Hayman, *Trees: Woodlands and Western Civilisation* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), pp. 35-7.

¹⁰⁶ Shelagh Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), pp. 115-24.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 7: The Wilton Diptych, exterior, tempera on oak, late 14th century. London, National Gallery¹⁰⁷

Celia Fisher argues that Richard adopted the use of a white hart from Anne, although Susan Crane argues that Richard adopted the white hart from both Joan of Kent and Philippa of Hainaut.¹⁰⁸ Multiple women in Richard's family were linked with the hart, and combined with Richard's feminised court, he probably adopted the badge from a woman. Rosemary was also probably one of Anne's badges and a collar featuring branches of rosemary was described as her livery, although there are few other examples relating to Anne. Richard owned several hanaps and an ewer decorated with rosemary after Anne's death.¹⁰⁹ Theoretically, rosemary would have made a more fitting badge for Philippa than for Anne, because Philippa introduced the plant to England, through cuttings and a treatise on the medicinal uses of the plant sent by her mother. This also offers a way in which to geographically trace the map of Philippa's

¹⁰⁷ 'The Wilton Diptych: exterior (London, National Gallery). Egg tempera on oak 57 x 29.2 cm', Richard II's Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/wiltback_big.jpg. Accessed 3 August 2019.

¹⁰⁸ Fisher, 'A Study of the Plants and Flowers', p. 161; Crane, *The Performance of Self*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 52.

influence. John Harvey argues that rosemary was probably first planted in England in the gardens of the royal palace of Westminster, then at several royal manors, including Eltham, Greenwich, Havering-atte-Bower, Kennington, Sheen, Windsor and Woodstock, several of which were the property of Philippa herself (Figure 8).¹¹⁰

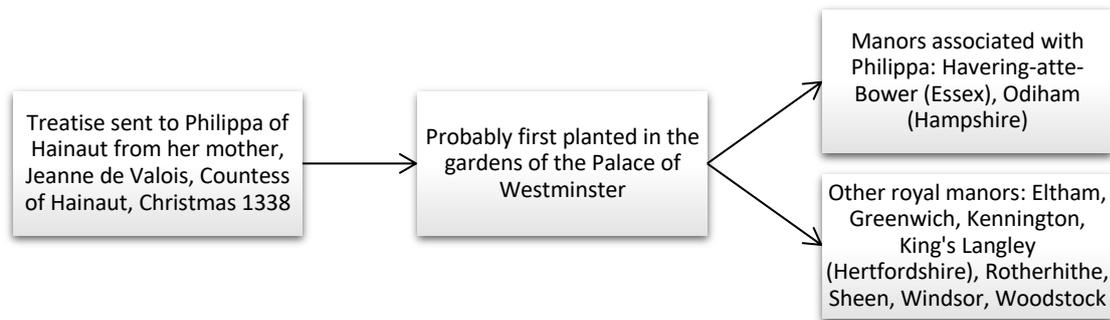


Figure 8: Possible dispersal of rosemary through royal manors

A herbarium was created for Philippa in the garden of Odiham, Hampshire, in 1332.¹¹¹ Thus fashions from the continent could filter their way through the queen, in this case, through her household, and spread further. In addition, the treatise from Philippa's mother forms another example of the bonds with natal family members retained by the queen through the exchange of gifts.

Birds also made a popular choice for badges, and Philippa, Anne and Joan have all been associated with the ostrich in various ways. For Anne and Philippa, the ostrich represented another link with their native kin, through their shared ancestors and family badges. More generally, archaeological research suggests that birds were particularly common motifs on jewellery, such as brooches, as well as popular in

¹¹⁰ Harvey, 'Mediaeval Plantsmanship in England', pp. 14-7, based on a number of manuscripts, chiefly Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.1.13, fols. 77v-82v.

¹¹¹ E 101/478/26; Howard M. Colvin, 'Royal Gardens in Medieval England', in Elisabeth B. MacDougall (ed.), *Medieval Gardens* (Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia on the History of Landscape Architecture, 1983), p. 11; Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*, pp. 767-8.

manuscript decoration. Avian brooches, particularly nesting birds, may have denoted marital love.¹¹² Anne's badges of ostriches and ferns featured on five collars intended for the queen or her household members, probably as a form of livery (Table 3).

¹¹² Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 109.

Table 3: Collars linked to Anne of Bohemia in the inventory roll TNA E 101/411/9.¹¹³

Reference	Description	Value
R 52	<i>Item, un coler a guise de ferne garnisez ove j grosse balace, v rubies et v diamantz et Cxiiij perlez d'acompt, donnt j diamant perdu a Eltham en la garde la dame de Courcy, priz par estimacion, CCC li.</i>	£300
R 63	<i>Item, un coler de la livere la roigne que dieu assoille, garnis' ove rubis en hostrich', xvij gross' perlez autres plus petitz perlez, pois' vij unc', et vaut outre donnt la somme, Cxij li. xvijls. Iiijd.</i>	£113 18s. 4d.
R 76	<i>Item, j coler d'or du livere la roigne que dieu assoille, ove j ostrich blanc ove j jaumbe d'asur steant sur un vert terrage de soutz un arbre, pois' iij unc' j quart', priz, iij li. vs.</i>	£4 5s.
R 80	<i>Item, un coler d'or de la ferne de la livere la roigne ove un ostrich enaymelle blanc et j diamant, pois' xj unc', summa, xxxiiij li. xiijs. iijd.</i>	£34 13s. 4d.
R 84	<i>Item, un autre coler de la ferne, garnisez ove vij diamantz, vj rubies et Cxliiij grosses perles et entour l'ostrich x grosses perles, pois' un marcz ij unc', priz, iij^cxxxiiij li.</i>	£334

¹¹³ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, nos. 52, 63, 76, 80 and 84.

The most expensive of the three collars, valued at £334, featured ferns with diamonds, pearls and rubies, and later passed to Richard's second wife, Isabelle of Valois (1389-1409).¹¹⁴ Two of the three featured both fern and ostrich, one worth £300 and the other, describing an enamelled white ostrich, '*un coler d'or de la ferne de la livere la roigne ove un ostrich*', at £34, 13s and 4d.¹¹⁵ Two other collars featured ostriches, including '*un coler de la livere la roigne*' with diamonds and pearls worth £113, 18s and 4d. This may be the same as a collar which belonged to Isabelle featuring an ostrich as well as Isabelle's badge of broomcods.¹¹⁶ The collar in question may have been adapted for Isabelle from the existing piece. The final collar, worth £4 and 5s, was described in more detail as featuring a blue legged ostrich on a green terrace, '*Item, j coler d'or du livere la roigne que dieu assoille, ove j ostrich blanc ove j jaumbe d'asur steant sur un vert terrage de soutz un arbre*'.¹¹⁷ Collars with badges were given to prospective allies as well as household members, with Richard II giving Charles VI of France a collar described as being of the late Queen Anne's livery in 1396 when confirming peace with France.¹¹⁸ This particular collar may have been a particularly genuine gift given Richard's affection for his late wife, and suggests possible connotations that he planned to treat his new wife, Charles' sister Isabelle, equally as well as he had treated Anne, in addition to the special emphasis given to objects owned by particular prior owners.

All three women were associated with the ostrich in different ways. Both Anne and Philippa may have owned ostrich cups, although this was probably due to a fashionable trend, rather than linked to a personal badge. Edward III owned an ostrich

¹¹⁴ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 16, 151 and 274.

¹¹⁵ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 16, 154 and 277.

¹¹⁶ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 16, 52, 152 and 275.

¹¹⁷ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 16, 153 and 276.

¹¹⁸ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 52 and 389.

cup decorated with dogs which may have earlier belonged to Philippa, due to the similar description in another inventory describing goods delivered to the treasury.¹¹⁹ Five ostrich cups were attributed to Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, with one in particular, a double cup or hanap, featuring Anne's ostrich badge with Richard's arms, as well as further ostriches.¹²⁰ For Philippa and Anne, the ostrich feather could have originated from the same source, or a single source within an inter-related kinship. Both queens shared ancestors in that Philippa's grandmother Philippa of Luxembourg, Countess of Holland (1232-1311) was the sister of Henry VI, Count of Luxembourg (1240-1288), the great-grandfather of Charles IV, the father of Anne of Bohemia, meaning that both Philippa and Anne were the descendants of Henry V, Count of Luxembourg.¹²¹ Ostriches also appeared on the Bohemian coat of arms in a more direct link to Anne.

In Philippa's case, the nineteenth-century historian Nicholas Harris Nicolas suggested that she took the badge from her ancestors, the counts of Ostrevant.¹²² Both Philippa and Anne probably derived their ostrich badges from their natal families, which suggests that foreign queens continued to identify with their birth family and country even in their new kingdom. Van Houts emphasises that women were expected to pass down the memories of their families to their descendants, meaning the histories of their marital families once they married.¹²³ However, the fact that aristocratic and royal women continued to use the heraldry of their birth families signifies that their

¹¹⁹ TNA E 101/335/5; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 37; *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. 3, p. 273.

¹²⁰ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 37-8, 203 and 320.

¹²¹ Gade, *Luxemburg in the Middle Ages*, p. 102; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 360.

¹²² Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 372.

¹²³ van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23.

duty to pass on family memory was not to the exclusion of their natal family. For example, the daughters of the earlier Henry II continued to associate themselves with their father after their marriages, such as through giving their own children names from their natal family, especially the daughters who married husbands who were lower in rank than themselves.¹²⁴ For queens, their birth families' status was after all the reason for their choice as queen. Philippa had links to the French royalty among other factors, and Anne was the daughter of a Holy Roman Emperor.

Chronologically, the first mention of the ostrich feather badge in England appears in an indenture confirming a delivery of plate, including a section describing Queen Philippa's. A silver gilt dish for the queen's alms is described as enamelled with a black shield with ostrich feathers. Nicolas argues that Philippa was the owner of this ostrich feather dish, because other items in the inventory are noted with their prior ownership, and most are decorated with arms associated with Philippa, either those of England and Hainaut or England and France, or her initial, 'P'.¹²⁵ Philippa's son Edward, the Prince of Wales, may have taken his badge of a single ostrich feather from Philippa's shield, despite the story that Prince Edward adopted the symbol in memory of his defeat of John of Luxembourg, whose helmet held ostrich feathers.¹²⁶ Prince Edward used ostrich feathers on several of his seals, including one depicted himself seated, with a feather on each side, one with letter 'E' and the other 'P', probably for his parents.¹²⁷ The three feathers on Edward's tomb may also have represented Philippa.¹²⁸ Both Richard and Prince Edward maintained links to their

¹²⁴ Jitske Jasperse, 'Matilda, Leonor and Joanna: the Plantagenet sisters and the display of dynastic connections through material culture', *Journal of Medieval History* 43, 5 (2017), pp. 523-47; Colette Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 177-84.

¹²⁵ TNA E 361/4; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 354-5.

¹²⁶ Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', p. 50; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 350.

¹²⁷ Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 362.

¹²⁸ Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 356.

mothers, Joan and Philippa respectively through their use of the badge, even if Philippa and Joan were not the original sources for the symbol.

The three ostrich feathers became an English royal device, particularly for the Princes of Wales, probably because of Prince Edward, but indirectly linked to Philippa. At least two of Philippa's younger sons, John of Gaunt, as well as his descendants, and Thomas of Woodstock also used badges featuring ostrich feathers. Other male descendants, including kings such as Henry IV and V, also used ostrich feathers, and the symbol eventually became considered the badge of the Prince of Wales.¹²⁹ Prince Edward's use of the ostrich symbol also included his own family. To her son Richard II, Joan of Kent left a 'new' bed decorated with silver ostriches, along with gold leopards whose mouths held boughs and leaves.¹³⁰ As this bed was 'new' years after the death of her husband, Joan may have adopted her husband's symbols as her own, perhaps to emphasise the lineage between her son and his deceased father. Joan may have acted as a transmitter of memory between her husband and son through the badge. Edward III had often used the leopard as a badge, and Shenton interprets his naming his son 'Lionel', meaning 'son of the lion', rather than 'little lion', to celebrate his defeat of the 'Lion' of Brabant, who had seized Antwerp, where Lionel was later born, as a further link to leopards. The Prince of Wales had adopted the leopard as a badge when his father began to use the garter more than the leopard himself. Prince Edward added a lion and leopard to the royal menagerie and issued his own coins with a leopard.¹³¹ Joan's adoption of her husband's device may have been especially important given that her own father had been executed for treason, although later pardoned, and her brother was also deceased, meaning that there was little value

¹²⁹ Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 363-72.

¹³⁰ *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 78-81; London, Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Courtenay, fols. 213v-214v; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 51.

¹³¹ Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', pp. 80-1.

in maintaining the badges of her natal family despite her inheritance, especially because she had married a higher ranking man. Hollie Morgan describes a similar bequest of a bed by Lady Alice West in 1395 to her eldest son, suggesting that the bed, decorated with Alice West's own arms, was meant to remind her son of her own heritage.¹³² Richard's father however held the higher rank than his mother, even though sons of heiresses often maintained their mother's symbols.

In addition to the ostrich, Joan may have shared the hart badge with her husband, or adopted the badge from him. A wardrobe account of Richard II mentions a bed of the deceased prince bearing the Kent and Wake arms, as well as a white hart. The bed probably belonged to Joan herself given the conflation of possessions between husbands and wives. Men generally only used the heraldry of their wives and mothers in order to emphasise their connection to that family or title, of which Edward had no need, although Joan's eldest son Thomas Holand also used her badge of a white hart.¹³³ Although husbands often left beds to their wives, the Prince of Wales left beds not to Joan, but to his son Richard, one given to him by Edward III, and to other men, including his illegitimate son, Roger Clarendon.¹³⁴ Edward III also left a bed to Richard decorated with the arms of England and France.¹³⁵ These examples might represent the concept of a 'state bed', which fathers, especially royal ones, passed on as a piece of expensive, personal furniture and a symbol of luxury rather than emphasising the bed as the centre of marriage and life milestones.¹³⁶ This is especially

¹³² Morgan, *Beds and Chambers*, p. 186.

¹³³ Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', p. 364; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 51.

¹³⁴ *A Collection of All the Wills*, pp. 72-4; Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, p. 128; Loengard, "Which may be said to be her own", p. 164; C. Given-Wilson, 'Clarendon, Sir Roger (c. 1350–1402), royal bastard and conspirator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5452>. Accessed 6 December.

¹³⁵ *A Collection of All the Wills*, p. 61.

¹³⁶ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 280; Morgan, *Beds and Chambers*, p. 97.

so given that one bed bore politically significant heraldry, and the other had been passed from Edward III to Prince Edward to Richard II. This bed may have accrued a special significance from prior owners.

At the royal court, both beds and jewellery could take on a new significance through their visibility, and thus their personalisation could be equally significant. Where beds could act both as objects of state and immensely personal locations of sleep and life changes, jewellery was personal through its place on the body as well as significant through its visibility. Crowns were the obvious example of this, but collars took on a new role through the fourteenth century as livery and signifiers of political allegiance, even after death. Some symbols were unique to individuals, such as Anne's association with the fern and the broomcod, but other devices such as the ostrich were used by multiple people, and the originator of the device is difficult to ascertain. Anne and Philippa both used heraldry and symbols relating to their native lands and birth families, and Joan maintained use of the arms relating to the titles which she held in her own right, as well as adopting symbols such as the hart and the ostrich feather from her husband. Transference could also go the other way, as shown through the links between Philippa and her son Edward's use of the ostrich feathers, and Richard's use of rosemary after the death of his wife. Use of symbols on their possessions could thus be a way for women to assert agency through identity, and for royal women this could have wider political significance.

Conclusion

Symbols and other forms of personalisation not only represent the tastes of the owner, but also provide a route for identification of the owners of objects, whether commissioners or recipients of gifts. The use of heraldry on a range of publicly visible objects, including jewellery, plate and even beds, demonstrates that women continued

to identify with their natal families even after marriage and the expected transition into their new marital families. In the case of queens, such social bonds remained useful for diplomatic reasons and to continue the alliances often sealed by their marriages, and emphasise the continued foreign quality of the queen. Heraldry and other personal symbols were even used by the male descendants of royal women, whether for political reasons or for reasons of commemoration.

Others also used symbols and badges as livery, as in the case of collars, and to a lesser extent crowns and circlets. Jewellery and beds were both personal objects, but also visible ones in the context of the royal court, where the bed could form a public role akin to a throne. Likewise, crowns were especial representations of status and wealth, and the surviving crown of Anne of Bohemia forms a specific case for tracing the physical journey of one object through inventories and other objects. Gift-giving for the purpose of forming and maintaining social bonds was especially important for medieval women, and for queens, this often took an international scale, with political ramifications when using these relationships for diplomatic reasons. Royal women were also able to exert their agency through choice and patronage in the context of gift-giving and ownership, building and maintaining relationships, which also extended to representations of themselves for both their lifetimes and future commemoration.

Chapter V: Artistic Representations

Aside from the possessions and material culture linked to royal women, queens demonstrated queenly links to their natal and marital families, as well as their agency through patronage. Seals, effigies, and the images of queens in manuscripts were often endowed by the king, if not the queen herself, and offered ways to circulate representations of the queen, whether in private circles during her lifetime or for a lasting image in the public eye.¹ Even when the image might not accurately portray a lifelike depiction of the queen, such representations did promote certain themes and symbols about the queen, often drawn from imagery relating to her coronation, from earlier queens, or relating to the Virgin Mary, regarded as the paragon of queenship in her role as Queen of Heaven. Other symbolism linking queens to both their marital and birth ancestry included heraldry, which appears on seals and effigies, as well often on manuscripts as a symbol of ownership or personalisation.

This chapter will first discuss seals, which were designed and used during the queen's lifetime and represented her office rather than her personal self. The office of queenship is emphasised through using a generic image often similar to the seals of other noble and royal women, sometimes related whether through blood or rank, and similar symbols of status, or coronation imagery. Alternatively, seals featured heraldry either additionally or alone, thus erasing any personality of the woman herself, but which functioned as an immediately recognisable symbol of the queen.² Next the

¹ Rohr, 'Lessons for My Daughter', pp. 46-78; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); M. Bella Mirabella, 'Feminist Self-Fashioning: Christine de Pizan and The Treasure of the City of Ladies', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 6, 1 (1999), pp. 9-20.

² Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 38-47; Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', p. 4; Paul Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*: Its Date and European Context', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), pp. 233-46; Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', *Signs* 7, 4 (1982), pp. 742-68; Selby Whittingham, 'The Chronology of the Portraits of Richard II', *The Burlington Magazine* 113, 814 (1971), pp. 12-21.

chapter will address effigies, over which a queen could exert a certain amount of their own agency, particularly if she lived to an older age, or less, if she died earlier. Either way, for both Philippa and Anne, their effigies were very different to the images conveyed by their seals, and both represented new fashions in effigies. The queen's husband also influenced his wife's effigy design, but the depictions still reveal details about the queens themselves and the nature of queenship in the late fourteenth century.³ Finally, the chapter will discuss the personalisation of manuscripts owned by or associated with the queens, which could take the form of images of the queens themselves, or symbols also used in seals and effigies, such as heraldry and initials, often accompanied by educational content.⁴ Together, representations of royal women through images and symbols demonstrate the ways in which queens sought to perpetrate a reputation for themselves, contrasting with the expectations set for queens in manuscripts and their educational content, which were often gifts.

Seals and Queenly Symbols

Seals formed one of the few ways in which medieval women could circulate an image of themselves and their power, and the seals of Philippa, Anne and Joan also exemplify

³ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 291; Wentersdorf, 'The clandestine marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', p. 227.

⁴ Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage and Book Bequests, 1350-1500', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 64 (1982), pp. 522-48; Carol M. Meale, '...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englich and frensch': Laywomen and Their Books in Late Medieval England', in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 128-58; A. M. Dutton, 'Passing the Book: Testamentary Transmission of Religious Literature to and by Women in England, 1350-1500', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds.), *Women, the Book and the Godly* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), pp. 41-54; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 10; Anne Rudolff Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 91, 6 (2001); Kathryn A. Smith, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of the Self in Late Medieval England* (London: British Library, 2012); Barbara Brauer, 'The Prague Hours and Bohemian Manuscript Painting of the Late 14th Century', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52, 4 (1989), pp. 499-521; Brigitte Buettner, 'Women and the Circulation of Books', *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 4 (2001), pp. 9-31; Glenn D. Burger, *Conduct Becoming: Good Wives and Husbands in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

changes in the fashions of seals, with a change both in shape from a vesica, a pointed oval, to round, and in moving from including the image of a figure to featuring only heraldry.⁵ Artistic changes in seals may also reflect the changing nature of the queen's position or office, and of kingship itself. In the case of figures on seals, many of the elements used in seal imagery also included elements associated with the coronation ceremony, such as the use of canopies, as well as loose, uncovered hair, crowns, and sceptres.⁶ The figure on Philippa's seal (Figure 9), probably created shortly after Philippa's marriage to Edward III, thus bears similarities to images from the *Liber Regalis*, a manual from the reign of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, which includes several illustrations of coronations featuring similar symbolism.⁷ Thus both seals and coronation imagery conveyed the same attributes of the medieval queen, and were in some ways the official representation of the queen and her role, making seal imagery especially important when she could not spread her image or symbolism through coinage, a route accessible to kings, but not generally to queens consort.

In terms of seals used by women, more historiography exists for those of noblewomen from the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries, reflecting a general lack of interest in women's seals.⁸ The use of seals by queens itself began in the twelfth

⁵ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, pp. 38-47; Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', p. 4; Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 163; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III*, pp. 132-3; Bedos-Rezak, 'Women, seals and power', pp. 61-82; Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval women in French sigillographic sources', pp. 1-36.

⁶ Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals', p. 20; Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 19; Sekules, 'Women and Art in England', p. 44; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 71; Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 65; Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 310.

⁷ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 163; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 195; Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*', pp. 233-46; Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners', p. 765; Whittingham, 'The Chronology of the Portraits of Richard II', p. 15; Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937), p. 84; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354.

⁸ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, pp. 38-47; Susan M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 122-51.

century, and continued, filtering down to the lower social strata.⁹ By the late fourteenth century, the fashion in seals had changed from depicting the woman herself to her heraldic badge, and in shape from a vesica, a pointed oval, to a round seal, a shape previously used by secular men, or occasionally women who ruled in their own right, rather than as consorts. Round seals may have developed from Papal *bullae* or earlier Roman versions. The reason for the use of the vesica shape remains unclear, with Elizabeth Danbury suggesting that the slimmer, idealised figure simply fitted better on the vesica shape.¹⁰ If the seal was designed around or shortly after her marriage, then Philippa may have been slimmer then than she became in later life, meaning that the seal at that time portrayed the queen accurately.¹¹ Alternatively, the vesica shape may have best suited the standing figure. Even pictorial representations on seals were extremely idealised and symbolic rather than accurate, as those of Philippa's seals demonstrate (Figures 9 and 13). Philippa's seal may represent an ideal version of the queen because it was intended to represent the position of the queen and used for official purposes, in contrast to the more personal elements of her effigy, a lasting image of the queen. On the murals of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Philippa appears as slim as her daughters, despite being aged at least in her forties during the creation of the murals during the 1350s.¹² Such images of queens draw on Parsons' argument for a model of the queen's 'two bodies', one an earthly body and the other the role of a timeless advisor.¹³ Effigies therefore represented the earthly body buried beneath and seals the office of the queen.

⁹ Bedos-Rezak, 'Women, seals and power', p. 63.

¹⁰ Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', p. 4.

¹¹ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 163.

¹² Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 312.

¹³ Parsons, "'Never was a body buried'", p. 333.

Despite the changing fashions in women's seals, Philippa of Hainaut still used a vesica shape for her great seal, as did other French women, perhaps a legacy of Philippa's upbringing in the French-influenced court of Hainaut, or a conscious decision to maintain artistic links to her native family and homeland, as with many other cultural elements and personalisation (Figure 9).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 9: Great Seal of Philippa of Hainaut, 14th century. Society of Antiquaries of London, seal cast case A1.¹⁴

¹⁴ 'Obverse of the Great Seal of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III (80 x 50mm). Society of Antiquaries of London, seal cast case A1', in Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', fig. 4.

According to Loveday Lewes Gee, Philippa and Marie de St Pol, the Countess of Pembroke (c. 1304-1377), were the only women in England at this time using seals of a vesica shape with a canopy and shields (Figure 10).¹⁵

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 10: Seal of Marie de St Pol, Countess of Pembroke, taken from an original seal impression from 1347. British Museum, no. 2000,0103.211¹⁶

Marie was of French descent and, like Philippa, also the founder of a college, in this case, Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1347. She also held lands in her own right in France, until their confiscation, and as the daughter of a French count probably identified as French, following French fashions in her seal design. Philippa's mother, Jeanne de Valois (1294-1342), the sister of a French king, also used a similar design, so Philippa may have based her own seal on that of her mother, suggesting another way in which she maintained the memory of her birth family, in this case

¹⁵ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 71.

¹⁶ Seal of Marie de St Pol in Hilary Jenkinson, 'Mary de Sancto Paulo, foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1915), pl. xxxi, fig. 5.

matrilineally.¹⁷ The similarities between Marie and Philippa's seals support the argument of French influence on Philippa's seal design, whether direct or through the imitation of other women's seals. Both Marie and Philippa's seals also featured canopies, which tended to appear on the seals of higher-ranking women such as queens and the daughters and wives of earls, although not all similar ranking women included canopies on their seals.¹⁸ In terms of ceremonial usage, canopies were held over the king and queen separately during the coronation ceremony, and also appear in a religious context, either in manuscript imagery or, for example, the canopy possibly supplied for the use of Queen Philippa at Ely Cathedral, and implied piety on seals.¹⁹ Edward II also featured canopies on his own seal, again suggesting the connotations of power and position, and another way in which queens were adopting signifiers of kingly status like the later round shape, suggesting a duality in their representation similar to the joint tomb of Richard and Anne.

Seals often presented an idealised image of the queen as tall and slim, although Philippa's seal may represent a halfway point between the new and old customs of seals, containing both a depiction of the queen as well as armorial bearings. C. H. Hunter Blair categorised women's seals into three types, that of standing figures without armorials, standing figures with armorials, and those which featured armorials alone.²⁰ Philippa's seal, bearing both a figure and heraldic arms, as in the second

¹⁷ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 132-3; Jennifer C. Ward, 'St Pol, Mary de, countess of Pembroke (c. 1304-1377)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53073>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Jenkinson, 'Mary de Sancto Paulo', pp. 401-46.

¹⁸ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 69, n. 121.

¹⁹ Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 129; Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, p. 14; Atkinson, 'Queen Philippa's Pews', p. 62; Loveday Lewes Gee, 'Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in Therese Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 577.

²⁰ Blair, 'Armorials upon English Seals', p. 20.

category, contrasts with the seals of Anne of Bohemia and Joan of Kent, whose seals bore only heraldry, of Hunter Blair's third category (Figures 11 and 12).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 11: Privy Seal of Anne of Bohemia, incorporating the arms of England, France, the German Empire and Bohemia, late 14th century, seal impression taken from BL Additional Charter 20396²¹

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 12: Seal of Joan of Kent, incorporating arms of England and France, taken from BL Add. Ch. 27703²²

²¹ Seal of Anne of Bohemia, Historic Seals: <http://www.historicseals.net/sealinfo.php?slID=93>. Accessed 18 November 2018.

²² Seal of Joan of Kent in Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, fig. 31.

The use of heraldry in seals was also not a new fashion. Danbury dates the use of heraldry on the seals of queens of England to the thirteenth century, beginning with Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), wife of Henry III.²³ Sekules suggests that the placement of Philippa's heraldry to either side of her figure was because queens and other royal women tended not be depicted on their seals wearing heraldic patterned clothing, unlike noble women.²⁴ However, a possible image of Philippa in the manuscript she gave to Edward on their betrothal, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS français 571, demonstrates that royal women were depicted in heraldic patterned clothing in manuscripts.²⁵ An altarpiece, now surviving only in the form of an illustration from a seventeenth-century book, also depicted Anne and Richard, both wearing heraldic-patterned clothing, the basis of their identification. The lack of Edward the Confessor's arms in the accompanying shields has led to the dating of the object as before 1395. Both figures' outfits included lilies and leopards, with Anne in a cope patterned with eagles, and a similar hairstyle to her depiction on the Shrewsbury charter (Figure 1).²⁶ Heraldry was thus an immediately recognisable symbol for queens and an element of their identification.

In terms of Philippa's effigy, Sekules argues that the heraldry surrounding the figure of Philippa and the canopy over her is similar to the seal of Eleanor, Edward III's sister, who married Reginald, Duke of Guelders. But Eleanor is depicted more fashionably than Philippa in her hair and clothing, whilst Philippa shares more similarities with the idealised depiction of Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) in statues

²³ Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 19.

²⁴ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 163.

²⁵ BnF MS français 571, fol. 6r.

²⁶ Petrasancta, *Tesseræ Gentilitiæ*, pp. 677-8; Gordon, 'A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych', pp. 665-6; Dillian Gordon, 'The Wilton Diptych: An Introduction', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), p. 24; Whittingham, 'The Chronology of the Portraits of Richard II', p. 12 ; SA 3369/1/24.

and effigy.²⁷ Women used heraldry to emphasise their relationships to their husbands or fathers, whereas men tended to use heraldry to highlight their succession rights to titles or estates.²⁸ For Philippa and Anne, the heraldry on their seals emphasised their familial links as well as their position as wife of the king.

Heraldry was important and symbolic. In the tearing down of Anne and Richard's combined arms at the time of Anne and Richard's wedding, Godschalk van Han Kon was making a political statement, about the choice of Anne as queen, as was Anne when she requested a pardon for the same.²⁹ Women did not bear heraldic arms in their own right but adopted those of their husband or father, which in some ways erases the woman herself, but emphasises her importance through her ability to forge links between families.³⁰ Philippa and Anne used the badges of their fathers or natal countries, perhaps to maintain a connection with their homelands. This is reflected to a larger extent in heraldic seals, where men tended to use only their own arms, and women those of their ancestors and families.³¹ Despite the absorption of wives and queens into their new family and husband's identity, women retained some of their natal identity through the continued use of heraldic symbols. For queens, these symbols also represented the treaties or alliances confirmed by their marriages. For example, Philippa's marriage to Edward III confirmed the support of Philippa's uncle, John of Hainaut, as well as providing a convenient base for furthering his ambitions in fighting France.³² Similarly, Richard II may have had aspirations towards becoming the next Holy Roman Emperor, however unlikely, which partly fuelled his choice of

²⁷ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 163.

²⁸ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, p. 44.

²⁹ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 114; *CPMR 1381-1412*, Roll A 25, Membr. 2b.

³⁰ Sekules, 'Women and Art in England', p. 44.

³¹ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 71.

³² Henry Stephen Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929), pp. 52-3.

the current Emperor's sister as a wife.³³ Both queens were chosen because of their families, which contrasts with the apparent love match between Prince Edward and Joan of Kent.

The seal of Queen's College, Oxford, used a similar image of Philippa from her seal, building on Philippa's association with the college's foundation. The seal featured her own arms and those of her husband as well as her clerk, Robert de Eglesfield, who had founded the college in 1341 (Figure 13).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 13: Early seal of Queen's College, Oxford, featuring an image of Philippa of Hainaut, with the arms of herself, her husband, and below, the arms of the College and Robert de Eglesfield, impression taken 1340. British Museum no. 2000,0103.182³⁴

Similar depictions of Philippa on the Queen's College seal also appear as decorated initials on two charters relating to the college. Charter decoration was usually paid for

³³ Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', p. 202.

³⁴ Early seal of Queen's College, Oxford, in Magrath, *The Queen's College, Vol. I*, pl. VI.

by the grantee, and Danbury suggests that the founder, Philippa's chaplain, paid for the decoration in order to emphasise the college's connection with Philippa.³⁵ Unlike in her own seal (Figure 9), however, Philippa's hair is covered, rather than the loose hair reminiscent of the traditional coronation style shown on her own seal.³⁶ Philippa's own seal demonstrates her hair unbound, which was generally unacceptable in a public setting, but when representing a queen alluded to the imagery of the Virgin Mary, as well as the coronation conventions. Loose hair on a seal figure was also not unprecedented, as the seal of Eleanor of Castile also depicts her hair loose.³⁷ Sekules suggests the fact that the figure holds her cloak strap and sceptre in different hands demonstrates that Philippa is representing her position, rather than herself.³⁸ In addition to the heraldry, the imagery associated with Philippa represents the office rather than the person.

Other elements featured on the figure on Philippa's seal derived from coronation imagery, such as loose hair, are comparable to the descriptions and illustrations featured in coronation manuals, especially the *Liber Regalis*. Most historians date the creation of the manuscript to the 1380s, either commissioned by or for Anne of Bohemia, and perhaps depicting Anne as the queen in the illuminations of both the king and queen at their coronation (Figure 14), and the queen alone.³⁹

³⁵ Elizabeth Danbury, 'The decoration and illumination of royal charters in England, 1250-1509: an introduction', in Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (eds.), *England and Her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London: Hambledon, 1989), p. 169; Danbury, 'English and French Artistic Propaganda', p. 75.

³⁶ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 164.

³⁷ Gee, 'Patterns of Patronage', p. 586.

³⁸ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 164.

³⁹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 195; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354.

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Figure 14: Joint coronation of a king and queen depicted in the Liber Regalis, late 14th century (Westminster Abbey, MS 38, fol. 20)⁴⁰

The queen depicted in illustrations of the *Liber Regalis* does wear a crown, blue gown and long braids of hair similar to the image of Anne on the Shrewsbury charter (Figure 1). The artistic style in the illuminations of the *Liber Regalis* is often linked to the Bohemian influences which accompanied Anne herself.⁴¹ However, Selby Whittingham argues that the absence of the *Liber Regalis* in a list of books belonging to Richard II from 1388 puts its creation at a later date.⁴² Nelson suggests that the *Liber Regalis* was used for the coronation of Anne if not Richard, although the service for the coronation of the queen alone may have been fabricated from that of the king,

⁴⁰ '*Liber Regalis*. The coronation of a king and queen (London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38, f. 20)', Richard II's Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: <https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/liberbig2.jpg>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁴¹ Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*', pp. 233-46; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, pp. 194-5; Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners', p. 765; SA 3369/1/24; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354.

⁴² Whittingham, 'The Chronology of the Portraits of Richard II', p. 15.

rather than a specific service of her own, in the same way that the role of the queen gradually grew from the role of the king.⁴³ Both Philippa and Anne were crowned separately from their husbands, because their husbands were already crowned kings when they married.

Seals could also feature Marian imagery like that used in coronation rituals. On the seal of Philippa of Hainaut, the queen was represented holding a floriated sceptre, tipped with the fleur-de-lis, a symbol traditionally associated with the Virgin. The rod symbolised the mediation between the roots, symbolising humanity, and the flower, her son.⁴⁴ The sceptre formed a reflection of Mary's position as the intercessor between earthly humanity and divine Heaven. Alternatively, the floriated version represented the Tree of Jesse and the religious lineage of the Bible, echoing Mary's fertility.⁴⁵ The floriated version may have echoed French fashions, as many aspects of seal design did. The *Liber Regalis*, however, describes the sceptre as ending in a dove, also a biblical symbol and one of peace, which might also be interpreted as mediation.⁴⁶ Either symbol presents the queen's sceptre as a tool of peace rather than justice or authority in comparison to the king, in accordance with her acceptable role as intercessor with the king.

Queens also possessed sceptres in actuality, including Philippa herself. An inventory of regalia taken on 28 November 1356 mentions two gilt sceptres both topped with doves, as well as two short gold sceptres with crosses, one of each presumably for king and queen.⁴⁷ Their matching regalia reinforces the image of king and queen as two halves of a whole. Sceptres are also mentioned in the inventories of

⁴³ Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, p. 84; Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', p. 183.

⁴⁴ Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', p. 4.

⁴⁵ Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol', p. 65.

⁴⁶ Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 122.

⁴⁷ TNA E 101/333/28; Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 80.

Richard II, including two topped with crosses and three with birds, but all described as silver-gilt rather than gold.⁴⁸ The multiple number suggests that sceptres were displayed or used on more occasions than simply the coronation, perhaps as frequently or in conjunction with ‘crown-wearings’.⁴⁹ Sceptres could also convey symbolism. For example, traditionally the dove-tipped sceptre represented the king’s spiritual authority, held in his left hand, and the rod, topped with a cross, his temporal power, held in his right hand. This separation echoes Kantorowicz’s theory of the king’s ‘two bodies’, separating secular and spiritual offices.⁵⁰ Similarly, St John argues that the queen had two bodies, one the physical which partook in the carnality of marriage and gave birth to children, and another intercessory version, much in the same way that the Virgin had two sides as triumphant queen and humble intercessor. In contrast to the king’s version of the ‘two bodies’, the queen’s sides could not be so easily separated as the queen could draw so much of her intercessory influence from her role as mother.⁵¹ The king and queen themselves also form the two bodies of the monarchy.

The *Liber Regalis* recorded many other minutiae relating to the coronation ritual, including a detailed description of the correct attire for the queen. ‘The queen shall be vested in a tunic and state robe with a long and flowing fringe. The tunic and robe shall be of one colour, that is, purple (*purpurei*), and of one texture without any other embroidery on it.’⁵² Philippa of Hainaut instead wore cloth of gold with a ground of purple, an irregularity which Shenton blames on the continuing interference of Isabella and Mortimer into the early reign of Edward III.⁵³ However, the difference in

⁴⁸ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 310.

⁴⁹ C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 178; Woolgar, ‘Queens and Crowns’, p. 211.

⁵⁰ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*.

⁵¹ St John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 20.

⁵² Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 122.

⁵³ Shenton, ‘Philippa of Hainault’s Churchings’, p. 118.

colour may also suggest that the regulations recorded in the *Liber Regalis* were somewhat flexible, at least in regard to the queen's clothing, or that they were more strictly followed for Anne's coronation fifty years later. Richard inherited from his grandfather rather than from his father, and there was also a gap between queens from the death of Philippa until the coronation of Anne. In addition, the illuminations in the manuscript depict the queen in robes of blue rather than purple, although blue was also a queenly colour with connotations of purity and the Virgin Mary, such as in the image depicting the queen being crowned alone (Figure 15).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 15: Coronation of a queen depicted in the Liber Regalis, late 14th century (Westminster Abbey, MS 38, fol. 29)⁵⁴

Other similar manuscripts also depict the queen in blue, such as the English Lytlington

Missal dating from the 1380s (Figure 15).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Coronation of a queen, *Liber Regalis*, late fourteenth century, Westminster Abbey, MS 38, fol. 29, in Annie Bullen, *The Coronation: A Royal History* (Toronto: Pitkin Publishing, 2013), p. 7.

⁵⁵ Westminster Abbey, MS 37, fol. 221; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 36.

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Figure 16: Coronation of a queen in the Litlyngton Missal (Westminster Abbey, MS 37, fol. 221)⁵⁶

The Spanish MS 197, a coronation order dating from the late fourteenth century whose text was probably based on the Litlyngton Missal and possibly used the same artists, depicts the queen in patterned blue and gold, perhaps similarly to how Philippa's robes were decorated (Figure 17).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Coronation of a queen, Litlyngton Missal, late fourteenth century, in Bullen, *The Coronation*, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 179-80; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 113.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 17: Coronation of a queen, late 14th century (Museo de Navarra, Pamplona, MS 197, fol. 19v)⁵⁸

Anne also appears in blue robes in the illuminated initial of the Shrewsbury charter (Figure 1), along with uncovered but crowned hair.⁵⁹ The similarity of these images suggests that rather than the decoration of the Shrewsbury charter being based on Anne of Bohemia personally, there was a trope or expected image of the medieval queen used for such illustrations, in the same way that the idealised figure of the queen appeared on many seals, building on imagery associated with the Virgin Mary and previous queens.

Both illustrations of the queen's coronation and her seals convey similar images and use elements of the same symbolism. For example, the sceptre was an

⁵⁸ Coronation of a queen, Museo de Navarra, Pamplona, MS 197, fol. 19v, PBS Learning Media: <https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/xir347317eng/ms-197-f19v-coronation-of-a-queen-from-liber-regalis-xir347317-eng>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁵⁹ SA 3369/1/24.

obvious signifier of the queen's position, with many levels of symbolism derived from the Bible, used during the coronation and presumably on other occasions, because the evidence suggests that queens owned multiple sceptres. The figure represented on Philippa's seals draws from coronation imagery in other ways, such as through portraying an idealised image of the queen with unbound hair, in addition to the fleur-de-lis symbol arguably drawing on Marian attributes. Philippa's seal features heraldry in addition to a figure, and those of Anne and Joan only heraldry, suggesting that the seals represented the office or position of the queen rather than the queen personally, particularly since seals were used to authenticate documents. However, queens were clearly able to influence the design of their seals and even to set fashions, such as the shape of Philippa's seal of French derivation, and the newer trends of Joan and Anne's seals.

Effigies

Effigies often depicted a more personal and in some cases accurate image of the queen than her seal, but still drew on many of the same tropes, emphasising ancestral descent through heraldry, or common queenly attributes. Philippa's effigy therefore contrasts with her seal, which included an idealised figure, but the effigy is unusual in representing the queen as aged, rather than in the idealised youth of other effigies and her seal.⁶⁰ Anne's tomb was also unusual in that she shared an effigy with her husband, rather than having a separate memorial. Anne died at a younger age and presumably without planning her effigy, whereas Philippa was older and had both motivation and

⁶⁰ Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display', pp. 259-303; Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', pp. 157-174; Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', pp. 3-9; Trotter, 'Walter of Stapeldon', pp. 1-4; Noppen, 'A Tomb and Effigy by Hennequin of Liege', pp. 114-117; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 116; Williamson, 'Sculpture', pp. 32-59; Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', pp. 87-103; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 105-21.

the confidence of a sound position with multiple children.⁶¹ Comparison of Philippa and Anne's tombs thus suggests the difference that the queen's ability to exert agency could make, given that Anne was therefore presented wholly according to her husband's wishes. Joan of Kent's memorial no longer survives, but again provides a point of comparison in that she chose a burial location separate from her royal husband, unlike Anne and Philippa who were both buried in Westminster Abbey.⁶² Effigies were probably the most visible and public depiction of the medieval queen despite the fact that they appeared after her death, but they did form a lasting legacy over which she might have more input than a seal design.

In comparison to the old-fashioned vesica shape and artistic form of her seal (Figure 9), Philippa of Hainaut's tomb represented a new fashion in art, featuring a more realistic effigy of the queen. Previously effigies of queens and other women, like depictions in their seals, presented the subject as ageless and idealised, and often similar, dressed in non-fashionable clothing. The effigy of Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), the first wife of Edward I and the last queen before Philippa buried in Westminster Abbey, provides a comparable example, depicting Eleanor with an unlined face, alongside voluminous drapery and flowing hair (Figure 18).⁶³

⁶¹ Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image', pp. 61-84; Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', pp. 32-59; Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, p. 60.

⁶² Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, p. 263; Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 291; Wentersdorf, 'The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', p. 227.

⁶³ Elizabeth Hallam, 'The Eleanor Crosses and Royal Burial Customs', in David Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1900: Essays to Commemorate the 700th Anniversary of her death: 28 November 1290* (Leicester: Paul Watkins, 1991), p. 16. Eleanor of Castile's body in Westminster Abbey with the described effigy, her viscera in Lincoln Cathedral with a copy of the same effigy, later replaced by a copy in the nineteenth century, and her heart at Greyfriars with a different monument.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 18: Tomb effigy of Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), gilt bronze, late 13th century, Westminster Abbey⁶⁴

Portraying individuals as ageless drew on medieval ideas about the ideal age of man, which perceived the perfect age as neither too old nor too young.⁶⁵ By contrast,

⁶⁴ Effigy of Eleanor of Castile, Westminster Abbey: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/edward-i-and-eleanor-of-castile#i17850>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁶⁵ Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young women and gender in England, 1270-1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 43.

Philippa is shown rounder than the contemporary ideal of slim, wearing the more form-fitting dress and hairstyle fashionable in the fourteenth century (Figure 19).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 19: Effigy of Philippa of Hainaut, alabaster, late 14th century, Westminster Abbey⁶⁶

Binski draws comparisons between Philippa's portrayal in her effigy at Westminster and the portrayal of women in effigies on tombs from Northern France and Flanders.⁶⁷ Philippa appears on the mural of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in a similar blue dress and fur lined mantle, with her hair also in the double plait style.⁶⁸ Chroniclers such as John of Reading, writing in about the year 1344, blamed Philippa and her Hainaut followers for introducing the fashion of tight clothes and long, hanging sleeves to England, although this probably expressed as much about social concerns

⁶⁶ 'Jean de Liège, Tomb effigy of Philippa of Hainault, alabaster (London, Westminster Abbey)', Richard II's Treasure: the riches of a medieval king: <https://archives.history.ac.uk/richardII/philippa.html>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁶⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 180.

⁶⁸ Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display', p. 270.

and attitudes towards the queen's followers than about the clothes themselves or Philippa's influence.⁶⁹ If English chroniclers disliked the king's choice of wife, they were likely to slander the queen's followers, a way of indirectly insulting the queen. The depiction of the queen in tight clothes in her effigy demonstrates that Philippa was associated with this style.

Philippa's tomb was begun during her lifetime, so her effigy was probably sculpted from life. Payments were being made to the sculptor, Jean of Liège, in 1367, from the Issue Roll dated 20 January, before Philippa's death in 1369.⁷⁰ Sekules argues that the lifelike depiction of Philippa on her tomb also shares similarities with a description often said to be about Philippa. Walter Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, had been sent to the court of Hainaut before the marriage negotiations to inspect the Count's daughter, when the daughter in question was about eight or nine. Stapeldon described the girl as having a large forehead, with dark eyes, a straight nose with broad tip, and a wide mouth with full lips. However, there is some debate over which daughter the description actually represents, as Philippa's sister Sybilla had originally been suggested as the candidate for marriage with Edward III, and Ormrod argues that Stapeldon was describing another sister, Margaret.⁷¹ However, Trotter states that the identity of the girl described is irrelevant, given the similarity of the account to stereotypical descriptions of women in contemporary romances. The only discrepancy is the description of Philippa's teeth as less than perfect, with a slight underbite, which suggests that part at least was accurate.⁷² The similarity of the effigy to the details

⁶⁹ John of Reading, *Cronica Johannis de Reading at Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367*, ed. James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914), p. 88; Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1980), p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 189.

⁷¹ *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307-1326)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London: George Bell, 1892), p. 169; Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 159; Trotter, 'Walter of Stapeldon', p. 3; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 70.

⁷² Trotter, 'Walter of Stapeldon', p. 3.

noted supports the identification of Philippa as the focus of the description, although the sisters may have simply looked very alike.

Philippa was much older than Anne at the time of her death and had already been considering her burial. Arrangements for her tomb began at least two years before her death with a payment of £133, 6s. 8d. to Hennequin or Jean of Liège, a sculptor who worked chiefly in Paris but originated from Brabant, near Hainaut, who had also created images of several members of the French royal family. These included the tombs of Blanche and Marie of France, the daughters of Charles IV, in St Denis, as well as Jeanne de Bretagne in Orléans, and statues of Charles V and his wife, Jeanne de Bourbon, for the Louvre.⁷³ Gee argues that facially, the effigy of Marie is similar to that of Philippa, with a chubby face and similar hairstyle.⁷⁴ The similarity therefore suggests that Hennequin de Liège had a certain style in sculpting heads, or that his work conformed to the ideals of beauty expressed in romances and arguably in Stapeldon's description. The statue of Jeanne de Bourbon, who died less than a decade after Philippa, also has a similar hairstyle to that shown on Philippa's effigy, which also appears on the figures of Philippa and her daughters in the wall paintings of St Stephen's Chapel. In employing de Liège, Philippa may have been building on her distant connection to the French royal family, or simply following French fashions. As with the transition of jewellery from ecclesiastical to secular use, by the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the royal family had superseded monasteries as the largest patrons of art, particularly sculpture, making effigies a powerful tool.⁷⁵ Unlike Anne, whose tomb was organised by her husband, Philippa probably had input over the design of her own effigy. As in the manner of traditional seal representations of

⁷³ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 189; Noppen, 'A Tomb and Effigy by Hennequin of Liege', p. 114; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 116; Williamson, 'Sculpture', pp. 103-4.

⁷⁴ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 116; Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 41.100.132.

⁷⁵ Williamson, 'Sculpture', p. 106.

queens, Philippa's effigy originally depicted her holding a mantle strap in one hand and a sceptre in the other, allusions to her status and role. The tomb also included the arms of her eldest son, the Holy Roman Empire, her husband, the French king and her father.⁷⁶ As with the depiction of heraldry on her seal, Philippa's tomb thus emphasised her connections to influential male relatives, which her husband and descendants might also exploit.

Philippa had French ancestry, as a great-granddaughter of Philip III of France, but in many ways the English court imitated the French court. Gee argues that the fact that Philippa used a French craftsman, rather than English masons, is endemic of a wider trend of originality and drive in female patrons. Several other prominent French women in England, including the earlier queen Margaret of France (1279-1318), second wife of Edward I, Blanche of Artois (c. 1248-1302), the countess of Lancaster, wife of Edward I's brother Edmund and former queen of Navarre, and Marie de St Pol also used French craftsmen.⁷⁷ Philippa's tomb therefore contrasts with the tomb of her husband, which may have used English craftsmen, but a similarly lifelike depiction.⁷⁸ Philippa's tomb was also unusual in incorporating both white and black marble, a combination new in England.⁷⁹ Possibly the use of French craftsmen for their tombs suggests a desire for these women to associate themselves with their homelands or families at the end of their lives and for their lasting depictions. The individuality and innovation of Philippa's effigy, created towards the end of her life, marks a change

⁷⁶ Noppen, 'A Tomb and Effigy by Hennequin of Liege', p. 116.

⁷⁷ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 115; John Carmi Parsons, 'Margaret [Margaret of France] (1279?-1318), queen of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18046>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁷⁸ Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 192.

⁷⁹ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 170.

from the traditional and old-fashioned form of her seal, probably designed in her youth at her marriage. This demonstrates the growth of Philippa's taste and in a sense her influence on the design of her own images to at least some extent, despite the argument that Philippa's images formed simply a part of Edward's image policy, presenting Philippa as a mother in the context of a united family.⁸⁰ Edward later added six copper angels to surround Philippa's tomb, for which he paid Stephen de Haddale, at the same time as a pair of alabaster statues to the marble tomb of a son and daughter of the queen who had died in infancy.⁸¹ Husbands therefore could change the chosen depictions of their wives even after death.

Both Philippa and Anne predeceased their husbands, and because Anne died at a much younger age than Philippa, Richard had full control over Anne's tomb. The wooden head of Anne of Bohemia's funeral effigy also survives, which may have been the first funeral effigy produced for a queen of England, and the third in England overall after Edward II and Edward III (Figure 20).⁸²

⁸⁰ Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', pp. 90-1; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', pp. 105-21; Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', pp. 157-74.

⁸¹ *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 199-200.

⁸² Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image', p. 62.

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Figure 20: Funeral effigy head of Anne of Bohemia, late 14th century, Westminster Abbey⁸³

⁸³ Wooden funeral effigy head of Anne of Bohemia, Westminster Abbey: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia#i17860>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

Steane suggests that physically, the funeral effigy may be more accurate in terms of proportion as tomb effigies were often too short.⁸⁴ In contrast to Philippa's effigy, Anne of Bohemia's tomb effigy may have been created from a death mask of wax made by the London candlemaker, Roger Elys.⁸⁵ Anne's burial tomb was also innovative in that her double tomb with Richard was the first of its kind in England, possibly copying French fashions, as opposed to Philippa who was conventionally buried close to Edward, but in a separate tomb (Figure 21).⁸⁶

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Figure 21: Effigies of Anne of Bohemia and Richard II, gilt bronze, late 14th century, Westminster Abbey⁸⁷

Most scholars argue that Richard arranged a double tomb with his wife out of his genuine affection for her, as demonstrated by his reaction at her death, ordering

⁸⁴ Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, p. 60.

⁸⁵ Danbury, 'Images of English Queens', p. 4.

⁸⁶ Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image', p. 62; Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', p. 90.

⁸⁷ Effigies of Anne of Bohemia and Richard II, gilt bronze, Westminster Abbey:

<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia#i17860>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

both the demolition of the manor of Sheen and striking an earl who arrived late to her funeral.⁸⁸ As further confirmation of Richard and Anne's close and probably not chaste relationship Richard also commissioned a double tomb for himself and Anne after Anne's death. The contract with Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote was dated 1 April 1395, after her death.⁸⁹ Lewis argues that the design of the tomb meant that Richard intended himself to be commemorated as a childless king. Richard based the tomb design on that of Edward III, which was surrounded by statues representing his ten children. Richard used instead statues of saints, which Lewis again argues meant that he intended to represent himself as childless, or a father only in a spiritual sense.⁹⁰ His plans may have changed if he had later produced children. The veneration of saints also represents a different image policy for Richard in comparison to Edward III's emphasis on family and dynasty, perhaps driven by the couple's lack of children.

Ormrod, in contrast, argues that the double tomb was a part of Richard's larger scheme to subsume the feminine qualities of queenship into his own vision of kingship, contrasting with Edward III's efforts to present Philippa as a dutiful wife and the feminine half of monarchy.⁹¹ Ormrod argues that Edward III presented his wife as the archetypal domestic wife in order to emphasise her feminine qualities and the masculine qualities of kingship. The role of his queen was particularly sensitive given the perception of his own mother overstepping her boundaries during both his father's reign and the minority of his own.⁹² The double tomb does give Anne more prominence as a queen than a single tomb.

⁸⁸ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 215.

⁸⁹ Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works, Vol. II*, p. 487; TNA E 101/473/7.

⁹⁰ Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king', p. 90.

⁹¹ Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity', p. 181.

⁹² Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity', p. 178.

Anne and Richard's tomb was also unusual in that the effigies were patterned with various symbols, including the crowned initials 'A' and 'R', lime leaves representing the house of Bohemia, vine leaves, her own badge of the chained ostrich with a nail in its beak, a symbol of Anne's birth family, and knots, the badge of her brother Wenceslaus IV (Figure 22).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 22: Detail from Anne of Bohemia's effigy, showing her symbol of an ostrich with a crown around its neck and a nail in its beak, late 14th century, Westminster Abbey⁹³

The canopy also included the quartered arms of England and France impaled with Bohemia.⁹⁴ There was this a great emphasis on Anne's ancestry through symbols and heraldry, probably due to Richard highlighting her status as the sister of an emperor.

Originally Richard and Anne's effigies were clasping hands with an orb between them, possibly a symbol of sharing power.⁹⁵ Anne's effigy was cast in bronze, although her tomb was created from marble, for which the London stonemasons Henry

⁹³ Ostrich detail on gilt bronze effigy of Anne of Bohemia, Westminster Abbey: <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia#i17860>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

⁹⁴ Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image', p. 71; Nichols, 'Observations on the Heraldic Devices', p. 48; Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, p. 60.

⁹⁵ Hilton, *Queens Consort*, p. 310.

Yevele and Stephen Lote were paid £200.⁹⁶ Yevele may also have designed the tombs of Richard's father, Prince Edward, as well as his grandfather, Edward III.⁹⁷ Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski suggest that Anne and Richard's tomb formed one of three artistic endeavours which Richard commissioned shortly after Anne's death, the others being the Wilton Diptych and a full length portrait of Richard, the Westminster Portrait, the composition of which Anne's father may have inspired through his ownership of several full length portraits of himself.⁹⁸ Anne's place in Richard's tomb, situating her firmly within their partnership, contrasts with Philippa and Joan in their own personal tombs. Surprisingly, the location of Joan's burial suggests that she was able to exercise more agency in her choice of final resting place, despite her lesser status, than Philippa and Anne who, because of their position as queens, were buried close to their royal husbands.

The choice of burial locations also differentiated royal women from one another, perhaps reflecting the agency available through their positions. Joan of Kent differs especially from Philippa and Anne, who followed the emerging tradition which was slowly transforming Westminster Abbey into a kind of royal mausoleum, in imitation of the French royal family at St Denis.⁹⁹ Joan, by contrast, chose to be buried at Greyfriars, a Franciscan friary at Stamford, Lincolnshire, which was destroyed in the sixteenth century, so her tomb no longer exists.¹⁰⁰ However, not all queens were buried at Westminster, with Isabella of France, for example, choosing Greyfriars,

⁹⁶ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 258.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 393-4.

⁹⁸ Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 517-8.

⁹⁹ William Chester Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁰ William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1906), p. 228.

London, with which she had a special relationship, also the choice of her predecessor and aunt, Margaret of France. In addition, Isabella had a contentious relationship with her husband, who was himself not buried in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰¹ Lawne suggests that Joan did not wish to be buried beside her last husband, the Prince of Wales, as that would attract infamy and the memory of her chequered marital history, perhaps damaging the reputation of her son, Richard II. Joan's choice of Stamford leads Lawne to suggest that Thomas Holand had been Joan's 'great love of her life'.¹⁰² Joan probably planned, at least during the lifetime of her last husband, to be buried with him at Canterbury, given the two chantries which they founded there, and Ormrod agrees with Lawne that Joan's choice of burial place was a part of her programme of political obscurity, a retirement after the marriage of her son.¹⁰³ A ceiling boss supposedly depicts Joan in the undercroft of the Chapel of Our Lady at Canterbury, the redesign of which Edward had paid for as part of the papal dispensation for his marriage to Joan (Figure 23).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', p. 89; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, pp. 163-5; Parsons, "'Never was a body buried'", pp. 330-1; Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London', pp. 53-76; Robson, 'Queen Isabella (c.1295/1358) and the Greyfriars', pp. 325-48; Joel Burden, 'Re-writing a Rite of Passage: The Peculiar Funeral of Edward II', in Nicola McDonald and W. Mark Ormrod (eds.), *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 13-30.

¹⁰² Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, p. 263; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 130.

¹⁰³ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 291; Wentersdorf, 'The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', p. 227.

¹⁰⁴ TNA SC 7/22/17; Wentersdorf, 'The clandestine marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', pp. 219 and 226-7.

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Figure 23: Ceiling boss in undercroft of the Chapel of Our Lady, 14th century, Canterbury¹⁰⁵

Joan was technically married to Thomas Holand for twenty years between 1340 and 1360, despite spending nine of those with her bigamous second husband William Montacute. Joan's marriage to Prince Edward was shorter, lasting sixteen years from 1360 until 1376.¹⁰⁶ Burial with her first husband may have been Joan's personal penance for her bigamous marriage. Regardless of the reason, Joan's burial place suggests that as a princess but not a queen she had the agency and wealth to arrange burial wherever she chose, with the choice arguably more restricted for crowned queens such as Anne and Philippa.

Anne's will does not survive and may never have existed given her early death, so there is no way to tell her desires for burial. However, Anne would presumably have chosen to be buried with or near to her husband, given their close relationship,

¹⁰⁵ Ceiling boss in undercroft of the Chapel of Our Lady, Canterbury, in Lawne, *Joan of Kent*, fig. 20.

¹⁰⁶ Wentersdorf, 'The clandestine marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent', p. 203.

although the choice of a double tomb seems to have been solely Richard's. Philippa was presumably more influenced by her husband's choice of Westminster Abbey and her desire to be buried with him than her own personal religion. However, Philippa was also following Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), the last queen of England buried at Westminster Abbey before Philippa.¹⁰⁷ Philippa used the relic of the Virgin's girdle, kept at Westminster Abbey, during the birth of at least two of her children, abroad in 1338 for Lionel of Antwerp and at Woodstock for Thomas in 1354-5. Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291) had also used this girdle in the preceding century for the birth of her daughter Beatrice in Gascony, 1242, as had Elizabeth the daughter of Edward I, in 1303 for her son Humphrey, and Elizabeth of York (1466-1503), wife of Henry VII, in 1502 at the birth of her daughter Katherine. The girdle might provide an example of keeping-while-giving, because Edward the Confessor had technically given the girdle to the Abbey, but the queens and some select highborn women could still use it, to the extent of transporting it overseas.¹⁰⁸ Philippa could also use the conventions of previous queens to her own advantage.

For Philippa, the association with the Virgin may also have taken an additional dimension. Shenton argues that Edward III felt a special devotion to the Virgin Mary, to the extent of calling her a better mother to him than his own, and Edward, Philippa

¹⁰⁷ Ormrod, 'Queenship, Death and Agency', pp. 90-1.

¹⁰⁸ London, Westminster Abbey Muniments 19621 and 19623; Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 169-170; *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, Vol. II, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904), p. 73; Charles Peers and Lawrence Tanner, 'On Some Recent Discoveries at Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, 93 (1949), pp. 151-2; Katherine French, 'The Material Culture of Childbirth in Late Medieval London and its Suburbs', *Journal of Women's History* 28, 2 (2016), p. 133; Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Barbara Harvey, 'The monks of Westminster and the old Lady Chapel', in Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (eds.), *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 11-2; Carole Rawcliffe, 'Women, Childbirth, and Religion in Late Medieval England', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Women and Religion in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), p. 107.

and their children were represented on wall painting in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, honouring the Virgin. Edward's devotions to the Virgin built on the history of earlier kings, particularly Henry III.¹⁰⁹ The north side featured St George facing the Virgin and child, followed by Edward and his sons. Parallel images on the south side featured Philippa and her daughters, identified as Isabella, Joan, Mary, and the already deceased Margaret in a niche, all dressed in similar blue outfits and gold crowns (Figure 24).

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 24: Reconstruction of Medieval Mural Painting at St Stephen's by Ernest William Tristram, tempera on panel, c. 1927. Parliamentary Art Collection, WOA 2913¹¹⁰

Images of the royal family in a praying position reflected the image of holy mother and child, and illustrate Edward III's emphasis on family and dynasty.¹¹¹ As well as forming one of the queen's key duties, the production of children could have a positive effect on a queen's reputation. Philippa had at least ten children, which Shenton argues formed a part of Edward III's presentation of the royal family as a loving and united

¹⁰⁹ Nicholas Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *Studies in Church History vol. 39: The Church and Mary* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), pp. 126-46; Nicholas Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154-1272', in Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 12-45.

¹¹⁰ Ernest William Tristram, *Reconstruction of Medieval Mural Painting*, tempera on panel, Parliamentary Art Collection: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/reconstruction-of-medieval-mural-painting-possibly-queen-philippa-with-daughter-214216/search/actor:tristram-ernest-william-18821952/page/1/view_as/grid. Accessed 3 August 2019.

¹¹¹ Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 121.

one, particularly after the upheaval of Edward II's deposition, which involved mother and son against father.¹¹² Together with Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), who produced the most children of the medieval queens of England, numbering sixteen, Parsons argues that Philippa has received the most positive historical reputation, perhaps because of their fertility, in addition to Philippa's reputation as an intercessor.¹¹³ Emily Howe argues that the mural represents Edward's emphasis on his family and descendants rather than the traditional focus on ancestors and bloodline.¹¹⁴ The same theme was followed on Edward III's tomb, in the form of weepers representing his children surrounding his effigy.¹¹⁵ As the mother of Edward's children, Philippa formed a key part of his policy, although this is not necessarily an indicator of her agency in his image. A link between the Virgin Mary and Philippa may also appear in the fourteenth-century musical *conductus*, *Singularis laudis digna*, in which one line calls upon the queen to save her people from the dangers of the sea, '*Tu regina regis regem*'. Lucinda Gower argues that the 'queen' here refers to Philippa or the Virgin Mary or both, building upon the intercessory reputations of both.¹¹⁶ The associations with Mary formed part of Edward III's image of a united family.

Marian symbols formed one of the elements in a queen's effigy, such as the flowing hair also present at the coronation ritual and present on Anne of Bohemia's tomb. Philippa, however, followed the newer fashion of appearing lifelike and aged on her effigy, rather than ideally youthful. Although Joan's effigy does not survive,

¹¹² Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 120.

¹¹³ Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen', p. 52.

¹¹⁴ Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display', pp. 270-6.

¹¹⁵ Sekules, 'Dynasty and Patrimony', p. 173.

¹¹⁶ Gower, 'The Iconography of Queenship', p. 153; Roger Bowers, 'Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony', *Music & Letters* 71, 3 (1990), pp. 313-35; Lisa Marie Colton, 'Music and Sanctity in England, c. 1260-c. 1400', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of York, 2003), pp. 87-188; Margot E. Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West: Western Music in Context* (New York: Norton, 2014), pp. 240-3.

the location of her burial alone emphasises the difference in her status as the mother of the king but not a queen herself. Joan's burial at Stamford might appear lower status, but the choice of location suggests a freedom and agency not accessible to Anne and Philippa as queens. Anne especially was both subsumed and made visible by her burial in a double tomb with her husband, another fashion new to England. Anne's younger age at death in comparison to both Joan and Philippa suggests that she may have had less agency in the design of her tomb and her burial place, and in her lasting image overall.

Manuscripts as Objects

Heraldry, appearing on seals as well as effigies, also functioned as an identifying mark on manuscripts, alongside other symbols, including images of the queens themselves. Identifying the manuscripts linked to queens, whether through commission or ownership, raises problems, especially where a manuscript has passed through many different hands, or bears few marks of ownership. As with the material possessions of specific individuals, identification in many cases rests upon the decoration of the manuscript, whether of heraldry or depictions of the women themselves, and to a lesser extent the literary content. As with women's material possessions, lists of books in the inventories or wills of men can also suggest those belonging to their female relatives, or at least the range of works that wives could access. However, although more wills of men survive than those of women, fewer men than women mentioned books in their wills, and not all the books that they owned. The books that were mentioned tended to be of a religious type, such as psalters and books of hours, possibly to display piety and because religious books were often expensively decorated and therefore valuable

objects.¹¹⁷ Carol M. Meale suggests that although there may therefore be the perception that the majority of books owned in the medieval period were religious, this may have been mistaken.¹¹⁸ Religion was a major area for both men and women to patronise, through both buildings and donations as well as literary patronage.¹¹⁹ However, wealthy women owning religious books probably owned other types of books as well.

Even those books traceable to royal women did not comprise the entirety of their reading. The queen, like other members of the court, also had access to the king's collection of books.¹²⁰ For example, according to the account of the Keeper of the Privy Wardrobe in the period 1324-41, John de Flete, Philippa received two books of service from the Wardrobe and another noted as '*Flores beatae virginis*' in 1328 and 1338, and Isabella received several romances.¹²¹ However, no comprehensive inventory of the royal collection of books survives until 1535, making the reading habits of medieval kings almost as unclear as those of medieval women.¹²² Even so, the manuscript collections of men, and the king in particular, assumed a public role

¹¹⁷ Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic Cultural Patronage', pp. 535 and 542; Meale, '...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english and frensch', pp. 130-1; Dutton, 'Passing the Book', pp. 41-54; Joni M. Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350-1550* (London: Routledge, 2017); Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 582; Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 10; Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 196; Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, p. 27; Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', p. 519; Sanok, *Her Life Historical*, p. 35.

¹¹⁸ Meale, '...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english and frensch', pp. 130-1.

¹¹⁹ Buettner, 'Women and the Circulation of Books', p. 11; Burger, *Conduct Becoming*, p. 189.

¹²⁰ Stanton, 'Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts', p. 227.

¹²¹ BL Add. MS 60584, fols. 18v and 27v; Jenny Stratford, 'The early royal collections and the Royal Library to 1461', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. III: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 259; Jenny Stratford and Teresa Webber, 'Bishops and kings: private book collections in medieval England', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. I: To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 178-217; Jenny Stratford, 'The Royal Library in England before the Reign of Edward IV', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), pp. 187-97.

¹²² Susan H. Cavanaugh, 'Royal Books: King John to Richard II', *The Library* 6th series, 10 (1988), p. 304.

which women's books did not, suggesting that the books that women did own were more personal in both content and decoration.¹²³ However, this also means that women's books can be even more difficult to trace than books that belonged to medieval men.

Reading habits and book collections could be obscured in other ways. For example, Philippa's predecessor and mother-in-law, Isabella of France, owned an unusually large collection of manuscripts for a medieval English woman of noble or royal birth, but which may have been more usual for a contemporary French woman of high rank.¹²⁴ Stanton notes that the depth of Isabella's literary interest was unique among queens of England, because she owned more books than her predecessors or successors.¹²⁵ In addition to more surviving evidence in the form of a list of her books at her death, more scholarship exists on Isabella and her books and literary patronage in comparison to Philippa or Anne. In the case of every manuscript associated with Philippa of Hainaut, Isabella is also suggested as an owner or commissioner.¹²⁶ Isabella therefore unfortunately obscures Philippa's reading habits even further than the general problems associated with analysing medieval women's books.

Several surviving books do have connections to Philippa. The earliest book associated with Philippa is the mostly surviving manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 571, which comprises multiple works, including Brunetto Latini's

¹²³ Buettner, 'Women and the Circulation of Books', p. 10; Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum* 71, 1 (1996), pp. 66-86.

¹²⁴ Stanton, 'Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts', p. 228; Susan Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300-1450', (unpubl. PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), II, pp. 457-60.

¹²⁵ Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 235.

¹²⁶ Stanton, 'Isabella of France and her Manuscripts', pp. 225-52; Stanton, 'The Psalter of Isabelle, Queen of England 1308-1330', pp. 1-27; Lewis, 'The Apocalypse of Isabella of France', pp. 224-60; Laura Slater, 'Queen Isabella of France and the Politics of the Taymouth Hours', *Viator* 43, 2, pp. 209-45; Cavanaugh, 'Royal Books', pp. 309-12.

illustrated *Tresor*, a French copy of the *De Secretum Secretorum*, Latin and French prayers and the Romance *Le dit de Fauvain* by Raoul le Petit, also illustrated.¹²⁷ The manuscript is linked to Philippa and Edward primarily through the heraldic decoration, including the arms of England, Flanders, Bar, and Luxembourg. Additionally, figures of a man and a woman either side of the first miniature in the manuscript are depicted in heraldic clothing, although the female figure is damaged (Figure 25).¹²⁸

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 25: Arms and figures decorating manuscript, 14th century (BnF MS français 571, fol. 6r)¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 582.

¹²⁸ Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 353.

¹²⁹ BnF MS français 571, fol. 6r, Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84510972/f15.item>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

Michael A. Michael argues that visible claws on the woman's clothing represent the arms of Hainaut, in the form of lions rampant.¹³⁰ The woman also holds a book in her hands, possibly presenting the manuscript to the male figure. Brigitte Roux suggests the identification of the figures as Philippa's mother, Jeanne de Valois, and father, Guillaume II, Count of Hainaut, or Philippa as the future mother of a prince.¹³¹ More convincing is the argument that the figures represent Philippa and Edward, and that Philippa presented the manuscript to Edward as a betrothal or wedding gift. The date can be inferred from Edward's heraldic clothing, which includes the three points azure which denoted his position as Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Chester, not yet the rank of king.¹³² The emphasis on heraldry symbolises the significance of the two houses combining and the dynastic purpose of the marriage. Weddings were also popular occasions for gifts of books, although brides were more often the recipient than the giver.¹³³ Wathey argues that Edward was the one who probably gave the book to Philippa, rather than the other way around.¹³⁴ Either way, the manuscript certainly has some link to Philippa and Hainaut, and illustrates both the literary background of Philippa's native court and the type of material with which Philippa was familiar. The heraldry also demonstrates one way the owner of a manuscript can be identified through the personalisation of decoration.

Several of the surviving manuscripts traceable to Philippa and Anne are religious works, and also identifiable in their links through heraldry or other artwork.

¹³⁰ Michael, 'A Manuscript Wedding Gift', p. 586.

¹³¹ Brigitte Roux, *Mondes en miniatures: L'iconographie du Livre du trésor de Brunetto Latini* (Geneva: Droz, 2009), pp. 120 and 140.

¹³² Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', pp. 586-9; Jean Devaux, 'From the Court of Hainault to the Court of England: The Example of Jean Froissart', in Christopher Allmand (ed.), *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), p. 11.

¹³³ Buettner, 'Women and the Circulation of Books', pp. 16-7.

¹³⁴ Andrew Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, 1 (1992), p. 14.

Like the support of religious institutions, books for personal piety were an acceptable and encouraged area of patronage for medieval women, in particular Books of Hours and psalters. Psalters contained copies of the psalms and usually a calendar of the feast days.¹³⁵ Two surviving psalters have been linked to Philippa, known as Dr Williams's Library MS Ancient 6 and British Library Harley 2899. Although both were probably created in London, Harley 2899 may also have had continental influences. Michael suggests the payments to Philippa's illuminator, Master Robert, according to accounts in 1343 were in return for his work on this psalter.¹³⁶ However, the inclusion of arms of England not quartered with France suggests a creation date before 1340, when Edward III began using those arms.¹³⁷ The decoration includes Philippa's coat of arms, the lions of England and lions of Flanders and Holland, at the top of a border comprised of images of kings (Figure 26).

¹³⁵ Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 58.

¹³⁶ TNA SC 6/1091/9, m. 6, and E 101/683/64, m. 1; Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 590; M. A. Michael, 'English illuminators c. 1190–1450: a survey from documentary sources', *English Manuscript Studies* 4 (1993), pp. 70-1; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 45.

¹³⁷ Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 141-62.

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*Figure 26: Border with kings and Philippa's coat of arms (Harley 2899, fol. 8)*¹³⁸

The other psalter traced to Philippa, MS Ancient 6, was probably illustrated by a London illuminator and may be related to the Queen Mary Psalter and the Taymouth Hours.¹³⁹ Gee compares MS Ancient 6 with the Book of Hours belonging to the French queen Jeanne d'Evreux, which was also physically small in size. Unlike Queen Mary's Psalter, however, MS Ancient 6 is less richly decorated, in the vein of the French tradition.¹⁴⁰ The inclusion of the obits of the French king and queen Philip IV and Jeanne of Navarre, the parents of Isabella of France, in the calendar of the Ancient 6

¹³⁸ Harley 2899, fol. 8, British Library:
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=48543>.
Accessed 3 August 2019.

¹³⁹ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589; Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 196; BL Royal MS 2 B VII; BL Yates Thompson 13.

¹⁴⁰ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 10.

Psalter, mean that scholars have also suggested Isabella as an owner, but may also have been intended to emphasise Philippa's links to the French throne.¹⁴¹ The heraldry featured within the Ancient 6 Psalter, including the arms of England, France and Hainaut, suggests that Philippa was the original owner.¹⁴² The arms of Hainaut, together with the separate rather than quartered arms of England and France, suggest a creation date for the psalter between 1328 and 1340, when royal heraldry changed due to Edward III's claims to the French throne.¹⁴³ Dennison posits that the manuscript may have been a wedding gift from Isabella to Philippa, perhaps emphasising their shared royal ancestry, as both descendants of Philip III of France.¹⁴⁴ The heraldry featured in both psalters, and the personalisation of the calendar in MS Ancient 6, suggests Philippa was the owner of the manuscript, even if she was not the original commissioner.

Other surviving manuscripts with links to royal women include Books of Hours. Books of Hours in particular were among the most popular books for medieval women to own, although few examples survive.¹⁴⁵ Books of Hours were generally physically small, whether to allow the owner to carry the book with them or for the

¹⁴¹ Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 196.

¹⁴² Lynda Dennison, 'An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient 6 Master', *Antiquaries Journal* 66 (1986), p. 298.

¹⁴³ Stanton, 'The Queen Mary Psalter', p. 196.

¹⁴⁴ Dennison, 'An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group', p. 298, n. 73.

¹⁴⁵ Buettner, 'Women and the Circulation of Books', pp. 9-31; Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', pp. 499-521; Virginia Reinburg, "'For the Use of Women": Women and Books of Hours', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 4 (2009), pp. 235-9; Sandra Penketh, 'Women and Books of Hours', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds.), *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 266-81; Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 2003); Margaret M. Manion, 'Women, Art, and Devotion: Three French Fourteenth-Century Royal Prayer Books', in Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (eds.), *The Art of the Book: Its Place in Medieval Worship* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), pp. 21-66; Charity Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).

creator to use the finer parts of skin available.¹⁴⁶ While all had the same basic purpose and features, individuals could personalise their Books of Hours through illuminations and other decoration, as well as in the content, whether through language or the choice of prayers. Coss suggests that due to lavish decoration and expense, Books of Hours essentially belonged to entire households rather than the intended owner alone, especially in the case of elaborately and expensively decorated works, and the contemporary social expectations for piety.¹⁴⁷ Royal women therefore encountered more books than the small number which can be traced to them.

Philippa, Isabella of France and Isabella's daughter, Joan of the Tower, have all been suggested as possible owners of the manuscript British Library Yates Thompson 13, known as the Taymouth Hours, with the depiction of a crowned female suggesting that the manuscript was created for a royal woman. Stanton argues that the owner was Isabella, based on the identification of the single figures as Isabella and in one image with Roger Mortimer, and Slater agrees, stating that several images reflect events in Isabella's life, such as her marriage to Edward II and her widowhood.¹⁴⁸ Henry Yates Thompson, who donated the manuscript to the British Library, identified annotations as a Scottish sixteenth century hand, leading Thompson to identify the original owner as Scottish or English royalty. Joan of the Tower, the daughter of Edward II and Isabella of France, married David II, the king of Scotland, which would coincide with Thompson's suggestion of an early Scottish owner.¹⁴⁹ Keane's study of the possessions of the French queen demonstrates that Blanche left books to

¹⁴⁶ Laura Sterponi, 'Reading and meditation in the Middle Ages: *Lectio divina* and books of hours', *Text & Talk* 28, 5 (2008), p. 668; Albert Derolez, 'Masters and measures: A codicological approach to books of hours', *Quaerendo* 33, 1-2 (2003), p. 85.

¹⁴⁷ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, pp. 169-70.

¹⁴⁸ Slater, 'Queen Isabella of France', pp. 214-5.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, pp. 15-6.

individuals who shared her name or heraldic devices. Isabella may have followed this practice, giving the book to Joan because the letters I and J were the same in Latin, meaning that their forenames shared an initial.¹⁵⁰ Other historians agree with the identification of Joan as the owner of the Taymouth Hours. Gee suggests that Isabella commissioned the book for Joan, and Caviness argues for either Joan or Philippa.¹⁵¹ Lewis and Stanton posit that Isabella commissioned the book for her own use, and Johnstone agrees, adding that Isabella left this book among several others to her daughter Joan.¹⁵² Joan of the Tower certainly provides the most convincing candidate.

By contrast, Kathryn Smith argues that Philippa commissioned the manuscript as a gift for Eleanor, the sister of Edward III, including the illuminations intended as educational for a young woman embarking on her first marriage.¹⁵³ Smith bases her argument on the record of Philippa's household paying forty shillings to Richard of Oxford on the 3 October 1331, close to the date of Eleanor's betrothal, for the illumination of two Books of Hours. One, Smith argues, the queen kept for herself, and the other Philippa gave to Eleanor on the occasion of her betrothal or wedding in 1332 to Reinald II, Count of Guelders.¹⁵⁴ The Taymouth Hours possesses little identifying evidence in the usual form of illustrated heraldry or family names in the calendar. At some point the volume passed into the ownership of the Neville family,

¹⁵⁰ Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*, p. 103.

¹⁵¹ Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage*, p. 59; Madeline H. Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries* (Medford: Tufts University, 2001), <http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/caviness/chapter4.html>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

¹⁵² Lewis, 'The Apocalypse of Isabella of France', p. 234, n. 61; Stanton, 'Isabella of France and her Manuscripts', pp. 242-5; Johnstone, 'The Queen's Household', in Tout, p. 285.

¹⁵³ Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, p. 14; Kathryn A. Smith, 'Book, Body and the Construction of the Self in the Taymouth Hours', in Scott Wells and Katherine Smith (eds.), *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 173-204; Kathryn A. Smith, 'Chivalric Narratives and Devotional Experience in the Taymouth Hours', in Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster (eds.), *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art: Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 17-54.

¹⁵⁴ Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, p. 14.

based in Northern England, before the sixteenth century, who added their own heraldry to the decoration.¹⁵⁵ However, four illuminations may illustrate the identity of the owner and possibly the donor. The two images of a single woman, Smith argues, are of Eleanor, as is the double portrait of a crowned woman and uncrowned male, possibly Eleanor's husband, who had not yet acceded to his title. The second double image represents the commissioners and givers of the manuscript, in this case Edward and Philippa, especially because the woman kneels on the preferred right side of Christ (Figure 27).¹⁵⁶

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 27: Agony in the garden of Gethsemane, with two crowned figures kneeling below, 14th century (BL Yates Thompson 13, fol. 118v)¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51-100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), p. 55.

¹⁵⁶ Smith, *The Taymouth Hours*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁷ BL Yates Thompson 13, fol. 118v, British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=29169>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

Even if Philippa was not the owner, she may still have been involved in the commissioning of the manuscript, which provides an example of the manuscripts that Philippa would have encountered.

The Book of Hours held in the Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturg. F3, identified as belonging to Anne of Bohemia, also includes an image of a king holding the hand of a woman, presumably his wife, which Staley suggests may represent the wedding of Richard and Anne (Figure 28), and the same female figure also appears kneeling before the Virgin Mary (Figure 29), but both images are later additions to the manuscripts and cannot be relied upon for identification of the manuscript's owners.¹⁵⁸

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 28: Wedding of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, late 14th century, disputed (Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 65v)¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), p. 125; Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), no. 299; Joan Evans, *English Art 1307-1461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 97; Royal Academy of Arts, *Flemish Art 1300-1700* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1954), no. 561.

¹⁵⁹ Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 65v, Digital Bodleian: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/07f4252b-26c4-4bd9-a47d-9e3fa095249d>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 29: Anne of Bohemia kneeling before the Virgin, late 14th century, disputed (Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 118r)¹⁶⁰

The Book of Hours traced to Anne of Bohemia also includes decoration intended as educational, similar to that in the Taymouth Hours, and Staley suggests the manuscript may have been a wedding present for Anne.¹⁶¹ Books of hours were often commissioned on a woman's marriage, by the woman herself and often by her husband, so this may have been commissioned by Richard for Anne, due to the

¹⁶⁰ Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 118r, Digital Bodleian: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/8a220d8e-c8e2-42cc-86a2-d85b9eff1500>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

¹⁶¹ Staley, *Languages of Power*, p. 125.

emphasis on the Virgin as an exemplary for women, and in this case queens.¹⁶² The manuscript includes a hunting scene with a dog capturing a stag, an allegory for the male pursuit of women, despite the male gender of the stag (Figure 30), an example of courtly love imagery.¹⁶³

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 30: Dog capturing stag, late 14th century (Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 71r)¹⁶⁴

Images in Books of Hours were therefore exemplary, in a similar way to the educational intentions of books for princes.

Anne of Bohemia is also linked to another Book of Hours, an example in Czech. Barbara Brauer suggests Anne of Bohemia as the crowned female figure depicted as kneeling with a prayer book in the Prague Hours, Národní Muzeum, KNM V H 36. This manuscript is the oldest Bohemian example of a surviving Book of

¹⁶² Penketh, 'Women and Books of Hours', p. 278; Madeline H. Caviness, 'Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed', in Nancy F. Partner, *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1993), p. 41.

¹⁶³ Penketh, 'Women and Books of Hours', p. 278; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturgy. f. 3, fol. 71r.

¹⁶⁴ Bod. MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 71r, Digital Bodleian: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/3591e86e-0844-45aa-ac1a-24ff91bdf2ed>. Accessed 3 August 2019.

Hours, as well as richly illustrated. Brauer emphasises that the artistic style contains several Bohemian elements, specifically derived from panel painting conventions and perhaps based on pre-existing panel paintings, such as the nudity of the infant Jesus, the drapery of clothing and the use of colour.¹⁶⁵ Other suggestions for the original owner include Anne's mother, Elizabeth of Pomerania, or her brother's second wife, Sophia, but Brauer suggests that Elizabeth was too old to be depicted as a young queen and that no symbols indicate either woman. Instead, Brauer argues that the image bears several similar elements to other depictions of Anne, such as long and uncovered hair, except for a crown, as in the decorated initial of the Shrewsbury charter (Figure 1), which depicts Anne kneeling before Richard, and the loose hair and blue robes of the queen depicted in the *Liber Regalis* (Figures 14 and 15), which Brauer also argues depicts Anne (Figure 31).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', pp. 508, 511 and 514; Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt (eds.), *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia 1347-1437* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 218-9.

¹⁶⁶ SA 3369/1/24; Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', pp. 515-8; J. Krása, 'Výstava rukopisů knihovny Národního muzea v Praze', *Umění*, XIV (1966), p. 605.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 31: Woman kneeling in prayer (Prague Hours, Národní Muzeum, KNM V H 36, fol. 77r)¹⁶⁷

However, the loose hair and blue robes may also have been general symbols of queenship. More convincingly, the manuscript also contains a monogram of the letters ‘AB’ which may respond to ‘Anna Bohemiae’, next to a saint who may represent St Anne, due to her position in front of a gate and the book in her hands (Figure 32), particularly given Anne of Bohemia’s association with St Anne.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Prague Hours, Národní Muzeum, KNM V H 36, fol. 77r, in Brauer, ‘The Prague Hours’, fig. 19.

¹⁶⁸ Brauer, ‘The Prague Hours’, pp. 518-9.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 32: Saint with initials 'AB' (Prague Hours, Národní Muzeum, KNM V H 36, fol. 61v)¹⁶⁹

Monograms were particularly popular during the reign of Anne's brother Wenceslaus for marking both books and other objects.¹⁷⁰ Initials were also present on several of Anne's personal possessions, such as a belt decorated with red and white roses, and on her effigy (Figure 21).¹⁷¹ Philippa also owned plate inscribed with her initial.¹⁷² Brauer suggests that the creation date of the manuscript, around 1393, and the fact that it remained in Bohemia meant that Anne never actually received the Hours due to her death in 1394.¹⁷³ However, the contents and illumination of the book still provide evidence for the expectations set for Anne by her natal family, which continued well into her marriage.

¹⁶⁹ Prague Hours, Národní Muzeum, KNM V H 36, fol. 61v, in Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', fig. 21.

¹⁷⁰ Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', p. 519.

¹⁷¹ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 186 and 301; Lindley, 'Absolutism and Regal Image', p. 71.

¹⁷² Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 354-5.

¹⁷³ Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', p. 520.

As personal books of devotion, Books of Hours may have included personal and unique illuminations, such as the stag and other animals included in Anne's Book of Hours.¹⁷⁴ For example, in the Prague Hours manuscript, the image of the kneeling queen faces the kneeling Virgin Mary and may reflect the owner's prayers to the Virgin for fertility, again lending credence to the idea that Richard and Anne hoped to produce heirs, or rather that others expected this of them, rather than maintaining a chaste relationship.¹⁷⁵ Kings also appeared in depictions kneeling before the Virgin, as the Wilton Diptych demonstrates. The personalisation of a manuscript thus demonstrates the concerns of both commissioner and owner, such as Anne's anxiety to reproduce. Alongside the *Liber Regalis*, this manuscript has been suggested as evidence for the influence of Bohemian culture which Anne brought to England. However, this is debatable given the uncertain dating of the evidence, whilst Binski suggests that Bohemian culture was only one of multiple influences on English art alongside Italian and Germanic influences.¹⁷⁶ Although not necessarily linkable to wider Bohemian influences in England, the Prague Hours may still demonstrate Anne's personal concerns.

As the evidence for Anne of Bohemia and Philippa of Hainaut demonstrates, royal women encountered a range of literature from kingly guidance and romances to religious works. The personalisation of manuscripts suggests the identities of owners or commissioners, through artwork or content. Decoration ranged from heraldry, initials and the portraits of owners to illuminations relevant to their stage of life and concerns. The lack of evidence for Joan of Kent's reading certainly does not mean that

¹⁷⁴ Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', p. 500.

¹⁷⁵ Brauer, 'The Prague Hours', p. 519.

¹⁷⁶ Hana Hlaváčková, 'The Bible of Wenceslas IV in the Context of Court Culture', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), p. 223; Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*', pp. 233-46.

she did not own books, because religious books in particular were ubiquitous, and Philippa and Anne's books suggest what Joan would also have been reading. Many surviving religious works such as Books of Hours and psalters emphasise the importance of piety in daily life, whereas other manuscripts demonstrate the active patronage of contemporary writers and illuminators, including as gifts for husbands or other family members. The exemplary nature of illustrations in the religious books associated with the women emphasises the context in which royal women were expected to act.

Conclusion

Several identifying marks span seals, effigies, and manuscripts associated with queens and their depictions. Images of queens in this context include the idealised, generic images shown on Philippa's seal and on the effigies of previous queens and draw on tropes such as the Virgin Mary, as well as the precedents set by earlier queens, and attributes such as motherhood. Other depictions, such as Philippa's effigy, present a more realistic depiction. Effigies formed a personal monument which might also fulfil a purpose including emphasising familial links. This was often through heraldry, which again appears on seals, effigies and manuscripts, to the extent that her arms might form a cipher for the queen herself, and even appear on depictions of the queen through heraldic dress. But heraldry in a way was also depersonalising, fittingly for seals which represented the queen's office and council as well as herself personally.

Different types of depictions might also depend on the agency involved of the queen, who might have input into her effigy, unless she died unexpectedly, but perhaps less so in her seal, designed at the beginning of her marriage when she was younger. Although difficulties arise when attempting to identify the medieval owners of manuscripts, elements of personalisation such as initials, heraldry or images of the

women themselves can suggest links between manuscripts and royal women. Artistic representations of queens often survive, helping to shape the lasting legacy of a queen, and how queenly intercession and patronage could have lasting significance, often portraying a certain image of the queen rather than a lifelike depiction. Likewise, the queen's literary patronage meant the creation of works to convey certain queenly aspects.

Chapter VI: Literary Patronage

Alongside spending on material and artistic culture, literary patronage formed a major part of queenly expenditure, and also overlapped with other elements of queenly influence, such as court culture and religion. The patronage of writers and literary works offered a route for queens to promote and to some extent create their legacy and lasting reputation. The study of literary patronage with regards to queens also exemplifies several ways in which queens and powerful women could influence trends in reading and learning, both within their family circle and to a wider extent culture, through their own agency as well as indirectly. Literary patronage could take many forms, including personal gifts and commissions, as well as the support of larger organisations, such as Philippa's support of Queen's College, Oxford. In many ways queens could use literary patronage, like religious patronage, to influence personal legacies for both the women themselves and their dynasties, through enduring depictions in literary works, as well as more visible elements, such as the college.

This chapter will first explore the relationships between Joan, Anne, and Philippa with two major literary figures who also intersected their time at court, Jean Froissart and Geoffrey Chaucer. As with many elements in the legacies of queens, royal women both supported the writers and received gifts from them in a symbiotic transaction.¹ Intercession also formed a recurring theme in the works of both, which may have both contributed to and been inspired by the intercessory works of actual queens, chiefly Anne and Philippa.² Philippa's association with Froissart also represented a continuation of the ties to her natal county, whereas Chaucer exemplifies

¹ Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage*, p. 9; McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview', p. 5; Lambdin and Lambdin (eds.), *Arthurian Writers*, p. 82; Fiona J. Griffiths, 'Susan Groag Bell's "Medieval Women Book Owners" After 35 Years', *Journal of Women's History* 29, 3 (2017), pp. 208-13; C. Annette Grisé, 'Women's Devotional Reading in Late-Medieval England and the Gendered Reader', *Medium Ævum* 71, 2 (2002), pp. 209-25.

² Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 17.

the patronage of a figure at the marital court of Anne. Next the chapter considers the role of women in court culture through Philippa's links with a manuscript on the theme of kingly education, BnF MS français 571, which she gave to Edward at their betrothal or marriage, and a copy of the Alexander Romances, MS Bodley 264, as well as the fictional role of Joan in the founding myths of the Order of Garter.³ Finally, the chapter will examine the role of royal women in language and learning, through support of scientific and religious works, the spread of languages and the financial support of Queen's College.⁴ All elements contributed towards the promotion of legacy for the memory of the women themselves as well as their families, whether through tangible form or as characters in literary works.

Queens as Literary Inspiration

Royal women had the resources and influence to patronise writers in order to help form their memory and commemoration past their own lifetimes. Many previous queens of England patronised writers and commissioned works, often as gifts for their husbands, or to help commemorate the memory of their husbands or other family

³ Michael, 'A Manuscript Wedding Gift', p. 589; Edith Rickert, 'King Richard II's Books', *The Library* 4, 13 (1932), pp. 144-7; Nigel Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds.), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1983), pp. 183-204; Antonia Gransden, 'The Alleged Rape by Edward III of the Countess of Salisbury', *The English Historical Review* 87, 343 (1972), pp. 333-44; Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), p. 86; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 194; W. M. Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter' in Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 13-34; Margaret Galway, 'The "Troilus" Frontispiece', *The Modern Language Review* 44, 2 (1949), pp. 161-77.

⁴ Nigel Morgan, 'The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), pp. 179-88; Linne R. Mooney (ed.), *The Kalendarium of John Somer* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992); Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Richard F. Green, 'King Richard's Books Revisited', *The Library* 5, 31 (1976), pp. 235-9; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter', p. 144; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 368-72; Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, p. 10.

members.⁵ Philippa's association with Froissart formed a part of this, and like many elements of her patterns of patronage, also maintained a link with her native land of Hainaut, where Froissart also originated.⁶ Philippa's link with Froissart contrasts with Anne of Bohemia's relationship with Chaucer, a member of her marital court culture, but both reflected the changing fashion of literary patronage, where authors wrote in hopes of reward from their patrons, rather than patrons, like earlier queens, commissioning works from authors. As an example of this, both Froissart and Chaucer make many references to the royal women, in varying degrees of allusion and exaggeration. Intercession formed one of the recurring themes in contemporary literature, such as Froissart's description of Philippa interceding for the burghers of Calais, and Chaucer's allusions to interceding queens.⁷ Philippa's intercessory activity also helped to indirectly fund her literary patronage, such as through the custom of queen's gold. Queens thus formed an inspiration through their actions, to the extent of solidifying intercession as almost an identifying quality of queens. Many such allusions also formed elegies for queens, concluding a cycle in which queens were both commemorators and commemorated.

⁵ Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, pp. 90 and 107; Winkler, *Royal Responsibility*, p. 13; Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage*, p. 9.

⁶ McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women', p. 5; Galway, 'Philippa Pan', Philippa Chaucer', pp. 481-7; Galway, 'Walter Roet and Philippa Chaucer', pp. 48-9; Douglas Gray, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey (c. 1340–1400), poet and administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5191>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Diller, 'Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn', p. 59; Lambdin and Lambdin, *Arthurian Writers*, p. 82; Bennett, 'Female Readers in Froissart', p. 14; Ferrante, *To the Glory of her Sex*, pp. 69-70.

⁷ Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 17; John Livingston Lowes, 'The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* Considered in Its Chronological Relations', *PMLA* 20, 4 (1905), pp. 749-864; Kittredge, 'Chaucer's *Alceste*', pp. 435-9; Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, p. 42; Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, p. 44; McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', p. 22; Quinn, 'The *Legend of Good Women*', pp. 1-32; Frank, *Chaucer and The Legend of Good Women*, p. 27; Weese, 'Alceste and Joan of Kent', pp. 474-7.

In addition to owning examples of the most popular genres of the period, the queens of England had a long history as the patrons and dedicatees of books, often with the goal of immortalising their husbands, their family, or themselves. As early as the tenth century, Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, commissioned the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, and the same Edward's wife, Edith (1025-1075), had her husband immortalised in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*.⁸ After the Conquest, Matilda of Scotland (1080-1118), wife of Henry I, patronised William of Malmesbury's history of the kings of England, as well as a hagiographical account of her mother.⁹ The association with books praising their husbands continued as a queenly tradition, with Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-1291), wife of Henry III, the dedicatee of the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* by Matthew Paris, forming a part of her husband's veneration of Edward the Confessor.¹⁰ Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) may have commissioned a

⁸ Simon Keynes, 'Emma [Ælfgifu] (d. 1052), queen of England, second consort of Æthelred II, and second consort of King Cnut', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8794>. Accessed 6 December 2018; *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. Alisatair Campbell, Camden 3rd series, 72 (1949); Williams, 'Edith [Eadgyth] (d. 1075), queen of England, consort of Edward the Confessor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8483>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 28-32; *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Frank Barlow, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, p. 90; Timothy Bolton, 'A Newly Emergent Mediaeval Manuscript Containing *Encomium Emmae Reginae* with the Only Known Complete Text of the Recension Prepared for King Edward the Confessor', *Mediaeval Studies* 19 (2009), pp. 205-21.

⁹ Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Matilda [Edith, Mold, Matilda of Scotland] (1080–1118), queen of England, first consort of Henry I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18336>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 10; William of Malmesbury, '*Gesta regum Anglorum*', in R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (eds.), *The history of the English kings*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998–9); Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, p. 99; Winkler, *Royal Responsibility*, p. 13.

¹⁰ John Carmi Parsons, 'Of Queens, Courts, and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth-Century Plantagenet Queens', in June Hall McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 176; Margaret Howell, 'Eleanor [Eleanor of Provence] (c. 1223–1291), queen of England, consort of Henry III', *Oxford Dictionary of*

copy of *De Re Militari* for her husband, Edward I.¹¹ Clerical writers were the creators of many of these works, although Joan M. Ferrante argues that the proliferation of secular literature in the French vernacular flourished particularly under queens Matilda of Scotland (1080-1118), Adeliza of Louvain (c. 1103-1151), wives of Henry I and Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), wife of Henry II.¹² Although fourteenth-century queens of England may not have directly commissioned grandiose histories or biographies in quite the same way, the intention to leave a lasting legacy continues, particularly in Philippa's patronage of Froissart and his historical works. Gransden notes the growth of secular writers, as opposed to monastic, under Edward III, such as Froissart and Chaucer.¹³ The queenly patronage of books for and about their husbands reflects van Houts' argument that women were expected to become the continuators of memory for their new marital families.¹⁴ In the case of Froissart and Chaucer, these men also enjoyed a close relationship with the royal court, to the extent that Chaucer's wife was also employed at court.

National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8620>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Alexandra Verini, 'Visions of Medieval Queenship: Gender and Genre in La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 50, 2 (2015), pp. 5-32; *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. Kathryn Young Wallace (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983); McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 346.

¹¹ Parsons, 'Of Queens, Courts, and Books', p. 180; John Carmi Parsons, 'Eleanor [Eleanor of Castile] (1241–1290), queen of England, consort of Edward I', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2006:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8619>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Gee, *Women, Art, and Patronage*, p. 9; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 361.

¹² Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, p. 107; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 22-3. Eleanor of Aquitaine's role as a patron of poetry and troubadours has recently been reassessed: Ruth Harvey, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Troubadours', in Bull and Léglu (eds.), *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 101-14; K. M. Broadhurst, 'Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patrons of Literature in French?', *Viator* 27 (1996), pp. 53-84; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 117.

¹³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p. 60.

¹⁴ van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23.

As with Froissart, Chaucer is noted for his attention to female characters. Similarly to Philippa's passive patronage of Froissart, Anne may not have been a patron of Chaucer in the traditional sense, with Wallace terming her an 'historical surrogate', an inspiration for the figure of Alceste in particular.¹⁵ Joan of Kent probably knew both Froissart and Chaucer. Collette argues that despite the traditional historiographical characterisation of Chaucer's main contacts as male, particularly including Richard II and John of Gaunt, the figure of Joan of Kent can express a different kind of female agency, suggesting that Joan took an active participation in culture. Joan's influence was indirect, with Richard's household including several individuals originally associated with Joan.¹⁶ Many of the members of Joan's household were also associated with Chaucer, although he may not have served Joan of Kent herself. According to the livery rolls of the Great Wardrobe, dated 10 September 1385, Chaucer was given mourning cloth at Joan's death, which may have simply been a court convention. Chaucer also received cloth during the mourning for Queen Philippa according to Exchequer accounts dated 1 September 1369. Chaucer's associates Lewis Clifford, Richard Stury and Philippa la Vache were sent to serve Joan in 1385.¹⁷ So Joan had at least an indirect influence on Chaucer's life and writings.

Scholars have interpreted references to Anne in a number of Chaucer's other poems, ranging from minor details to more obvious allegories. In terms of Anne's life,

¹⁵ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 6.

¹⁶ Collette, 'Joan of Kent and Noble Women's Roles', p. 350.

¹⁷ *CCR 1381-85*, p. 533; TNA E 101/401/16; Collette, 'Joan of Kent and Noble Women's Roles', p. 354; Charles Kightly, 'Lollard knights (act. c.1380-c.1414)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-50540>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Peter Fleming, 'Clifford, Sir Lewis (c. 1330-1404), soldier and suspected heretic', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-50259>. Accessed 6 December 2018; *Chaucer Life-Records*, ed. Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 104.

the earliest of Chaucer's poems to mention Anne was *The Parlement of Foules*, which used the allegory of birds to relate the possible betrothals of Anne, and eventually the match between Anne and Richard, in which case the poem would date from when Anne and Richard's marriage was negotiated, beginning in 1377. Two eagles represented Anne, the 'formel egle', and Richard, and other birds have been identified as William of Baiern-Holland, Friedrich of Meissen and possibly the French dauphin, all earlier possibilities for Anne's future husband.¹⁸ This poem also emphasises Anne's desirability as a bride, and the fact that her marriage to Richard meant the end of a prior long-term relationship between Bohemia and France, perhaps to avert future complaints about the suitability of the future bride as queen. However, others argue that the poem was written during the negotiations for a possible match between Richard and Marie, a daughter of the French king Charles V, with debates over the date of the poem's composition adding to the confusion.¹⁹ The use of Anne as an inspiration in elements of other Chaucer's works does make her a viable candidate, adding to Wallace's argument that Anne was an inspiration for the figure of Alceste if she was already a catalyst for other poems.

Thomas argues that the earliest direct reference to Anne chronologically in Chaucer's poetry, with *The Parliament of Foules* only an indirect allusion, is in the reference to an 'A' in *Troilus and Criseyde*, 'Right as oure firste lettre is now an A.'

¹⁸ Oliver Farrar Emerson, 'The Suitors in Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules"', *Modern Philology* 8, 1 (1910), pp. 45-62; Oliver Farrar Emerson, 'What is the Parlement of Foules?' *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 13, 4 (1914), pp. 566-82; John Koch, 'The Date and Personages of the *Parlement of Foules*', in *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, 2nd series, 18 (London: Trubner, 1878), pp. 400-9; Samuel Moore, 'A Further Note on the Suitors in the *Parliament of Fowls*', *Modern Language Notes* 26, 1 (1911), pp. 8-12; Chaucer, 'The Parliament of Fowls', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, line 373.

¹⁹ Haldeen Braddy, 'The Parlement of Foules: A New Proposal', *PMLA* 46, 4 (1931), pp. 1007-19; John M. Manly, 'What is the *Parlement of Foules*?', in F. Holthausen and H. Spies (eds.), *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1913), pp. 259-90; Edith Rickert, 'Geoffrey Chaucer: A New Interpretation of the *Parlement of Foules*', *Modern Philology*, 18 (1920), pp. 1-29.

²⁰ Lowes used the reference to ‘A’ as Anne ‘now’ to date the creation of the poem to close after Anne’s coronation in 1382, citing the regular use of initials on Anne and Philippa’s possessions respectively, and “‘A’ super ‘R’ gratis stat in artibus his numeratis’, ‘Among these guilds a welcome "A" stands on an "R"', in Maidstone’s *Concordia* poem.²¹ Michael Hanrahan argues that Chaucer adapted a less favourable aspect of Anne in the *Clerk’s Tale*, using the story of Walter and Griselda to express the unease of the 1390s, part of which was Anne and Richard’s failure to produce an heir, and Walter a ruler seen as failing his people through his lack of an heir.²² Anne and her life were clearly an influence on the literature of this period, although not always portrayed positively in allusion.

Details in other poems are more obscure. For example, a storm in Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale*, part of the *Canterbury Tales*, referencing ‘hir homecoming’ in the case of the arrival of Hippolyta to Athens may allude to the storm which occurred on the initial arrival of Anne to England in 1381. According to Thomas Walsingham, ‘*mirabile cunctis auspiciū*’, the incident was regarded as an omen, with Anne debarking from the ship just before it was destroyed in a sudden storm. The description does not appear in earlier versions of the tale by other writers, meaning that the storm was a detail added by Chaucer, inspired by Anne.²³ Aspects of Queen Philippa’s life may also have inspired Chaucer in the *Knight’s Tale*, which includes the successful

²⁰ Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, line 171; Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, p. 31.

²¹ John Livingston Lowes, ‘The Date of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*’, *PMLA* 23, 2 (1908), pp. 285-306; Maidstone, *Concordia*, p. 54, line 93.

²² Michael Hanrahan, “‘A Straunge Succesour Sholde Take Youre Heritage:’ The *Clerk’s Tale* and the Crisis of Ricardian Rule’, *The Chaucer Review* 35, 4 (2001), pp. 336 and 342; Chaucer, ‘The Clerk’s Tale’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 138-9.

²³ Chaucer, ‘The Knight’s Tale’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, line 884; Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 826; J. L. Lowes, ‘The Tempest at hir Hoom-Cominge’, *Modern Language Notes*, 19 (1904), pp. 240-3; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 48.

intercession of the queen Hippolyta for the lives of the knights Palamon and Arcite, ‘The queen anon, for verray wommanhede, Gan for to wepe’, followed by all the women falling to their knees.²⁴ Robinson and Hinckley both suggest that Philippa’s intercession at Calais formed the inspiration for the story.²⁵ However, Manly argues that Anne’s intercession for multiple people close to her arrival in 1382 formed the inspiration, and Parr argues that the parallel was Anne’s unsuccessful attempt to intercede with Gloucester for the life of Simon Burley.²⁶ In the *Wife of Bath’s Tale*, a queen, this time Guinevere, also performs a kind of intercession when she requests that she pass her own judgment on the knight.²⁷

But that the queene and other ladyes mo
 So longe preyeden the kyng of grace
 Til he his lyf hym graunted in the place,
 And yaf hym to the queene, al at hir wille,
 To chese wheither she wolde hym save or spille.²⁸

The prevalence of intercession in literature and these multiple examples demonstrates that intercession was an expected part of queenly customs by the late fourteenth century. Chaucer may also have been inspired by Anne’s appearance or preferences. Wretling links the hat which Chaucer describes the Wife of Bath as wearing in the

²⁴ Chaucer, ‘The Knight’s Tale’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 496-7.

²⁵ F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 777; Henry Barrett Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer: A Commentary on the Prolog and Six Canterbury Tales* (Northampton: Nonotuck Press, 1907), p. 75.

²⁶ John M. Manly, *The Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1928), p. 547; Johnstone Parr, ‘The Date and Revision of Chaucer’s Knight’s Tale’, *PMLA* 60, 2 (1945), p. 317.

²⁷ Elizabeth M. Biebel-Stanley, ‘Sovereignty through the Lady: “The Wife of Bath’s Tale” and the Queenship of Anne of Bohemia’, in Elizabeth Passmore and Susan Carter, *The English “Loathly Lady” tales: boundaries, traditions, motifs* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), p. 77.

²⁸ Chaucer, ‘The Wife of Bath’s Tale’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 894-898

General Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, ‘Hir coverchiefs ful fine weren of ground... That on a Sunday were upon her heed’, the ‘coverchiefs’ referring to kerchiefs or head-dresses, to the Bohemian style headdresses which Anne is traditionally supposed to have introduced to England.²⁹ The lack of description makes such a link tenuous, however, and Anne appears with uncovered hair in contemporary depictions such as on her effigy (Figure 22) and the initial of the Shrewsbury charter (Figure 1), even if she did introduce a Bohemian style of headdress to England.

Intercession also features in the identification of the inspiration for the queen Alceste in *The Legend of Good Women*. The identification of Anne as Alceste was first suggested in the eighteenth century, based on Chaucer’s allusion to his ‘sovereign lady’, and supported by a number of others until the early twentieth century, when the idea was opposed by Lowes and Kittredge, on the basis that Chaucer was simply imitating the conventions of French poetry.³⁰ Bowers links *The Legend of Good Women* to Anne’s part in the London ceremony of 1392.³¹ Two lines in version F of the prologue, ‘And whan this book ys maad, yive it the queen, On my behalf, at Eltham or at Sheene’, reference Anne.³² The reference also contributes towards the dating of the versions of the Prologue, the one referencing Anne generally agreed to have been written before her death and the version with the lines removed, called version G, after her death.³³ Alternatively, Chaucer stopped referencing Anne in his poetry after 1388, the year in which the Merciless Parliament took place, resulting in the execution of

²⁹ Chaucer, ‘General Prologue’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 453-5; Dale E. Wretlind, ‘The Wife of Bath’s Hat’, *Modern Language Notes*, 63 (1948), pp. 381-2.

³⁰ Lowes, ‘The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* as Related to the French Marguerite Poems’, pp. 666-70; Samuel Moore, ‘The Prologue to Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women* in Relation to Queen Anne and Richard’, *The Modern Language Review* 7, 4 (1912), pp. 488-93.

³¹ Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 17.

³² Chaucer, ‘The Legend of Good Women’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 496-7.

³³ Lowes, ‘The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* Considered in its Chronological Relations’, pp. 749-64; Kittredge, ‘Chaucer’s Alceste’, pp. 435-9.

many of Richard's advisors, and Chaucer began to distance himself from court politics. Thomas argues that Chaucer's dedication of the poem to Anne suggests that Anne was promoted as an educated woman.³⁴ One edition of *The Legend of Good Women* also implies that Chaucer may have presented a copy to Anne herself, although this argument may have been derived simply from the couplet referencing the queen. Collette argues that Anne and her ladies formed the original audience for Chaucer's poem.³⁵ However, scholars including Robert Worth Frank, Wallace and Bowers debate the extent to which Anne was the instigator of the poem, and whether she actually had any link at all.³⁶ Margaret Galway alternatively suggested Joan of Kent as the model for Alceste, which was immediately challenged.³⁷ Bernhard ten Brink suggested that Chaucer was grateful to Queen Anne for her intercession in appointing a deputy for him in the Customs office where he worked in 1385. However, there is no evidence that Anne interceded on this occasion.³⁸ Intercession was clearly a common trope in literature of the period, not necessarily referring to specific incidents or people.

Anne is also identified with the queen character in the poem *Pearl* due to the similarity in her portrayal. Bowers argues that the poem could have been written after Anne's death, taking the form of an elegy to her.³⁹ Bowers links both the 'season of grieving' in August expressed in the poem to the fact that Anne's funeral took place in August. In addition, the queen character is described as having long unbound hair,

³⁴ Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, p. 42; Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, p. 44.

³⁵ McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', p. 22; Quinn, *The Legend of Good Women*, p. 4.

³⁶ Frank, *Chaucer and The Legend of Good Women*, p. 27; Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, pp. 365-70; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 158.

³⁷ Weese, 'Alceste and Joan of Kent', pp. 474-7.

³⁸ Bernard ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften* (Münster: A. Russell's Verlag, 1870), pp. 147-50; Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 1060.

³⁹ Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 107.

similar to the style portrayed on Anne's tomb effigy, and the twelve-pointed circlet is often identified with the surviving crown associated with Anne of Bohemia.⁴⁰ In addition, Thomas notes the trend in the later medieval period of referring to female patrons through puns or allusions, rather than by names.⁴¹ Thus pearls were both associated with Anne by the king after her death, and used in literary works to allude to Anne without being overt. Bowers also argues that *The Legend of Good Women* formed part of a 'Margarite' tradition of poetry dedicated to Anne, due to the recurrence of pearls, in combination with Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*, in which the writer described Anne as '*benignissima domina*'.⁴² Sir John Clanvowe also dedicated his work, the *Booke of Cupide*, to Anne, 'And this shal be... Before the chambre wyndow of the Quene At Wodestok'.⁴³ Thomas argues that Anne's influence on the literary culture of Richard II's court was heavily intertwined with Marian ideas and poetry.⁴⁴ Marian influences also explain the frequency of intercession in literature during this period.

In addition to popularising the tale of Philippa interceding at Calais, Froissart was Philippa's most well-known recipient of patronage, a writer who, like the poet Jean de la Mote, also originated from her native county of Hainaut. Philippa's patronage of Froissart may have formed a part of the links she maintained with her home country, alongside the ladies she employed and Walter de Mauny, who began

⁴⁰ Harper, 'Pearl in the Context of Fourteenth-Century Gift Economies', p. 421.

⁴¹ Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, p. 24.

⁴² Thomas Usk, *Testament of Love*, ed. R. Allen Shoaf (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998), pp. 22-5; Ramona Bressie, 'The Date of Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*', *Modern Philology* 26, 1 (1928), pp. 17-29.

⁴³ Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', p. 98; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, pp. 157-8; Sir John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, ed. V. J. Scattergood (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1975), p. 52, lines 281-5.

⁴⁴ Thomas, *A Blessed Shore*, pp. 24 and 32.

as her carver.⁴⁵ McCash, however, argues that in this case Philippa was a ‘passive patron’, because she rewarded Froissart for presenting her with pleasing work, rather than directly commissioning works from him.⁴⁶ One edition of Froissart’s *Chroniques* noted that he presented a copy to the queen, who rewarded him afterwards.⁴⁷ Froissart’s desire to please the queen may have therefore been the reason for his insertion or exaggeration of Philippa into events such as the siege of Calais, and the battle of Neville’s Cross, at times when she was elsewhere or played a lesser role. Froissart may have first served Philippa’s uncle, John of Hainaut, before following Philippa to England, which perhaps suggests another familial element in Philippa’s literary tastes and habits of patronage.⁴⁸ Philip Bennett emphasises Froissart’s links to female patrons, with Froissart listing Philippa first among his patrons, along with her eldest daughter Isabella de Coucy and Blanche of Lancaster, the wife of John of Gaunt, in his love poem *Joli buisson de Jonece*. Bennett also notes Froissart’s inclusion of female characters despite the apparently masculine topic of war in his *Chroniques*.⁴⁹ Writers composing works at the commission of or for the attention of women tended to include more female characters or a focus on the family structure than those who wrote for male patrons.⁵⁰ Thus through virtue of her gender alone, Philippa may have had an effect on Froissart’s writing.

In addition to Walter de Mauny and Isabella de la Mote, Philippa brought other members of her retinue from her native Hainaut to England, including a Payne de Roet.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Sumption, ‘Mauny [Manny], Sir Walter (c. 1310–1372), soldier and founder of the London Charterhouse’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17985>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁴⁶ McCash, ‘The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women’, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Diller, ‘Froissart’s 1389 Travel to Béarn’, p. 59; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1, pp. 84-5.

⁴⁸ Lambdin and Lambdin, *Arthurian Writers*, p. 82.

⁴⁹ Bennett, ‘Female Readers in Froissart’, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Ferrante, *To the Glory of her Sex*, pp. 69-70.

Roet's daughter Philippa is identified with the Philippa who married Geoffrey Chaucer, in addition to the pair serving in the household and other members of Philippa's family. Philippa Chaucer looked after Queen Philippa's granddaughter Philippa of Eltham, may herself have been named in honour of the queen, and may have been her goddaughter. Presumably before her marriage, Philippa Chaucer was the 'Philippa Pan' mentioned in the household records, referenced as a '*domicella*' to Queen Philippa.⁵¹ Chaucer's association with Philippa was thus long-standing and deeper than simply literary patronage.

The literary patronage of fourteenth-century royal women did not necessarily follow in the same vein of earlier queens, who commanded the creation of great works of history. Aspects of their lives and personalities certainly influenced writers and their works, whether in events or characters, although this does not mean that the characters are direct insertions of the queens themselves. Whilst the patronage of royal women in the later fourteenth century is less direct, Philippa's association with Froissart and the creation of works at the request of Anne demonstrates that the same concern with leaving a lasting legacy remained. Philippa's patronage of Froissart formed a part of Edward III's presentation of a chivalrous court based on Arthurian ideals, exemplified in the foundation of Order of the Garter and the inclusion of women, and which continued into the reign of Richard II.⁵² All three women, Anne, Philippa and Joan, interacted with Chaucer and inspired his works to varying degrees, in addition to other poets, although this may not have been direct patronage in the traditional sense.

⁵¹ Galway, 'Philippa Pan', Philippa Chaucer', pp. 481-7; Galway, 'Walter Roet and Philippa Chaucer', pp. 48-9; Gray, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey (c. 1340–1400), poet and administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5191>. Accessed 6 December 2018; *Chaucer Life-Records*, pp. 67-93; TNA 403/431; *CPR 1364-67*, p. 311; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 198.

⁵² Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 259-78; McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', pp. 22-42.

Philippa's association with Froissart was the most similar to older queens' commissioning of works. However, the changes in queenly patronage are endemic of wider shifts in the royal court and the nature of kingship by the later medieval period.

Queens as Literary Patrons

Literary patronage offered a way for queens to both build new connections and influence culture in their marital home as well as continue links to their natal families.⁵³ Philippa maintained her connection to her home country of Hainaut through literary patronage in several ways, including her support of Froissart and the commissioning of manuscripts. The manuscript Philippa gave to Edward on their betrothal or marriage, BnF MS français 571, may have served to encourage Philippa's links to Hainaut, for although there is a debate over the identities of the commissioner and recipient, the association with both Philippa and Hainaut is undeniable. The theme of the manuscript's contents of kingly education also reflected the library contents of Philippa's father.⁵⁴ Philippa also later commissioned a poem in memory of her late father from another poet originating from Hainaut, Jean de la Mote, and continued to associate herself with Hainaut through the employment of attendants from Hainaut.⁵⁵

⁵³ Joan A. Holladay, 'Fourteenth-century French queens as collectors and readers of books: Jeanne d'Evreux and her contemporaries', *Journal of Medieval History* 32, 2 (2006), pp. 69-100; Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 65-113; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'A "Most Benevolent Queen"', pp. 214-45.

⁵⁴ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589; Rickert, 'King Richard II's books', p. 145; Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 56; Devaux, 'From the Court of Hainaut', p. 11; Janet F. van der Meulen, 'Le manuscrit Paris, BnF, fr. 571 et la bibliothèque du comte de Hainaut-Hollande', *Le Moyen Age*, 113 (2007), 501-27; Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III', p. 19; Frédérique Lachaud, 'Knowledge and Use of the "Teachings of Saint Louis" in Fourteenth-Century England', in Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner and R. L. J. Shaw (eds.), *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 196.

⁵⁵ Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', p. 194; Craig R. Davis, 'A Perfect Marriage on the Rocks: Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer, and The Franklin's Tale', *Chaucer Review* 37,2 (2002), pp. 129-44; Haldeen Braddy, 'Chaucer's Philippa, Daughter of Panneto', *Modern Language Notes* 64, 5 (1949), pp. 342-3; Russell Krauss, 'Notes on Thomas, Geoffrey, and Philippa Chaucer', *Modern Language Notes* 47, 6

Philippa's commission of a copy of the Alexander Romances emphasises her role in court culture through the female presence at court, highlighted by the role of Joan of Kent in possible founding myths of the Order of the Garter.⁵⁶ Royal women thus played an omnipresent role in court literary culture, and used literary patronage to transmit their natal culture to their marital home and maintain links with their birth families.

The contents of manuscripts, aside from language, are also useful in identifying the owner or recipient, through the purpose or theme of the manuscript contents. In the case of BnF MS français 571, the theme is one of kingly education, and thus intended for a young ruler or someone close to him. The manuscript included copies of *Li Livres dou Tresor*, which encompassed ethics as well as sciences, *De Secretis Secretorum*, a mirror for princes, and the Romance *Roman de Fauvel*, or *Le dit de Fauvain*. The geographical provenance of the manuscript prompts less debate than the identities of the commissioner and recipient. Various sections involved different craftsmen. For example, although the *Tresor* portion may have been purchased in Hainaut, Michael argues that Edward's mother, Isabella, was the one who oversaw the collation of the manuscript, including the illuminations and annotations to *Tresor* by an English scribe.⁵⁷ The *Tresor* section also includes the depictions of figures identified as Philippa and Edward (Figure 25). Edward's mother would be the

(1932), pp. 351-60; Janet van der Meulen, 'Sche sente the copie to her doughter': Countess Jeanne de Valois and literature at the court of Hainault-Holland', in Suzan van Dijk, Petra Broomans, Janet F. van der Meulen and Pim van Oostran (eds.), *I have heard about you': Foreign women's writing crossing the Dutch border: from Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), pp. 76-8; Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', p. 191.

⁵⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264; Barber, 'Edward III's Arthurian Enthusiasms Revisited', pp. 59-60; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 45; Gransden, 'The alleged rape by Edward III', pp. 336 and 344; Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, p. 86; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 194; Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', p. 34; Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George', p. 28; Galway, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', p. 162.

⁵⁷ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589.

figure most concerned about advising a future king.⁵⁸ Isabella herself owned copies of *Tresor* and *De Secretis Secretorum*, which were among the books which she left to Edward III at her death, although the entries in her inventory may have referred to BnF MS français 571 itself.⁵⁹ Evidence thus suggests that Isabella played some part in compiling the manuscript.

Given her young age, Philippa was almost certainly not the direct commissioner of the manuscript, even if it was a gift from the Hainaut court to Edward.⁶⁰ However, closer examination of the contents reveals some of the ways in which Philippa was a conduit for cultural transmission. Christopher Allmand argues that the manuscript was created at the instigation of the Hainaut household. The section of the *Tresor* in particular had been copied in a Picard dialect by a scribe named Michaus Ariespeil or de Bricoeil, a canon from Valenciennes, the capital of Hainaut.⁶¹ The inclusion of sections created in Hainaut suggests that the manuscript was meant to remind Edward and Philippa of Philippa's homeland, and demonstrate the type of literature created there, as well as ways in which Philippa was able to maintain cultural values in her new marital country. English scribes and illuminators were also certainly involved in creating parts of the manuscript, as well as writers from closer to Hainaut.⁶² The *Tresor* portion was probably purchased in an undecorated form in Hainaut and finished with extra notes by another Anglo-Norman scribe and an English illuminator.⁶³ Michael argues that the reference to the town of d'Ath in Hainaut in *Fauvain* or *Fauvey*n suggests that the continuation of the *Roman de Fauvel* was written

⁵⁸ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 590.

⁵⁹ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589; Rickert, 'King Richard II's books', p. 145; TNA E 101/393/4.

⁶⁰ Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum*, p. 56; Devaux, 'From the Court of Hainault', p. 11.

⁶¹ Devaux, 'From the Court of Hainault', p. 11.

⁶² Lachaud, 'Knowledge and Use of the 'Teachings of Saint Louis'', p. 196.

⁶³ Devaux, 'From the Court of Hainault', p. 11.

for Philippa's father, the count William.⁶⁴ Janet van der Meulen argues that the content of the manuscript also reflects the library of William of Hainaut, Philippa's father.⁶⁵ Even if the manuscript was overseen by Isabella, she included literature derived from Philippa's homeland.

The list of contents at the beginning suggests that the manuscript originally included other works, now lost.⁶⁶ However, the theme of the original contents appears to have been teaching Edward III how to be a good ruler. The surviving contents list suggest that the missing works included a '*Livre de Julius Caesar qui fu le premier emperor de Rome*', which may have been a copy of Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. The listed '*Government des Roys*' probably meant Colonna's *De Regimine Principum*, originally written for the French kings Philip III and Philip IV. Additionally, an ambiguous 'estature' or 'Statutes', the *pater noster* in French, and the French coronation ordo were also lost. Michael A. Michael argues that this 'Statutes' has survived in a manuscript called the 'Statutes of England', based on the similarity of the scribal hands and dialects in the text. The original manuscript did not remain with the English royal family for long, probably purchased by the French duke Louis d'Orléans towards the end of the fourteenth century and appearing in his inventory of 1396.⁶⁷ The absence of the 'Statutes' in Louis' inventory of 1396 suggests that elements of the manuscript were separated before this point.

The manuscript also contains two motets, musical pieces, which also appear in the *Roman de Fauvel*. One, *Ludowice prelustris francorum*, serves to emphasise that both Philippa and Edward descended from Saint Louis, King Louis IX of France

⁶⁴ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589.

⁶⁵ Van der Meulen, 'Le manuscrit Paris', pp. 501-27.

⁶⁶ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 582.

⁶⁷ Michael, 'A manuscript wedding gift', p. 589.

(1214-1270), as well as fitting with the general theme of kingly education. Frédérique Lachaud also suggests that the manuscript could have included the ‘Teachings of Saint Louis’, a mirror for princes.⁶⁸ Wathey suggests an allusion in the other motet, *Qui secuntur*, referring to evil councillors and ‘*adulator blandus*’. Originally the reference meant the disgraced Enguerrand de Marigny, a minister of Philip IV, grandson of Louis IX, the aforementioned St Louis, but the warning was also relevant following the Despenser scandal at the court of Edward II.⁶⁹ Although representative of a general trope in warning against evil counsellors, the possible allusion to the Despenser scandal suggests that Isabella was involved in commissioning the manuscript, given her personal connection.

Also included in the manuscript, *Li Livres dou Tresor* was a compendium of information based on both Biblical and Classical sources, including ethics, sciences and mathematics, originally written in Latin by the Italian Brunetto Latini in the thirteenth century. Although the contents rapidly became outdated, the *Tresor* remained popular throughout the later medieval period because of its translation into multiple vernacular languages. The ethics part of the *Tresor* was based upon Aristotle’s work, which taught good governance. The relevancy of the *Tresor* around the time of Philippa and Edward’s marriage is demonstrated by the fact that Andrew Horn, chamberlain of London between 1320 and 1328, included extracts from the *Tresor* in the book he assembled, *Liber Legum Regum Antiquorum*, as part of a manual for future mayors of the city.⁷⁰ Like the *Tresor*, the *Secretum Secretorum* was also a mirror for princes, believed to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great.

⁶⁸ Wathey, ‘The Marriage of Edward III’, p. 19; Lachaud, ‘Knowledge and Use of the ‘Teachings of Saint Louis’’, p. 196.

⁶⁹ Wathey, ‘The Marriage of Edward III’, p. 20.

⁷⁰ Staley, *Languages of Power*, p. 34.

The *Secretum Secretorum* also had an influence on other medieval works, such as *De Regimine Principum*, a copy of which was included in BnF MS français 571.⁷¹ The surviving sections of the manuscript illustrate the kingly education theme of the contents, both generally for any future ruler and more personally for Edward III, and seem to have been curated based on Edward's marriage to Philippa and her cultural background.

Philippa may have inherited her father's taste in literature, and patronised at least two writers from her native Hainaut. For example, after the death of her father, Philippa commissioned a memorial poem from de la Mote. Van der Meulen argues that in addition to Philippa being her mother's favoured daughter, according to Froissart, Philippa maintained strong links with her natal court even after her marriage.⁷² Evidence from the court rolls suggests that Philippa's mother made at least one visit to England, with an order for 80 tuns of wine for the queen's butler in preparation for the countess and her household in 1331.⁷³ This bond was particularly important given the political circumstances when Edward III began to press his claim to the French throne, using Hainaut as a base.

Philippa may have commissioned the poem *Li Regret Guillaume* in honour of her deceased father from Jean de la Mote. Like the contents of Philippa's possible wedding gift of a manuscript for Edward, de la Mote's poem had an educational tone, in this case urging the new count to follow his father's example, whilst Edward III was encouraged not to commit the same mistakes as Edward II.⁷⁴ Another of Philippa's ladies, Isabella de la Mote, shared the poet's epithet, but Dunn dismisses this as

⁷¹ Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum*, p. 21.

⁷² Van der Meulen, "Sche sente the copie to her doughter", p. 76.

⁷³ *CCR 1330-33*, p. 262.

⁷⁴ Van der Meulen, "Sche sente the copie to her doughter", pp. 76-78; Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court', p. 191.

coincidence and no relation.⁷⁵ However, Isabella de la Mote and Philippa's other ladies from Hainaut, such as Philippa Roet and Stephanetta Olney, demonstrate that Philippa maintained links with her homeland through the people in her household. These ladies do not appear until over twenty years into Philippa's life in England, after Isabella of France's death in 1358. Isabella of France may have chosen Philippa's original retinue, which Dunn suggests Philippa may have welcomed in order to familiarise herself with English ways, and only later either able or desiring to welcome women from Hainaut.⁷⁶ Philippa's choice demonstrates that she was still wanting to maintain links with her homeland even twenty years into her marriage, and her older age may have given her the gravitas to exert her agency through commissioning poetry and choosing the members of her retinue.

Philippa may also have been a patron of the poet Laurence Minot, given that Minot was active at court.⁷⁷ However, Osberg finds Isabella of France a more likely candidate, because a man with a similar name bought lands in a forest in France which Isabella owned, suggesting external links between the two.⁷⁸ Matthews speculates on the likelihood of an writer attempting to attract the attention of the highest members of the court with poetry in the vernacular, arguing that his audience was probably of a

⁷⁵ Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', p. 186.

⁷⁶ *CPR 1374-77*, pp. 133-4; *CPR 1370-74*, p. 450; *CCR 1385-89*, p. 256, mentions Stephanetta Olney as being of Hainaut; *CPR 1364-67*, p. 311; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 198; Dunn, 'All the Queen's Ladies', p. 194; Caroline Dunn, 'Serving Isabella of France: From Queen Consort to Dowager Queen', in Theresa Earenfight (ed.), *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More than Just a Castle* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 175; Davis, 'A Perfect Marriage on the Rocks', pp. 129-44; Braddy, 'Chaucer's Philippa, Daughter of Panneto', pp. 342-3; Krauss, 'Notes on Thomas, Geoffrey, and Philippa Chaucer', pp. 351-60.

⁷⁷ Thomas Beaumont James and John Simons (eds.), *The Poems of Laurence Minot: 1333-1352* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1989), pp. 9-11.

⁷⁸ *The Poems of Laurence Minot, 1333-1352*, ed. Richard H. Osberg (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), p. 5; Douglas Gray, 'Minot, Laurence (fl. early 14th cent.), poet', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18812>. Accessed 6 December 2018; *CPR 1330-34*, p. 187; Samuel Moore, 'Lawrence Minot', *Modern Language Notes* 35, 2 (1920), pp. 78-81.

lesser rank.⁷⁹ The popularity of Chaucer demonstrates a later change in trends in the language of poetry aimed at a court audience. Several historians also suggest that Marguerite Porete's *The Mirror of Simple Souls* may have reached England from Valenciennes, Hainaut, in Philippa's retinue, through cultural transmission rather than patronage.⁸⁰ The lack of demonstrable evidence for these suggestions also illustrates the difficulties of tracing patronage.

In terms of Philippa's association with other manuscripts, Barber argues that Philippa commissioned the manuscript MS Bodley 264, an illuminated copy of the Alexander Romances, because of the manuscript's place and date of creation. The manuscript was created in Tournai, which had strong links with Hainaut but was loyal to France, and the lengthy delay between the initial commission, possibly in 1338, and the completion of the work in 1344 suggests the effect of the siege by Edward III which ended in 1343.⁸¹ The commission of the Alexander Romances carries similar meanings to another gift from Philippa to Edward of an enamelled ewer, which was decorated with images of the 'Nine Worthies', which included Alexander. The images on the ewer depicted six of the Worthies, including both legendary and historical figures such as Julius Caesar, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Arthur, Roland, Oliver and Lancelot.⁸² This also suggests that Philippa performed an active role in the culture of Edward's court, which circulated similar romances and emphasised chivalry, as in

⁷⁹ David Matthews, *Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship and Literature in England 1250-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 141-2.

⁸⁰ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Press, 2006), p. 293; Michael Frassetto, *Heretic Lives: Medieval Heresy from Bogomil and the Cathars to Wyclif and Hus* (London, Profile Books, 2007), p. 143; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 164.

⁸¹ Barber, 'Edward III's Arthurian Enthusiasms Revisited', pp. 59-60.

⁸² TNA E 361 rot. 34, m. 1; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 45.

Edward's formation of the Order of the Garter, in which ceremonies Philippa participated according to accounts including robes issued for the feast of 1358.⁸³

Joan of Kent is also linked to the founding of the Order of the Garter through a probably false or mistaken story in which Edward III fell in love with the Countess of Salisbury, recounted by Jean le Bel.⁸⁴ Joan of Kent was technically the Countess of Salisbury through her marriage to William Montague, before the marriage was annulled at the return of her first husband, Thomas Holand. Gillespie names this Countess of Salisbury as the object of Edward's affection in the poem *The Vows of the Heron*, based on a banquet that took place in 1338. This banquet therefore took place before Joan had even married for the first time to Thomas Holand or the first earl of Salisbury, William Montague's father, had died, and the Countess of Salisbury would have been Catherine Grandison.⁸⁵ Catherine herself is linked with Jean le Bel's story of the rape of a countess of Salisbury named Alice, confused either with an earlier countess of Salisbury or the first earl's sister-in-law.⁸⁶ Antonia Gransden argues that this story of a rape was propaganda intended to harm Edward's reputation, particularly given the parallels of the story recounted by le Bel to the classical story of the rape of Lucretia in Livy.⁸⁷ Regardless of the problems, the story has remained pervasive, and

⁸³ BL Harleian MS 40, d. 15; Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', p. 262.

⁸⁴ le Bel, *Chronique*, vol. 1, pp. 290-4 and vol. 2, pp. 1-4 and 3-33.

⁸⁵ W. M. Ormrod, 'Montagu, William [William de Montacute], first earl of Salisbury (1301-1344), soldier and magnate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19001>. Accessed 6 December 2018; Leland, 'Montagu, William [William de Montacute], second earl of Salisbury (1328-1397), lord of Man and the Isle of Wight', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19002>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁸⁶ le Bel, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Gransden, 'The alleged rape by Edward III', pp. 336 and 344.

thus suggests awareness of the female presence at court, disseminated through literature and the use of female models.

Many historians, particularly in the early twentieth century, have accepted the conflation of the countess featured in the Garter foundation story with the figure of Joan of Kent. Galway in particular argued that Joan was the woman who dropped her garter which the king picked up and later used as the symbol of the Order, although Galway acknowledges that the woman was unnamed in the earliest rendition of the foundation tale.⁸⁸ Barber and Keen dismiss the story altogether.⁸⁹ In the sixteenth century, Polydore Vergil was the first to specify that the lady was either the king's wife or his mistress, which Galway circumvents by arguing that Joan of Kent, as the anticipated future queen, was referred to as 'the queen' before the death of Edward III. Later writers elaborated that the lady was the countess of Salisbury.⁹⁰ Galway also argues that the portrayal of Joan in a blue dress on the frontispiece to an early edition of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* links to the blue garter which formed her identification of the Garter story.⁹¹ Galway's evidence is generally weak and romanticised, but the presence of a female figure in the Garter foundation stories remains, emphasising the roles of noble and royal women as inspiration for literature, but also that that inspiration remained flexible and wide-ranging.

The misidentification of Joan of Kent may also have inspired Chaucer. Galway argues that Chaucer combined the Order of the Garter and Joan of Kent in a number of poems, namely *The Knight's Tale*, *The Complaynt of Feire Anelida and Fals Arcite*, and *The Squire's Tale*, which she posits were each composed for Garter celebrations.

⁸⁸ Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', p. 34.

⁸⁹ Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, p. 86; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 194.

⁹⁰ Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', p. 34; Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George', p. 28.

⁹¹ Galway, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', p. 162.

The squire character is described as wearing what Galway claims were Joan's colours of red and white.⁹² However, red and white were the colours of Anne of Bohemia, who owned a belt and jewellery in those tones, based on the heraldry of Bohemia.⁹³ The story of Anelida and Arcite includes a lady deserted by her knight, which Galway compares to Thomas Holand's departure after his secret marriage to Joan. *The Squire's Tale* includes a similar story in which the knight returns. All three poems contain minor details which might parallel aspects of Joan's life. Galway's ultimate argument is that the confusions in the tale of the Garter foundation and the countess of Salisbury were deliberate, in order that the writers not attract criticism for their depiction of Edward's affair with Joan.⁹⁴ Other historians, such as Hugh Collins, state that Galway's argument is unsupported through lack of other evidence.⁹⁵ Details of Joan's life may have inspired Chaucer, but do not necessarily mean the direct identification of Joan as the inspiration for a character, just as the allusions to intercessory queens in Chaucer's works are inspired by but not necessarily direct references to Philippa and Anne.

Richard II's court in particular differed from his predecessors and successors, an element of which was the promotion of the Ladies of the Garter. McDonald argues that Anne and Richard's unusually close relationship and the fact that they spent much of their time together increased the femininity of Richard's court in comparison to the court of Edward III. The combined household therefore shared members and presumably fashion in literature. McDonald argues that this demonstrates through

⁹² Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', p. 47; Chaucer, 'General Prologue', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, line 90.

⁹³ Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 60, 277, 154 and 186.

⁹⁴ Galway, 'Joan of Kent and the Order of the Garter', pp. 41-8.

⁹⁵ Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 258.

Richard's attention to the female parallel of the Order of the Garter.⁹⁶ During the reign of Edward III, when the Garter was founded, women such as Queen Philippa and Edward's eldest daughter Isabella de Coucy were associated with Garter events. The convention of female members of the Garter ended in the reign of Henry VII, but later re-emerged in the twentieth century. James Gillespie argues that chivalric orders such as the Garter society elevated women, along with the Arthurian stories and concepts from which the Garter derived.⁹⁷ Certainly women formed a part of the founding myth of the Order, and the court in which the Order functioned, demonstrated through the literature generated there.

Later accounts of the robes issued show that the women were chosen to become members had greater links to the king through their husbands or family. For example, in the case of Robert de Vere, a favourite of Richard II, his mother Elizabeth, countess of Oxford, replaced the newly deceased Joan of Kent in the Order, in addition to Robert's aunt by marriage, Elizabeth de Vere.⁹⁸ Gillespie argues that Richard was the most generous king towards the female order, describing his use of the Garter ladies as a tool of patronage.⁹⁹ According to accounts distributing garter robes, ladies in the Order of the Garter had their most active participation during the reign of Edward III in particular, when Philippa donated during the Garter Mass celebrating St George at Windsor. After Richard II, the prominence of the Ladies of the Garter decreased. The last females to receive Garter robes before the modern revival were the daughters of Henry VII, Elizabeth and Mary, in 1495, when both were under the age of five. In

⁹⁶ McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', p. 27; Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 259-78; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 333; Mathew, *The Court of Richard II*, p. 12; Ormrod, 'Knights of Venus', p. 292; Eberle, 'The Politics of Courtly Style', pp. 168-78.

⁹⁷ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', p. 259.

⁹⁸ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 264-5.

⁹⁹ Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', p. 268.

combination with the increasing lack of the ladies' participation of Garter ceremonies as anything but observers, Gillespie argues that the end of female membership of the Garter was the end of chivalry.¹⁰⁰ According to his hypothesis, the height of chivalry would therefore coincide with the greatest number of women in the Order, although these women were not necessarily active participants. However, women themselves could not be chivalrous, although the object of courtesy.¹⁰¹ Women remained essentially lesser within the Order of the Garter.

The role of Joan in the Garter foundation myths, and the inclusion of women more generally in the Order of the Garter, exemplify the visible presence of women at the court and in the cultural shifts that originated there, including through literature. Women clearly supported literature, as shown through Philippa's commission of manuscripts, and the theme of manuscript BnF MS français 571, of kingly education, suggests that society expected highborn women to read and be influenced by such manuscripts. Thus queens such as Philippa both read the poetry and fiction included in such collections of works, and also appeared themselves in similar works, which might be expected to influence the behaviour of other women, such as the queenly role of intercessor.

Language and Learning

Royal women not only propagated the spread of fictional works but also scientific ones, in addition to the promotion of learning. Both Anne and Philippa were associated with works of a scientific nature, and Joan with an astrological calendar, which also

¹⁰⁰ TNA E 101/400/12 and E 101/400/18; Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George', pp. 275-6.

¹⁰¹ David Green, *Edward The Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (New York: Longman, 2007), p. 103.

continued her association with the Franciscan friars.¹⁰² Both Anne and Philippa were associated with the spread of language in different ways, for Anne with the vernacular and the translation of the Bible.¹⁰³ Philippa also promoted learning through her association with and financial support of Queen's College, Oxford, which also provided a boost to her reputation and legacy.¹⁰⁴ Similarly to other types of patronage, such as religious, the patronage of royal women in these areas may have been prompted by a concern for the memory of themselves and their families after death.

Philippa's association with learning extended to works which were scientific in topic. In addition to the guide to rosemary that Philippa's mother sent to her, the masters of Salerno also wrote a dietary on medicine for Philippa in 1320. Hughes argues that this was a part of a larger trend for alchemical works at the court of Edward III, with texts written for the king as well as his mother and his wife. St Katharine's, the hospital which Philippa patronised, produced the *Liber de conservacione vitae humanae et quinta essentia*, a manuscript combining alchemy and medicine. The dedication read 'the more serene queen Eleanor, wife of the most serene king of the English, Edward', which Hughes argues was a mistake for Philippa, given the completion date of the book in 1355, and suggests that Philippa's patronage was appreciated and acknowledged by the hospital.¹⁰⁵ Eleanor of Provence had earlier re-

¹⁰² Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy*, p. 148; Morgan, 'The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych', p. 186; Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', p. 99; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 159; Mooney, *The Kalendarium of John Somer*, pp. 2 and 25; Carey, *Courting Disaster*, p. 81.

¹⁰³ Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', p. 103; Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, p. 44; Rickert, 'King Richard II's Books', p. 144; Green, 'King Richard's Books Revisited', pp. 230 and 238; Collette, *Performing Polity*, p. 79; Thomas, *Reading Women*, pp. 9 and 31-35; Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners', p. 765; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 110; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter', p. 144; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 368-72; Furrow, 'The Politics of Queen Philippa's Mottoes', pp. 503-23.

¹⁰⁴ Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, p. 10; William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4* (London: Victoria County History, 1911), pp. 377-9.

¹⁰⁵ Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy*, pp. 11, 61 and 92.

established the hospital, but she was the wife of Henry III.¹⁰⁶ Anne and Richard also owned a work on uroscopy, translated at their request by Bartholemew, another Franciscan.¹⁰⁷ Anne may also have commissioned the work on heraldry by Johannes de Bado Aureo, the *Tractatus de Armis*, which includes a dedication to Anne.¹⁰⁸ Such commissions suggests that royal women had wider interests outside of romances or family histories.

No psalters or other specific books are traceable to Joan of Kent, but she did commission the *Kalendarium* of John Somer. One copy refers to the work as ‘the calendar of the lady Joan, Princess of Wales’. Joan apparently made the request of Thomas Kingsbury, a minister of the Franciscan order of friars in England, who in turn commanded Somer, a friar known for his skill at astronomy.¹⁰⁹ Somer may also have cast horoscopes for Joan.¹¹⁰ Joan’s link to Somer, in connection with Joan’s choice of burial in the Franciscan friary of Stamford with her first husband, suggests that Joan may have had a personal connection with the order or its members, if only inherited from her previous husband or her father. However, Joan died before Somer completed the first manuscript, although her grandson Thomas Holand later owned a copy.¹¹¹ Somer and Chaucer were probably acquaintances, particularly if Joan patronised both.¹¹² Joan’s patronage of Somer combined with her burial in a friary both suggest the popularity of supporting friars, if not a personal connection for Joan.

¹⁰⁶ CPR 1330-34, p. 314; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 285.

¹⁰⁷ Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁸ London, BL Add. MS 29901; Evan John Jones (ed. and trans.), *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth Century Heraldic Works* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1943), p. xvii: ‘ad instantiam igitur quarundam personarum, et specialiter Domine Anne, quondam Regine Anglie’; Morgan, ‘The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych’, p. 186; Taylor, ‘Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer’, p. 99; Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl*, p. 159; BL MS Add. 29901.

¹⁰⁹ Mooney, *The Kalendarium of John Somer*, pp. 2 and 25; McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 138.

¹¹⁰ Carey, *Courting Disaster*, p. 81.

¹¹¹ Mooney, *The Kalendarium of John Somer*, p. 19; Cambridge, St John’s College MS K. 26, fols. 26-45v.

¹¹² Mooney, *The Kalendarium of John Somer*, p. 25.

Anne has traditionally been associated with the promotion of translating works into the vernacular language, particularly the Bible. However, Taylor argues that this view is unsubstantiated, and based only on two references, as well as undermined by praise of her devotion to the convention Church. The first of these is John Wycliffe's citation that Anne could have owned the gospels in three languages, namely Latin, German and Bohemian or Czech, as Anne's father and sister apparently did. The other is Bishop Arundel's speech at Anne's funeral, in which he stated that Anne owned parts of the Bible in English, which Thomas notes is probably an unfounded story.¹¹³ All of Anne's surviving personal letters were written in French, which Thomas argues was expected in the medieval period until the fifteenth century.¹¹⁴ Richard's literary habits also tended to be in French.¹¹⁵ Richard's collection of books was also very different to that of Edward III, who tended towards Arthurian romances and similar genres. Richard had inherited fourteen books from his grandfather and sold all but three of them within a year of his succession.¹¹⁶ This suggests a larger trend among the court of which Anne would have formed a part and the books to which she would have access.

The Prague Hours was composed in Czech and the other Book of Hours linked to Anne is in Latin, which may support the theory that Anne was literate in multiple languages. If Anne was the owner, then the manuscript may have been a gift to remind her of her birthplace, both in language and artistic style. Collette emphasises that the Virgin was renowned for her powers with language, fitting with her role as intercessor, an association which also suits Anne's reputation for mediation and possibly

¹¹³ Taylor, 'Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer', p. 103; Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, p. 44.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, p. 44.

¹¹⁵ Rickert, 'King Richard II's Books', p. 144.

¹¹⁶ Green, 'King Richard's Books Revisited', pp. 230 and 238.

translation.¹¹⁷ Anne of Bohemia also came from a line of cultured women, with family and ancestors including her aunt Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349), for whom the poet Guillaume de Machaut composed his *Remede de Fortune*, and the Abbess Kunigunde (1265-1321), who patronised several religious texts.¹¹⁸ Bell emphasises that Anne's father, the emperor Charles IV, encouraged religious works written in the vernacular languages of Czech and German, as well as founding a university in Prague.¹¹⁹ Anne certainly originated from a court which emphasised the importance of learning and the vernacular.

Similarly to the badges of ostrich feathers, Philippa may have also provided the source or inspiration for various royal mottoes. John of Gaunt was well known for using a badge of 'SS', particularly on his livery collars, which may have symbolised the motto 'soverayne', later used also by his son Henry IV and his descendants.¹²⁰ During Philippa's churching ceremony in 1348 after the birth of her son William of Windsor, red material decorated with the letter 'S' in gold covered the walls, according to the king's Great Wardrobe accounts of December 1345-January 1349.¹²¹ Prince Edward also used the motto 'Ich Dien', meaning 'I serve', both in his signature and in conjunction with shields of three feathers on his tomb. In contrast to previous scholarship which stated that the words were Old English, Nicolas argued that 'Ich Dien' was German, in conjunction with Philippa using other German mottoes, 'Myn Biddenye' and 'Ich Wrude Much', leading him to suggest Philippa as the source of

¹¹⁷ Collette, *Performing Polity*, p. 79.

¹¹⁸ Thomas, *Reading Women*, pp. 9 and 31-35.

¹¹⁹ Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners', p. 765.

¹²⁰ Ward, *The Livery Collar*, p. 37; Doris Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformation Down the Centuries', in James L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 191-204.

¹²¹ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, p. 199; Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', p. 110; TNA E 101/391/14; Nicolas, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter', p. 144.

Edward's motto. Philippa's grandson, Edward, Duke of York, and later descendants Edward V and Henry VIII also used the same motto, 'Ich Dien'.¹²² The case of Philippa and Joan demonstrates that mothers could pass badges and perhaps mottoes on to their sons, although they themselves used the badges and heraldry of their male family members and husbands. However, Melissa M. Furrow has reassessed the mottoes associated with Philippa, which were embroidered on corsets given to her by Edward III, asserting that the words were in Middle English meaning 'my entreaty', and 'I send forth many roots', referring to Philippa's dual role as intercessor and mother.¹²³ So Philippa's influence on the use of languages may be debateable, but she was able to transmit her legacy through mottoes in a similar way to heraldry and other symbols.

In addition to the promotion of languages, queens were also associated with the spread of learning. Philippa had a particular connection to Queen's College, Oxford, which was founded by her chaplain, Robert de Eglesfield. Technically, however, the founding charter of the college from 1341 makes no reference to Philippa, although in 1342, Pope Clement VI confirmed the foundation of Queen's College at her petition.¹²⁴ Another of Philippa's confessors, William de Polmorva, also became a Fellow of the college.¹²⁵ Philippa also gave multiple grants of land to support the college, beginning with the church of Burgh under Staynesmore to support six scholars, in return for prayers for the souls of the king, queen and their offspring. Philippa's position as their patron also saved the college from a fine they owed to the king for the hamlet of Ravenwyk, Cumberland, which was destroyed by the Scottish.

¹²² Nicolas, 'Observations on the Origin and History', pp. 368-72.

¹²³ Furrow, 'The Politics of Queen Philippa's Mottoes', pp. 503-23.

¹²⁴ Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, pp. 15-6.

¹²⁵ Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, p. 95.

Further grants included the churches of Bleschesdon and St Frideswide's, Oxfordshire, St Oswald's in Nostell, Neubold Pacy, Warwickshire, and St Mary in Salisbury.¹²⁶

The connection to Philippa also led to further grants to the college from Edward III, as well as Isabella Parvyng, Sir John de Stowford and William Muskham.¹²⁷ Philippa also intervened in the donation of John de Handlo, who had intended a donation including ten acres and a mill to St Mary's, Salisbury, at the request of the queen to the king, and transferred his donation to the college instead.¹²⁸ Religious institutions including the college therefore benefitted simply from having the queen as a patron, above the gifts which the queen herself made.

The patronage of the college was to belong to the queens, which continued at least until Queen Mary, the wife of George V. Magrath suggests that the queens' patronage of St Katharine's hospital inspired Eglesfield to make Philippa and her successors the patrons of his college.¹²⁹ After Philippa, Anne of Bohemia was also referred to as the 'patron' of Queen's College, in a promise of protection for the scholars and provost of the college who were complaining to be so poor that they could not maintain services, recorded in the Patent Rolls. Queen Anne's treasurer was also named as one of the men appointed for the custody of the college's possessions, and Magrath also attributes a letter recorded in the college archives to Anne in 1384, following which Richard II took over the patronage of the college.¹³⁰ Philippa's links with the college thus survived after her death and may have served to set a precedent for other queens of England.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1343-45*, pp. 103, 239 and 457; *CPR 1348-50*, p. 254; *CPR 1354-58*, p. 46; *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, p. 120.

¹²⁷ Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, p. 10.

¹²⁸ Page, *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4*, pp. 377-9; *CPR 1340-43*, p. 194; *CPR 1343-45*, p. 457.

¹²⁹ Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, p. 25, n. 5.

¹³⁰ *CPR 1381-85*, p. 401; Magrath, *The Queen's College*, Vol. I, pp. 118-20.

Philippa's support of Queen's College is similar to more traditional forms of religious patronage in terms of donation, which also demonstrate a concern for the lasting memory and legacies by individuals for themselves and their families, and setting expectations for future queens. Philippa's mottoes may also have continued through her son and other descendants, and Anne may have been associated with the promotion of books in vernacular languages, linking reading habits to queenly reputations. A similar concern permeates many forms of literary patronage, and royal women also patronised the writers of works of science and other topics, both secular and religious. For Joan this may have meant a continuation of her association with the Franciscan order, and the links between royal women and translation also centred around religious works, demonstrating how literary patronage intersected with religious concerns as well as cultural shifts at the royal court.

Conclusion

Philippa, Anne, and Joan followed in a long tradition of queens and other highborn women in performing literary patronage. The late fourteenth century witnessed a move towards the growth of secular writers, as shown through the association between Philippa, Anne, and Joan with Chaucer and Froissart, who were both significant literary figures who interacted with the royal court. The presence of these writers in combination with the more significant presence of women in court culture is demonstrated through the appearance of the women in these writers' works, ranging from direct mentions to inferences through the use of the intercessory trope, for example. Whereas the new tradition of 'passive patronage' perhaps meant that queens had less control over their appearance in works, it perhaps also gave them a higher visibility.

Queenly literary patronage shared many similarities with religious patronage, also a long-held tradition, including the concern for the legacy and commemoration for the memories of the women and their families after death. In many areas religious and literary patronage also overlapped, with many writers still bearing a religious background, and in the patronage by Philippa of Queen's College, Oxford, from its foundation. As in many areas of queenly patronage, this meant that the patronage of learning and literacy was transactional, with Philippa in a way interceding for the scholars, in return for the promotion of her legacy and lasting reputation.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways in which royal women in late fourteenth-century England were able to access influence through routes of patronage and intercession that have often been overlooked, with the custom of queen's gold as the nexus between intercession and revenues, and by extension wider patronage. Studying Philippa, Anne and Joan reveals greater depth to the perceptions of the first two as 'good' queens based on their lasting reputations. Likewise, Joan of Kent is characterised as a bigamist and figure of scandal, but acted multiple times throughout her life as an intercessor, despite inhabiting the liminal space between noblewoman and mother of the king, and not herself a crowned queen. Comparing the queens Philippa of Hainaut and Anne of Bohemia, both viewed as traditionally feminine, allows for the examination of the influence and patronage of queens who had positive relationships with their husbands, in contrast to, for example, the better-known queens Isabella of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204), who had, at times, acrimonious relationships with their husbands and long periods of separation. Anne and Philippa thus better fit a study within the context of 'dual monarchy', or at least queens who had healthier working relationships with their husbands with the result of positive reputations for both, if not in a political sense.

Similarly, Joan of Kent in many ways fits the definition of queen, rather than simply a noblewoman, due to her proximity to power through her son. Joan also offers an opportunity to compare the figures of the wife and mother of a king in intercessory capacities, a role which Joan filled in the reign of Richard II before his marriage, suggesting that an intercessory figure was always important, even expected, even when there was no queen consort. Joan's lack of coronation may also have hindered her role as mother of the king in customs such as petitionary pardons, but personality

may also have been a factor. For example, Isabella of France was clearly more politically motivated than Joan, having been raised as the daughter of a king and future queen. However, Anne's greater level of intercessory activity once Richard married disproves Parsons' point that the mother of the king made a more suitable intercessor than his wife, although unlike the case of Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile, Joan was not herself a crowned queen. Neither did Joan completely retire, as Ormrod suggests.¹ As both a mother and a successful intercessor, Philippa provides a point of comparison, as does Anne, who was a crowned queen and intercessor but not a mother. In wider terms, power through influence was often also the only form of power accessible to women lesser than the queen, and so analysing queenly influence and intercession has ramifications for the study of medieval women in general.

Much of this study has, by necessity, focussed on the queen Philippa of Hainaut, whose longevity and tenure as queen meant that more evidence survives for her in comparison to both Anne of Bohemia and Joan of Kent. Despite Joan's lower status as princess rather than crowned queen, Joan has attracted two biographies by Goodman and Lawne, probably due to her infamy, whereas Philippa in particular has only been the focus of comparative studies involving other queens, such as St John's study of the political power of Margaret and Isabella of France alongside Philippa. A modern scholarly biography of Philippa might therefore situate Philippa within a modern historiographical context in comparison to other queens, rather than viewing Philippa through the lens of her family or queenship.

Philippa of Hainaut is remembered as the quintessential interceding queen, despite Anne of Bohemia's higher number of associated petitionary pardons over a much shorter period. Philippa did, unlike Anne, fulfil the primary function of a

¹ Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 291; Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149.

medieval queen in producing multiple heirs and live as queen for longer, but the story of Philippa interceding for the burghers of Calais forms the cornerstone for Philippa's enduring image, making Anne's role in the *Concordia* poem appear a poor imitation, with none of the pathos produced by Froissart's emphasis on Philippa as pregnant.² Philippa's personal connection with Jean Froissart also suggests the possibility of Philippa's agency in the formation of her own reputation, given doubts over whether Philippa was pregnant or even present at the incident, but remains a crucial point in the formation of the link between queenly intercession and motherhood. In contrast, Richard played a large role in the creation of Anne's similar reputation through her epitaph and other areas such as the *Concordia*, perhaps attempting to substitute or distract with Anne's intercessory activity for her failure to provide children. Consideration of petitionary pardons refutes the idea that intercession was necessarily linked with motherhood or childbirth outside of literature.

Comparing the petitionary activity of queens over a time period is also useful in determining the factors which made a queen successful as an intercessor. Anne's position as the most frequent intercessor in Richard's reign, whereas Philippa was only the most prolific female intercessor, is also symptomatic of Richard's court, in which a high number of other intercessors were also women, concurrently with Richard's promotion of the Ladies of the Garter. Ironically, the other accounts attesting to Anne's actions in London suggest that Anne did actually play a role in Richard's reconciliation with London, albeit not alone, whereas the facts of Philippa's intercession at Calais are much less clear, demonstrating the powerful influence of Froissart's tale in the endurance of Philippa's reputation. Froissart's emphasis on Philippa's pregnant state also builds on and encourages the links between pregnancy or childbearing with

² Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 48.

intercession. Analysing the numbers and dates of petitionary pardons is thus fruitful in proving that Philippa at least was less active in her intercessory role at court during pregnancy and childbirth, demonstrating that the association between childbearing and intercession is mainly a literary construction and challenging Parsons' hypothesis.³ This thesis has been unique in comparing numbers of petitionary pardons with instances of literary intercession and the birth dates of royal offspring, contesting the suggestion that childbirth and pregnancy provided particularly effective occasions for requesting intercession.

Queenly intercession, despite the perception propagated by literary accounts such as Froissart and the *Concordia*, was in some ways a self-serving activity. Examples of spontaneous and unsuccessful intercession, such as the queen in the poem *Athelston*, suggests that intercession could still be dangerous for the queen when the king was unwilling to accede to her request. Successful intercession had benefits for all involved parties, including the pardoned. For example, intercession meant that the king could exercise his mercifulness without compromising his virility or political prowess.⁴ For the queen, intercessory activity led to reward, whether immediately through gifts, less directly through the custom of queen's gold, or even simply through the positive effect on her reputation. Even though intercession confirmed the queen's place in a patriarchal society, given the ultimate power of the king, especially in publicised, performative episodes, intercession still formed an acknowledgment of the queen's influence with her husband, based on their unique relationship. This thesis has argued that the element of exchange associated with intercession also situates the

³ Parsons, 'The Intercessory Patronage', p. 149.

⁴ Geaman, 'Queen's Gold and Intercession', pp. 11-2; Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', pp. 39-61; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 99-105.

queen as an agent of transaction within the social bonds at the royal court, with the transformation of symbolic capital into economic.

The queen could use the monetary capital incurred from her intercessory activity, or even that derived from a close, positive relationship with her husband, to spread her own personal aesthetic choice and cultural background, through the commissioning of literary, material, and artistic works, including giving objects as gifts. Late fourteenth-century queens were generally recipients of literary tributes rather than commissioners, which may have given them less control over their portrayal, but higher visibility, in the same way that a title and coronation formalised and secured the queen's position, though gave her less flexibility to wield power. Keane and Martin's development of the 'patron as maker' definition, widens the queen's influence on objects including manuscripts, jewellery and beds. Despite the expectation that upon marriage, a woman became the keeper of memory for her new husband's family, the proliferation of her family's heraldry and other related symbols such as badges indicates that queens actively maintained relationships with and the culture of their natal families and birthplaces and could pass these symbols onto their male descendants.⁵ In accordance with Earenfight's argument that indirect power accessed through a powerful family became real power, so symbols associated with powerful families were powerful and useful symbols.⁶ The maintenance of kinship links reflects the status of the queen as a long-term confirmation of treaties and alliances. Objects such as the crown of Anne of Bohemia and the introduction of rosemary to England via Philippa illustrate both the journeys of the queens themselves,

⁵ van Houts, 'Introduction: Medieval memories', p. 7; van Houts, 'Gender, Memories and Prophecies', p. 23.

⁶ Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 12 and 25.

as well as their ability to influence the culture of their new kingdoms, based on their own cultural backgrounds.

Religious patronage also offered a route for queens to acclimatise themselves to their new country and people, by continuing the patronage patterns of previous queens, as well as spreading their own taste through choice of recipients. Philippa's association with Queen's College, Oxford, founded by her clerk, also offers a long-lasting route for her memory and suggests the benefits that could be derived by members of her household from their links to the queen. Her reforms of the Hospital of St Katharine's by the Tower also demonstrate the ways in which queens could set their own personal imprint on even traditional recipients of queenly generosity, and one which succeeding queens would have to follow given the established link with queenly patronage, just as wives were expected to assume the role of memory keepers for their marital families. However, as in other types of memory, queens could also transmit the religious preferences of their natal families, such as favouring certain orders. The Pope's requests for queens to intercede with their husbands for various political causes indicates that the Pope, and others, recognised the power of the queen's influence and relationship with her husband. Anne's religious patronage, in comparison, is not particularly remarkable, due to the absorption of her patronage into that of Richard's, continuing Philippa and Edward's living together after the merger of their royal households, which emphasises the change on Richard II's reign, perhaps closest in the medieval period to the concept of a 'dual monarchy'.

The merger was based primarily on Philippa's overspending, exacerbated by the insufficiency of her revenues. Queen's gold, for example, was unpopular and regularly contested, based on the liability of the fine for the collecting of the custom, rather than the queen's right to claim her gold, recognising her intercessory role. In

terms of queenship studies, examining queen's gold demonstrates the issues and inefficiencies in collection present even well after the twelfth century and under queens whose husbands supported their rights, arguably when queen's gold was most developed. High numbers of writs under Philippa suggest a link between large numbers of children and a greater tenacity to collect queen's gold. These demands were not however consistent with timings of childbirths, again undermining Parsons' link between intercession and childbirth. Likewise, reassessment of the collection of *amobrages* demonstrates that rather than a queenly custom akin to queen's gold, as Johnstone stated, *amobrages* were actually a right more similar to the profits of wrecks, which could be awarded to the queen or others, and were not awarded to some queens such as Joan of Navarre, possibly marking another change after the late fourteenth century.

Given that both Philippa and Anne predeceased their spouses, the role of managing and creating their lasting reputations fell to their husbands, which provides another point of contrast with Joan of Kent, who was able to choose her own site of burial away from her husband, rather than Westminster Abbey. The fact that Joan outlived her husband combines with her status as neither noblewoman nor queen dowager. A comparison in the reputations of queens who predeceased their husbands and those who did not, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122-1204) and Isabella of France, might be fruitful. Likewise, Joan's situation might be better understood through a systematic comparison of other mothers of kings, most of whom, unlike Joan, were themselves crowned queens, such as Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482) and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), like Joan the mother of a king, Henry VII, but not a queen.

Philippa, Anne and Joan inhabited an era between these strong-willed queens, after Isabella played a role in the deposition of her husband and before Margaret and other queens having to participate in the Wars of the Roses. As such, all three women offer the chance to examine queenship in the context of a positive relationship with their husbands, or son in the case of Joan, and contrasting with the previous focus of scholarship towards queens such as Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of France, renowned for acting against their husbands, rather than together with. The focus of this dissertation has therefore been intercession and patronage rather than power through politics or military might, building on recent scholars working on queenship and power, such as St John and Woodacre. As such, the evidence demonstrates that intercession offered a way for queens to use intercession for their own advantage, whether for the advance of their reputation or gain indirectly through queen's gold. In particular, cultural patronage in the form of supporting artisans, writers and others offered a way for royal women to exert agency through expressing their tastes and spending power, often transmitting the cultural tastes of their native lands to their marital courts.

In addition, despite the popular association in literature between intercession and pregnancy or motherhood, examination of everyday pardons and their timing demonstrates that pregnancy meant that queens were in fact otherwise occupied and that numbers of pardons associated with the queen actually dropped during these time periods, despite previous scholarship. The high numbers of queenly intercession during the fourteenth century suggests that queenship had taken on a new dimension. Nevertheless, the wives and mothers of medieval kings were able to use intercession for their own advancement, and intercession included benefits for the kings themselves as well as for petitioners. Despite an emphasis on authority, intercession and patronage

thus presented an alternate route for queenly power, and intercession, itself a form of patronage, indirectly provided benefits to the queen through her reputation and funding for cultural influence.

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