

Heavy is the Head that Wears the Crown: Contemporary Reputations and Historical
Representations of Queens Regent

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Heavy is the Head that
wears the Crown:



Crown of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222), Princess of Aragon, Queen of Hungary and Holy Roman Empress

Contemporary Reputations
and Historical

Representations of Queens

Regent

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Introduction

Since before the Middle Ages, women have typically been barred from traditional positions of power, such as monarch or territorial ruler. The entire female sex was considered weaker and inferior beings that required control due to their hysterical and illogical nature; this was a theory developed by men, condoned by men and reinforced by men.¹ Due to this attitude, rulership and potential female successors, many territories had succession laws which favoured men at all times over any female claimant and others which denied their rights entirely. There were, however, a number of women who did come into positions of power, more commonly as the consort to a male ruler, but on less frequent occasions, women have become the ruler in their own right or as the regent for their husband, son or brother.

This dissertation will focus on two queens in particular; Blanche of Castile who was the regent for her son, Louis IX, after the death of her husband, Louis VIII; and Margaret of Anjou who was the regent for her son, Edward, during incapacitation of her husband, Henry VI. Despite the similarities between these two queens, Blanche has emerged from contemporary and historical evaluation with a positive reputation as a most virtuous example of a queen consort whereas Margaret has developed a negative reputation being slandered as an ambitious, power hungry she-wolf.²

Whilst Blanche and Margaret had similar examples of feminine authority during their childhoods, a marriage as a result of a peace treaty between France and England and

¹ Andre Poulet. "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation." In *Medieval Queenship*, by Jon Carmi Parsons, 93-116. London: Sutton Publishing, 1994, p94

² William Shakespeare. *Henry VI*. London: First Folio, 1623, Part III, Act I, Scene IV, Lines 111-115

defending their son's inheritances and their own position of regent, Blanche was fortunate to be able to establish herself successfully within a regency whereas Margaret was not. Blanche's stability gave her the ability, time and resources to fund various commissions in art, architecture and monastic houses. Margaret, having lacked the same stability, was not able to commission such works due to her resources being devoted to the preservation of the House of Lancaster. Margaret was never able to preside over England from a stable position; in losing the civil war against the Yorkists, Margaret never rehabilitated her reputation. The House of York, in their effort to legitimise their dynasty, sullied all involved with the House of Lancaster, especially Margaret.

There has been much scholarly research within the decade which covers queens and queenship by Jennifer Carpenter, Marjorie Chibnall, Anne Duggan, Mary Erler, Mark Ormond, David Herlihy and Natalie Tomas. Jacqueline Murray's chapter on '*Thinking about Gender*' analyses the medieval attitude towards women in general where men and women were 'contrasted and asymmetrically valued as intellect/body, active/passive, rational/irrational, reason/emotion, self-control/lust, judgement/mercy and order/disorder'³. Anne Duggan forthrightly asks 'how far are we dealing with accounts of female power specifically constructed to channel and confine the feminine according to male centred ideas of what is right and proper conduct for a woman?'.⁴ Marjorie Chibnall argues that 'there was almost no place for reigning queens in twelfth century Western society' and queens of that age were the 'wives of kings or kings' daughters transmitting an

³ Jacqueline Murray. "Thinking about Gender: The Diversity of Medieval Perspectives.", In *Power of the Weak*, by Jennifer Carpenter, 1-27. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995., p2

⁴ Anne Duggan. *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*. London: Boydell Press, 1995, p XV

inheritance’⁵. Sarah Lambert even analyses the preferences between a queen consort and a queen regnant in regards to the succession of the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁶ Jennifer Carpenter’s *Power of the Weak* and Mark Ormrod’s *Medieval Petitions* tends to focus on consorts and their ‘behind the scenes’ power they can have, if they act upon it. Erik Sjoqvist’s *Queen or Goddess* article analyses the emulation of divine goddess by ancient and medieval queen consorts.

However none of the aforementioned publications specifically examine consorts who take on the position of regent for their husband, son or brother. Nor do they analyse the duality of the masculine/feminine gender roles within the position of regent these queens faced whilst inhabiting a traditionally masculine role. Whilst queenship has been a popular topic for the past thirty years, there have not been many publications that focus especially on Blanche or Margaret, and certainly not together. Nor do they focus essentially on their roles as regents of their respective countries or the duality of their position, a female consort in a masculine position of authority where their very ‘virtues and natures’ are supposed to make them unsuitable for the role they inhabit

I believe this is a worthwhile topic in order to have a better understanding of the difficulty they faced as a woman taking on a position traditionally held only by men. There have been no comparisons of the lives of Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou. The lives of these two queens are quite similar; they were both married as a result of peace treaties between France and England, they both bore children, they both used the marriages of their

⁵ Marjorie Chibnall. *The Empress Matilda - Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*. Ibid., p1

⁶ Sarah Lambert. “Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East 1118-1228” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* by Duggan, Anne, 153-169. London: Boydell Press, 1995, p153

children for political purposes, they both were fiercely protective of their son's inheritances and both were regents of their respective countries.

The analysis of Blanche and Margaret will demonstrate that despite having similar childhoods, marriage treaties and actions as regent, they are not remembered in the same way. Blanche was handed the regency whereas Margaret tried to take it; Blanche was well beloved of the French people before her time as regent whereas Margaret was distained and hated for the loss of English territory to the French. Without the absence or allowance of men, queens were not able to successfully take and hold on to such a powerful position. Both Blanche and Margaret mustered arms and soldiers to defend their son's rights and crown, but Blanche was successful where Margaret was not.

The key question is why? Why was Blanche successful where Margaret could only fail? The answer may lie in the fact that Blanche's husband, Louis VIII, and father-in-law, Philip II, were respected and effective rulers; France was relatively stable in comparison to the England Margaret had arrived in. Margaret had no such luck; her husband, Henry VI, was a weak and ineffective king ruled by his uncles and favourite councillors and Henry V had died when her husband was less than a year old. When Margaret arrived in England, it was an unstable country, losing ground to their greatest enemy, the French, of whose royal family she was related. To some degree, it could be argued that Margaret was never going to overcome her French heritage and it was not helped that from the moment Margaret was married to their king, she began to cost England a large portion of French land without the compensation of a proper dowry.

The actions of Blanche and Margaret's lives are immortalised through artistic and architectural commissions during their respective lifetimes, which they would have

personally authorised, and most importantly after their deaths, where the queens have no control over how they are remembered and also what is and is not remembered. In contemporary chronicles, Blanche is revered as a pious and just queen who defended the realm against several rebel nobles and gave birth to France's greatest king. Margaret on the other hand is remembered as losing her husband to madness, her son to death and her crown to the House of York. Whilst Margaret would have liked to have been remembered as queen who defended her son's rights, many historical commissions portray her as the defeated queen who lost the Cousins' War. Blanche wanted to be remembered through her patronage of several monastic houses and whilst none of those houses have remained in existence, this is still remembered due to other commissions within churches and basilicas.

In order to understand the context of this dissertation, there are a number of terms that must be specifically defined. Considering the heavy use of 'queen' within this dissertation, I thought it appropriate to distinguish the differences; 'queen consort' is a female consort of a male monarch, 'queen dowager' is a female consort of a previous male monarch, but not the mother of the current monarch, 'queen mother' is a female consort whose husband was a male monarch and mother of the current monarch and 'queen regnant' is a female monarch in her own right of inheritance. There are a number of statuses a monarch can hold; for example 'absent' is a monarch who is not present within their own realm; 'disabled' a monarch who is unable to rule due to either physical or mental ill-health; a 'young' is a monarch under the agreed age of authority and consent.

When I use the phrase contemporary reputation means what an individual is known for during their lifetime and immediately after their death and historical representation can be interpreted as a unique version of historical events and individual reputation written by

an author from a differing time period. A contemporary source is publication/source that was written at or around the same time as Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou. A historical source is a publication/source that is written on the subject of history after the time as Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou. Reign means the exercise of sovereign power or the period during which a monarch rules; power signifies an individual's ability to control its environment, including the behaviour of other individuals; agency denotes the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices; and most importantly, a regent is one who rules in place of the monarch because the monarch is too young, absent or disabled.

This dissertation draws upon a number of primary texts have survived from their contemporary time period from both France and England which specifically mention and/or cover the events surrounding both Blanche and Margaret. There are several *Chronicles of England* by Capgrave, Doyle, Froissart, Paris, Wendover; *Chronicles of France* by Joinville and *Chronicles of the Dukes of Burgundy*. A number of official letters written between Blanche of Castile and Henry III of England, Pope Honorius III, Thibaut of Champagne, Pope Gregory IX, Louis IX of France, Raymond VII of Toulouse, Pope Innocent IV; Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI of England, Henry V of England, the Duke of Bedford, Cardinal Beaufort, Earl of Northumberland, Archbishop of Canterbury.

There are some strengths and weaknesses in regards to these sources. Whilst there was a contemporary attitude towards women in positions of power that had a bias against the concept, these sources clearly demonstrate it in general and also specific attacks against Blanche and Margaret. Some of the letters that are available are from Blanche and Margaret themselves; however these letters are of an official capacity and therefore do not reveal any

personal insight of contemporary events and individuals. Another weakness in general is there are still a number of sources that have not been translated into English and nor have they been made available on the internet. This dissertation will analyse both contemporary and historical sources for any potential bias against women in positions of power in general by looking at how the source was written, who it was written by and why it was written. For example, if a 'chronicle' was commissioned by a territorial ruler who is later mentioned in that particular document, any praise lavished upon them would be called into question; conversely any criticism of other would be equally as doubtful.

This dissertation will explore this question through five chapters. The first will establish what the traditional actions and expectations were of queens as the wife of a ruler, as the mother of the next royal generation and as a consort of the realm. The second chapter will analyse the early lives of Blanche de Anscarids and Margaret de Valois and how they became the regents of France and England respectively. The third chapter will analyse specifically on the contemporary reputations of Blanche and Margaret through contemporary chronicles, art and architecture, official and personal correspondence and contemporary literature. The fourth chapter will specifically examine the historical representations of Blanche and Margaret based on the above primary sources that have been interpreted and reinterpreted by historians over time in biographies, histories of France and England and art and literature.

*'Women were considered inferior and their virtue was interpreted according to the degree to which they accepted their theoretical and social inferiority. Submission and obedience were virtues. Pride, ambition and autonomy were perceived ultimately as rebellious and as crimes against both the natural and the moral order. The best thing inferior women could do was to know her place.'*¹

¹ Marie-Therese d'Alverny. "Comment les theologiens et les philosophes voient la femme." *Cahiers de civilisation medievale*, no. 20 (1977): 105-29

Expectations of Queenship

Medieval culture was mistrustful of women who were in positions of power, for it was the patriarchal belief that women in such a position were subverting the 'natural order' where women were 'understood to be the result of defective generation and is, as it were, a deformed male. Since she is imperfect, it is natural that man should rule over woman'.² The medieval ruler was meant to be the enforcer of justice, the political leader of a nation state and the defender of his people through diplomatic and violent avenues; this meant not only organising and training soldiers to defend his territories, but personally leading the attacks themselves. This had historically been the dominion of men to the complete exclusion of women who were thought to be unfit for positions of power. Women were considered too merciful, politically inept and incapable of leading an army into battle; characteristics and virtues which designated them unfit and unworthy to rule. This chapter shall explore what was the expected behaviour and conduct of queen consorts throughout the Middle Ages in order illustrate why Blanche and Margaret's actions during the times as queen regents were so unusual.

This concept does not have its origins within the medieval period and it could be argued it stems from the women of differing civilisations taking guidance from their respective goddesses. Whilst the emulation of the religious figures has been carried through multiple civilisations and cultures, it was the underlying divine examples of the feminine which have changed. In the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Rome, the feminine gods were not of a submissive nature; indeed a number of the most powerful gods were female such

² Maryanne Cline Horowitz. "Aristotle and Women." *Journal of the History of Biology*, no. 9 (1976): 183-213

as Isis and Nut from Egyptian mythology and Artemis, Hera and Athena from Greek and Roman mythology. This heavily contrasts with the submissive Christian Biblical examples of Queen Esther and the Virgin Mary, who were represented in the medieval period as passive wives and mothers.

The women of these ancient civilisations not only mimicked their behaviour on their deities, but began to personally identify with them by incorporating divine names into their own. The divinity of the Virgin Mary with the title of 'theotokos', which meant 'the one who bore God', confirmed at the Council of Ephesos during the fifth century was used by several Byzantine empresses to identify themselves with her³ This kind of emulation would be copied by French queens who would affix 'Blanche' as a second name in order to associate themselves with a queen who is the focus of this dissertation, Blanche of Castile.⁴ The Bible was a text used to support the medieval belief in female submission with passages like 'wives, be subject to your husbands as to the Lord; for the man is the head of the woman, just as Christ is the head of the church'.⁵

With these examples of expected virtues, the succession of women to positions of power was an occurrence to be avoided; women were meant to be consorts only. In order to confirm some legitimacy to their position, medieval queen consorts began to associate themselves with Mary of Nazareth, mother of Jesus Christ; Stroll outlines that the Virgin Mary was frequently 'praised, venerated and respected, but she is also manipulated to fulfil

³ Judith Herrin. "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium." *Past & Present* 169 (2000), p12-14

⁴ Annie Forbes Bush. *Memoirs of the Queens of France: Volume I*. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan, 1854, p167

⁵ Jacqueline Murray. *Ibid.*, p5

the goals of others'.⁶ Queen Esther was another prime example of how a queen consort should behave, for she approached her husband unbidden, which was against the law, to invite him to a series of banquets at which she later revealed plots from his counsellors against his people.⁷

By the fifteenth century, these virtues were reinforced in such medieval texts as Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*, where Esther is shown as the perfect example 'of a good and obedient wife who gained and held the trust of her husband and who was suitably rewarded for her proper behaviour'⁸; and in Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus (Of Famous Women)*, a collection of mythological and historical women ([see Appendix I.](#)) that was written for 'posterity about women who were renowned for any sort of great deed, either good or bad' and he hoped that by 'recounting the wicked deeds of certain women that hopefully in the mind of the reader it would be offset by the exhortations to virtue by other respected women'.⁹ It is known that a copy of this manuscript was given to Margaret of Anjou in honour of her marriage to Henry VI of England in 1445.¹⁰

The concept of 'Christian charity' was demonstrated by medieval queen consorts through the funding the construction of monasteries, hospitals and churches, the giving of

⁶ Mary Stroll. "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol." In *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, by Anne Duggan, 173-233. London: Boydell Press, 1996, p173

⁷ Lois Huneycutt. "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos." In *Power of the Weak*, by Jennifer Carpenter, 126-146. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995, p127

⁸ Christine de Pizan. *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Translated by Sarah Lawson. Middlesex: Harmondsworth, 1985, p63

⁹ Giovanni Boccaccio. *De Mulieribus Claris (On Famous Women)*. Translated by Virginia Brown. Boston: Harvard Press, 2001, p xii

¹⁰ The British Library. *De Claris Mulieribus in an anonymous French translation*. January 2011.

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8359&CollID=16&NStart=160705> (accessed August 13, 2011)

dowries to peasant girls within their domain to allow them to marry, the patronage of artists, musicians and architects to promote and supporting the arts, and giving of alms to the poor and destitute. This was not an official power, but more of an unofficial behind the scenes type of influence upon the king which Huneycutt describes as 'the power of a medieval queen [*consort*] rested on a perception of influence rather than any institutional base and the loss of that perceived influence could spell disaster'.¹¹

Parsons argues that as monarchy became more hereditary based upon blood, only a certain calibre of woman was considered worthy enough to marry the ruler. In some cases the girl's own birth and lineage were more prized than the individual character of the potential bride in question. Having secured a bride of equal rank, it was now essential to have the new queen crowned, in either a joint or sole coronation. The crowning and anointing of a queen was to 'distinguish them above all other princesses; not only by outward appearances, but by the mysterious gifts of the holy unction; which sets a public character upon them as queens, puts them more particularly under the protection of God and makes them more awful to their subjects and more worthy of society with the sacred person of the kings, their spouses'.¹² However, whilst the ceremony elevates the queen above all other women in the land, the same ceremony still placed the queen in the submissive position underneath the king. In the medieval French ceremony, whilst the king is anointed with the holy oil up to nine times on varying parts of the head and torso, the queen is anointed only twice 'on the head and breast and in no other place', demonstrating that the queen does not hold as holy a position as the king does.¹³ In the medieval English

¹¹ Lois Huneycutt. *Ibid.*, p138

¹² Menin, Nicholas. *A Description of the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of France*. London: Ludgate Hill, 1776, p209

¹³ *Ibid.*, p221

ceremony, the queen is also anointed twice when crowned with the king; however if she is crowned on her own, she is anointed only once and given a sceptre in addition to a ring and crown; whereas the king is anointed up to seven times.¹⁴

There was a balance in the dual relationship of a royal couple, in line with Christian Bible teachings, the male ruler emulated Christ and the female consort emulated the Church. As the male ruler was meant to be the enforcer of law and justice, the warrior who defended his people and punished his enemies and the leader of a nation, the female consort was meant to be the bringer of peace, the mother who comforted her people and the intercessor for acts of kindness and mercy. Murray even argues that 'women [*had*] the responsibility to correct or compensate for her husband's moral failures...the wife is enjoined to use her charm and her feminine wiles, as well as her ability to cajole and persuade. If necessary, she is to manipulate her husband into altering his behaviour'.¹⁵ The one of the core difficulties queens faced when occupying positions of power, either as a ruler in their own right or as regent, was the maintenance of their natural feminine virtues whilst inhabiting a position which required 'unnatural' masculine virtues. Somehow the queen regnant or regent was meant to exude both masculine and feminine qualities without losing either identity. These were issues that both Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou faced during their terms as regent.

There were a number of instances when a regency became necessary for the continual efficient governing of the realm. This included, but was not limited to, the absence of the monarch due to war or crusade, the incapacity of the monarch due to illness or the

¹⁴ Roy Strong. *Coronation - From the 8th to the 21st Century*. London: Harper Perennial, 2006, p88-90

¹⁵ Sharon Farmer. "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives." *Speculum*, no. 61 (1986): p534

succession of a minor, a monarch under the medieval age of authority and consent. The position of regent is traditionally an office that must be given, rather than taken; for any woman who openly covets such a position is branded as vindictive and ambitious, as with Margaret of Anjou's claim to the regency.¹⁶

In the event of a regency, the women of the young king's family were called into such positions of power and authority due to the fact that male relatives usually 'posed a threat to the child ruler' wanting to establish their own claim in place of the late king's son.¹⁷ Stafford also argues that 'the women of a young king's family and especially his mother posed no threat [*for*] their own survival was bound up with his'.¹⁸ Women of the king's family were traditionally restricted to mothers and sisters, but did not include step-mothers. Therefore the widowed queen was not automatically in contention for the position; a blood tie between the widowed queen and the new king was essential, they must be mother and son.

A queen could only become regent by the authority of the king, regardless of whether that king was either husband or son. She must be raised up to the position by the will of a man and to subvert this cultural practice was to commit political suicide for the queen involved as with Margaret of Anjou. Kings usually drafted their wills, allowing for their final wishes to be carried out; if the heir to the throne was a minor, details concerning the approaching regency were outlined here. The king was able to dictate how the regency would govern, what limitations it may or may not have and most importantly whose hands

¹⁶ Jock Haswell. *The Ardent Queen - Margaret of Anjou and the Lancastrian Heritage*. London: Peter Davies, 1976, p15

¹⁷ Pauline Stafford. *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983, p154

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p155

within the authority may lie. There were two main options; install the regency upon one individual, like the queen mother¹⁹ and/or a paternal uncle²⁰; or in the hands of a council made up of multiple family members and loyal, trusted servants of the realm.²¹ In both Blanche and Margaret's examples, it rested upon them alone.

A major obstacle for queen regents was their 'foreignness'; she was not a native born princess of their indigenous dynasty, she was an outsider, a foreign import who would be accused of having hidden agendas that would disadvantage their marital country.²² As women were often overlooked and not even considered for positions of power, their education reflected this lack of potential. Therefore if a queen was fortunate enough to ascend to the position of regent, there was the problem of having to learn on the job. In this arena, however, there was little room for error. Mistakes could end up having far reaching international diplomatic consequences.

However the major issue was the fact that a queen, who was expected to display the feminine virtues of peace, mercy and compassion, now inhabited the traditionally masculine role of regent, which called for masculine virtues such as war, justice and strength. A delicate balance of both gender roles had to be maintained, in order to attract as little criticism as possible. A female regent who declared war and led soldiers to battle was a traitor to the fairer sex. However, a female regent who refused to declare war could be

¹⁹ Anne of Kiev for her son, Philip II Augustus of France - Andre Poulet. Ibid., p106

²⁰ Andrew of Hungary for his nephew, Ladislaus III of Hungary - Pál Engel, Pálosfalvi Tamás and Andrew Ayton. *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co, 2005, p89

²¹ Ingeborg of Norway for her son, Magnus VII of Norway and IV of Sweden - Jonathon Truedson Demitz. *Throne of a Thousand Years*. Los Angeles: Ludvika, 1996, p27

²² Zan Steadham. *Blanche of Castile - A True Ruler of France*. Carrollton: West Georgia College, 1981, p21

accused to being too weak to remain in the position. These challenges, and many others, Blanche and Margaret would have to face during their tenures as regent.

Being a female regent during the medieval period was a dangerous position; their very right to defend their own children and inheritances was called into question simply because of their sex. It did not matter if they were the only choice that would safeguard the interests of the minor or absent monarch, for women were meant to be ruled and not rule themselves, even temporarily in the name of another. Blanche and Margaret were queens who were exceptions to the traditional gender roles and at times, actively defied it. By taking on such an important and influential role, they must have believed themselves to be capable of fulfilling the position. They may have relied on the council of other men, but they would be the public face of the regency; they would be held accountable for whatever happened during their time as regent, both the good and the bad.

Blanche and Margaret

Whilst Blanche and Margaret have emerged from history with differing contemporary reputations and historical representations, they are in fact quite similar when one compares their upbringing, their familial influences and the circumstances regarding their marriage. Both were well educated and part of a large family with multiple siblings. They were both the daughters of kings and had influential mothers and grandmothers. They married young as a result of a peace treaty between France and England. However whilst Blanche was handed the regency by her husband upon his deathbed, Margaret petitioned parliament to assume the regency and was subsequently rejected; Margaret would only technically become to regent long after the illness of her husband.

Blanche and Margaret had several challenges to their right in assuming the regency due to their status as a woman and both were the mother to the heir of the throne. Whilst Blanche was able to successfully defend her position as the regent of France, Margaret had to fight for the recognition of her right to the regency in the first instance and only inherited the position due to the lack of other suitable male candidates. This biographical chapter is to explore the historical circumstance of the early lives of Blanche and Margaret, from their birth, marriage negotiations, wedding ceremonies, coronations and children to the time they became regent.

Blanche de Anscarids (1188-1252) was a Castilian princess who married a French prince as a consequence of an English peace treaty at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In her role as the crown princess and queen of France, Blanche would set a new benchmark of how a royal consort should behave. She was the fertile consort, giving birth to thirteen children; she was the non-political consort, never actively intervening in state

affairs; and she was the supportive consort, encouraging her husband and his conquests when no other person would. This was how Blanche spent her married life; for twenty six years she devoted herself to her husband with his ambitions, setbacks and triumphs becoming hers.

Blanche and Louis VIII were expected to rule France for decades, marry their children to forge alliances throughout Europe and grow old together. It was never conceived that Louis would die at the young age of thirty-nine, leaving his eldest son king at twelve. It is in this role as regent of France that earned Blanche the positive contemporary reputation and subsequent historical representations since the thirteenth century. Once Blanche inhabited her new role, she was able to earn herself praise for her actions as the regent of France during the minority of her son, Louis IX, from 1226 to 1234 and during the latter's absence on crusade from 1248 to 1252. Despite having no previous training or experience in the workings of government, I will argue that Blanche excelled as the queen regent of France and is a good example of a queen consort with a 'positive' reputation.

Blanche was born in Palencia, Castile, Spain on 4th March 1188, the daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile and his wife, Eleanor Plantagenet, Princess of England (*for genealogical table, [see Appendix II.](#)*). During her youth in Castile, Steadham argues that Blanche was able to personally witness the strength of a female regent in her mother who cultivated the love of the people by ensuring the construction of public buildings such as hospitals, monasteries and universities. Such acts demonstrated Queen Eleanor's devotion for her people by erecting these municipal places which allowed for the betterment of her people. The cleric Rada argues that Eleanor established her courage and fortitude by accompanying her husband on the battlefields of Palencia and Burgos, showing that not

only did she support her husband's military endeavours, she was not afraid of the consequences and therefore her people should follow her example.¹

Blanche was married to Louis of France, the eldest son of Philip II as a result of the Treaty of Vernon (or *le Goulet*), which was signed in May 1200.² Her grandmother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, made the journey to escort the future bride to France. The trip to Bordeaux would have taken several weeks during which Marion Meade argues Eleanor would have delivered an oral history that 'pass[ed] from one generation to the next, as well as the whole chronology of hatred between Plantagenet and Capet'.³ This was the most opportune time for Eleanor to impart her knowledge and wisdom from her own experiences in dealing with the French court in a number of different capacities.

Upon her marriage in May 1200, Blanche was now the crown princess of France, wife to the heir of the throne and future queen; her life now belonged to France itself and she would serve its interests above all others. For now, Blanche's time was divided between education and leisure activities such as horse riding, surrounded by a number of noble children which included Arthur and Eleanor of Brittany, Theobald of Champagne and Margaret of Flanders.⁴ Pernoud accurately sums up the task ahead of Blanche; she 'was to be a Queen and at that time being a queen was no mere decorative function. It meant a lifelong dedication to an exacting task. It meant assuming an important part of the government of the country, sometimes the entire responsibility.'⁵

¹ Rodericus Ximenius de Rada. *Opera Tomus Teritus*. Valencia: Textos Medievales, 1793, p172-3

² Raphael Holinshed. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Vol. II. VI vols. London: J Johnson, 1807, p279

³ Marion Meade. *Eleanor of Aquitaine*. London: Phoenix Press, 1977 p416

⁴ Regine Pernoud. *Blanche of Castile*. London: Collins, 1975, p25

⁵ *Ibid.*, p11

On 6th August 1223 in Rheims Cathedral, both Louis and Blanche were crowned king and queen of France respectively (for illuminated manuscript of coronation, [see Appendix III](#)). Pernoud outlines the contemporary expectations of this golden couple: ‘Louis and Blanche were full of high hopes as they came to the throne. They were thirty five, the age of sober and fruitful enterprises, the age of maturity. The power they held in their hands, which they could use to do great things, was more than any of their forebears had possessed. Everything argued a splendid reign for Louis’.⁶ It was not meant to be, for Louis VIII died on 8th November 1226. Blanche was devastated and France was in shock; now the crown passed to the hands of a twelve year old boy.

Margaret de Valois (1429-1482) was an Angevin princess who married an English king as a consequence of a French peace treaty in the middle of the fifteenth century. In her role as the queen of England, Margaret would set a new benchmark of how a royal consort should not behave. She was not a largely fertile consort, giving birth to just one son; she was a very politically active consort, intervening in state affairs; but she was the supportive consort, encouraging her husband to rule on his own accord and a fierce defender of her son’s right to the English throne. She devoted herself to her husband’s cause against the Yorkist rebels until the death of her husband and son in 1471 robbed her of her will to fight.

For Henry and Margaret there were no great expectations of a long and prosperous rule, as Henry would have preferred ‘becoming a monk, contentedly copying and illuminating religious works’ proving himself a stark difference to his warrior father, Henry V.⁷ Not only did Henry make peace with France, he directly and knowingly acquiesced to a reduced price for English pride and gave up many territories that had been soaked with

⁶ Ibid., p92

⁷ Jock Haswell. Ibid., p51

English blood to secure. In addition to his incompetence as a monarch, Henry VI suffered from mental breakdowns and for months would be completely unresponsive. It was during these circumstances that Margaret put herself forward to be regent. To her, it made perfect sense; not only was she the wife of the king, she was the mother of the heir of the throne. It is in this role as regent of England that earned Margaret the negative contemporary reputation and subsequent historical representations since the thirteenth century. Before Margaret even inhabited her new role, she was dismissed as an interfering woman who had no business involving herself into English politics. Once Margaret had installed herself as regent, the Lancastrian cause went from bad to worse, culminating in the capture, deposition and murder of her husband in 1461.

Margaret was born in Pont-a-Mousson, Lorraine, France on 23rd March 1429, the daughter of Rene I of Anjou and Isabella I of Lorraine (*for genealogical table, [see Appendix IV.](#)*). As a young child, Margaret was considered to have ‘inherited the excellence and talents of her father... [*with the*]...added beauty and grace of her mother’.⁸ Hookman argues that Margaret ‘gave proofs of those virtues which win the affections, and of such great abilities as seldom fail to command the notice of the world’.⁹ Margaret’s education is believed to have been thorough, but it is not specified in what areas she excelled; for ‘she was carefully instructed, and gave early promise of the talents and beauty which afterwards so much distinguished her’.¹⁰

Throughout her entire childhood, Margaret had personally witnessed her mother and grandmother governing due to the forced imprisonment of her father. Yolande of

⁸ Mary Ann Hookham. *The Life and Times of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England and France; Vol I.* London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872, p133

⁹ Ibid., p133

¹⁰ Ibid., p154

Aragon and Isabella of Lorraine were praised for their actions in the capacity as regent or lieutenant-general; both publically by the populace with cheering crowds and privately by their servants and courtiers with their unquestioning obedience. It is possible that thinking herself just as capable, Margaret would have seen no obstacle when the right moment came for her to step forward in the absence of her eventual husband. It is worth noting that Margaret was born during the time of Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of Orleans who eventually restored Charles VII to his rightful inheritance. Therefore Margaret grew up surrounded by women in charge, both domestically within her family and nationally with Jeanne d'Arc, and they not only ruled but ruled well.

Margaret's marriage to Henry was not to cement a lasting peace, but a mere truce of only two years. Henry wanted peace and the French sensed his desperation to avoid further conflict; however Margaret was a substitute offer as Charles VII was not prepared to sacrifice one of his own daughters; to do so would have only strengthened the English claim to the French throne, as Henry's own parents' marriage had done.¹¹ The marriage contract did not win Margaret any favours with the English population, for not only did Henry waive the necessity of a dowry, but he also conceded Anjou and Maine to the French.¹² The only kind of dowry that accompanied Margaret was the weak claim to the kingdom of Majorca, descended from Yolande to Rene.¹³ The blame was placed upon Margaret, despite her lack of direct involvement.

Before Margaret had even set foot in England, she had cost the English the counties of Anjou and Maine, the city of Le Mans and the alliance with the Count of Armagnac,

¹¹ Raphael Holinshed,. Ibid., p208

¹² Ibid., p206

¹³ Edgcumbe Staley. *King Rene d'Anjou and His Seven Queens*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, p263

whose daughter Henry had cast aside.¹⁴ However she set foot on English soil in April 1445 to praise and admiration with chroniclers describing her as ‘well in beauty and favour, as in wit and policy and was of stomach and courage more like a man than a woman’.¹⁵ Margaret soon realised who really ruled in England and it was not her husband; according the Holinshed’s chronicles she was *‘disdained that her husband should be ruled rather than rule [and] could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should do all things concerning the order to weighty affairs, least it might be said, that she had neither wit or stomach which would permit and suffer her husband, being of most perfect age, like a young pupil to be governed by the direction of another man’*.¹⁶ By dismissing the Duke of Gloucester and encouraging her husband to rule himself, Margaret rocked a political boat that had been peacefully sailing since Henry was an infant; who was this teenage French woman to question or change it?

After the death of Gloucester in 1447, the next in line to the throne was Richard, the Duke of York (for genealogical table, [see Appendix V.](#)). As Gloucester before him, York believed he should be heavily involved in the governing of the kingdom, much to Margaret’s incensement.¹⁷ A feud developed between Margaret and York, both vying for position and influence with the King, for whoever held the person and favour of the king ruled the realm. Margaret made every attempt to remove York from court with him digging in his heels at every turn. The grudge came to a very public head upon the onset of Henry’s illness in August 1453 for the king suffered a ‘shock’, rendering him catatonic and unresponsive;

¹⁴ Holinshed, Raphael. Ibid., p208

¹⁵ Ibid., p207

¹⁶ Ibid., p210

¹⁷ Ibid., p212

Margaret was in a unique position at this time as she was seven months pregnant.¹⁸ Until the birth of the child, she was unable by custom to involve herself in politics, as the lying-in and churching ceremonies would confine her for the three months. If Margaret was able to give birth to a boy, there would be no question to her right as regent; all she needed was time.

Margaret managed to hide Henry away in Windsor for months until after the birth of her son, Edward, in October 1453¹⁹; however word still managed to escape in a letter sent to the Duke of Norfolk in January 1454.²⁰ With Somerset arrested in December 1453²¹, it was during this time that Margaret made an official play for the regency, outlining her 'desires to have the whole rule of the land and the same powers and privileges as her husband, such as the appointments of key court positions, bishoprics and sheriffs'.²² Parliament stalled in making a decision; however their hand was forced with the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Kempe, on 22nd March 1454 who had been the unofficial 'Head of State'. On 3rd April 1454 York was appointed the 'Protector and Defender of the Realm and Church and Principal Councillor of the King'.²³ For the moment, Margaret had lost the battle, but not the war; Margaret knew that unless she fought for the rights of her son, he would never become the king of England.

The regency allowed York to demonstrate his abilities in statesmanship and when his regency was brought to an end in February 1455 with the recovery of Henry's senses, there

¹⁸ Ibid., p236

¹⁹ Ibid., p236

²⁰ A. R. Myers. *English Historical Documents 1327-1485*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969, p272

²¹ Holinshed, Raphael. Ibid., p238

²² Myers, A. R. Ibid., p272

²³ Holinshed, Raphael. Ibid., p238

were many nobles prepared to supplant Henry with York in the hope of better governance.²⁴ Margaret would never stand for it; her husband was the anointed king and her son the heir to the throne. What was initially a private squabble between the Queen and York spilled into the remainder of English society, sparking the outbreak of civil war. The First Battle of St Albans on 22nd May 1455²⁵ marks the beginning of the Cousins' War, as it was known during its time, which would not completely cease until the Battle of Bosworth on 22nd August 1485, , costing the lives of three kings, three princes, six dukes, eight earls and the extinction of up to twenty-five noble lines.²⁶

Margaret had known that her son's future as king of England was threatened with the increasing power of the Duke of York, however she could not believe that her son would ever be disinherited. Such a deal was brokered between Henry VI and York, ensuring that Henry would continue to rule until his death; at that time, it would be York and not Margaret's son who would succeed as king.²⁷ It was the same kind of agreement between Henry V of England and Charles VI of France in the Treaty of Troyes (1420)²⁸ and between Stephen I of England and Empress Matilda in the Treaty of Winchester (1153)²⁹. At this stage, the English commons were desperate for peace, for the war was draining England of its resources and its men; they no longer cared who wore the crown as long as the fighting ceased. Margaret was shocked and surprised that her husband would have relinquished her son's rights to the crown; York had won and had won through legal channels with the

²⁴ Ibid., p238

²⁵ Ibid., p240

²⁶ Terrance Wise: E.A. Embleton. "The Wars of the Roses." In *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, by Kenneth Bruce MacFarlane. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p4

²⁷ Holinshed, Raphael. Ibid., p268

²⁸ Ibid., p113

²⁹ Holinshed, Raphael. Vol. II, Ibid., p105

agreement being ratified by parliament.³⁰ It was at this stage when Margaret took control, realising her own husband had betrayed her and her son and she would be the only one willing to fight for her son's rights.

In conclusion, Blanche and Margaret had very different paths towards their position of regent, which they assumed to fiercely defend their son's rights of inheritance, through diplomatic and militaristic channels. Blanche would have personally witnessed the prime examples of queenship in her mother, Queen Leonor of Castile, and her grandmother, Eleanor of Aquitaine; Margaret had her own mother, Isabella of Lorraine, and grandmother, Yolande of Aragon, as examples of how a woman could successfully inhabit a position of power and authority.

During their regencies, Blanche and Margaret would oversee the education of their sons, procure diplomatic advantageous marriages to strengthen their net of allies and assemble armies to defend their cause. The main challenge that both Blanche and Margaret faced was against their position as regent; however Blanche was successful in fending off such challenges whereas Margaret would not even be considered as regent. Margaret had the added obstacle of having her son's rights stripped from him and failing to retake them whilst there was never any question of Blanche's son succeeding to the throne. Blanche's son, Louis IX, would have a long and fruitful reign which would see the king lead two crusades in the Holy Land and later be canonised a saint.³¹ Margaret's son, Edward, would be married to the daughter of his father's treacherous former ally and would remain disinherited, murdered at the age of seventeen during the Battle of Tewkesbury.³²

³⁰ Holinshed, Raphael. Vol. III, Ibid., p272

³¹ Holinshed, Raphael. Vol. II, Ibid., p474

³² Holinshed, Raphael. Vol. III, Ibid., p320

Had Blanche been ousted from her position as regent, it could be argued that her successors would have irreparably tarnished her reputation and she would not have had the opportunities to patron monastic houses, commission stained glass windows or even had a say in the marriage of her son. Had Margaret successfully defeated the Yorkists and ensured the succession of her son to the throne of England, it could be argued that she would have been able to rehabilitate her image through the patronage of arts, architecture and literature, the design and location of her grave and tomb and welcome grandchildren into the world.

Contemporary Reputations

This chapter explores how the contemporary reputations of Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou were developed in several sources such as contemporary chronicles, personal and official correspondence and commissioned pieces of artwork and architecture to name but a few. Blanche and Margaret, as queen consorts and later regents, were able to patron a number of projects which helped establish their public and personal reputation, such as stained glass windows, statues and tombs. Other contemporary sources, such as chronicles and official correspondence, were outside their realm of agency and they were unable to control or influence these outcomes. Combined, these sources help shape a representation of how Blanche and Margaret were thought of during, and immediately after, their own lifetimes.

The Chronicles that shape Blanche's contemporary reputation are Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*, John Capgrave's *Chronicles of England*, the *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* and the *Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville*. The Capgrave *Chronicles of England* mentions Blanche only in passing, describing the actions of her husband in his attempt to conquer England on behalf of Blanche's claim during the demise of her uncle, King John, in 1216.¹ The *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* deals directly with Blanche, but on just one occasion immediately after her wedding in 1200 when a melancholy overcame her; Prince Louis appeal to the Bishop of Lincoln personally and was rewarded with a visit that cheered up the young princess.² Only the *Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville* feature Blanche heavily, authored by Jean de Joinville, a lifelong friend of Louis IX. The work was commissioned around 1305 by Jeanne de Blois

¹ John Capgrave. *The Chronicles of England*, London, Longman Brown Green Longmans and Roberts, 1858, p150

² Decima Douie and Hugh Farmer. *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1961, p156

(1273-1305), the queen regnant of Navarre, queen consort of France and Louis IX's great-granddaughter. Joinville had personally witnessed Louis' activities during the Eighth Crusade and had even testified for the papal inquiry into the canonisation of the French king.³ However with Joinville's closeness to the king and having been commissioned by Louis' descendant, there was little possibility that the work would reflect Louis' life in a negative way; it was in Joinville's interest and perhaps his personal wish to glorify the saintly king.

Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* contains several references to Blanche in allowing the safe passage of other royals through France, her privileges of entering a Cistercian order and in negotiations securing peace in France, but Paris still mainly identifies her as Louis VIII's wife or Louis IX's mother. This continual linking to her son and husband in some ways detracts from Blanche's efforts as the regent of France, but it also reinforced her right to the regency; it would appear to be a double edged sword for although her efforts would be remembered it would only be due to who her husband and son were. Blanche appears to have earned the respect of Matthew Paris, for on Blanche's death in 1252, he praised her abilities as a regent and ruler, despite the limitations of her gender, describing her 'a woman in sex, but a man in counsels, one worthy to be compared with Semiramis'.⁴ Paris references Blanche's piety describing her as 'that venerable and well-beloved servant of the Lord'⁵ and labelling her as 'a memorable example of humility for all ages to all nobles and especially to women'.⁶

Matthew Paris was actually an English monk from St Albans Abbey who was the 'official recorder of events'. Vaughan states that from the time he took his religious habit in

³ Ethel Wedgewood. *The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville*. London: John Murray, 1906, p386

⁴ J. Giles. *Matthew Paris' English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, 1852, 3:7

⁵ Ibid., 1:340

⁶ Ibid., 2:113

1217 to the beginnings of his Chronicle in 1247, it was known that Paris was present at the marriage of Henry III to Eleanor of Provence in 1236 and was at Westminster in late 1247 where it was noted that the king was aware of Paris' recordings.⁷ Vaughan has compiled a list of 'known friends and informants' which includes Henry III, his wife Queen Eleanor and his brother Richard of Cornwall, amongst other individuals; neither Blanche nor Louis IX appear on that list.⁸ Vaughan states that throughout the *Chronica Majora*, Paris 'admired, among others, Edmund Rich and John Blund; Richard Fishacre and Robert Bacon; and Blanche, queen of France'; of all the kings, nobles and prelates who on that list, Blanche is the only woman, the only queen and the only regent included. It is worth noting that Vaughan places Henry III of England on Paris' disliked list⁹; which would indicate that although Paris was English, he would appear that he did not let any potential allegiance to his native country influence his official recordings. Paris appears to give credit when credit was due, basing his opinions on their actions and not taking into account whether they were local or foreign, man or woman.

Queens were able to create lasting monuments to their eternal memory through the founding and patronage of religious institutions; three such monastic houses were established under the patronage of Blanche. The first, Royaumont, in 1227 resembles the Abbey of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas in Burgos, Castile, Spain which was founded by Blanche's parents in 1187 ([see Appendix VI](#)). Las Huelgas would later house the graves for both her parents and several siblings as Royaumont would come to house the children of

⁷ Vaughan, Richard. *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958, p3

⁸ Ibid., p13-17

⁹ Ibid., p149

Louis IX who had predeceased him.¹⁰ The second, Maubuisson, in 1236 ([see Appendix VII](#)) was funded by Blanche directly from her own resources, by contributing money, wheat, wine and pasturage rights.¹¹ The foundation charter is in Blanche's name alone and dedicated to the memory of her parents and husband.¹² Finally Notre-Dame-de-Lys was one of Blanche's last projects completed in 1253 after her death ([see Appendix VIII](#)). Noland argues that Blanche was moved to build this monastery after the death of her granddaughter and namesake, Blanche of France (1240-1243).¹³ Blanche would further tie herself to Maubuisson and Notre-Dame-de-Lys by having her body buried in the former whilst her heart was buried in the latter, sparking a new royal tradition of the partitioning of one's body for multiple burial locations¹⁴, a new royal custom which would continue for centuries and is still practiced as recently as July 2011 with the funeral of Otto Habsburg-Lotharingen, the last Crown Prince of Austria.¹⁵ It is worth noting neither of Blanche's burial sites remains today.

Several pieces of official and personal correspondences to and from Blanche has survived and has also been translated from the original Latin into English by historian at Columbia University.¹⁶ Blanche converses with many fellow royals such as Henry III of England, Raymond of Toulouse, Blanche of Champagne and Marie of Constantinople, and

¹⁰ Robert Branner. *St Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*. London: A.Zwemmer, 1965, p33

¹¹ Kathleen Nolan. *Queens in Stone and Silver - The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009, p126

¹² Constance Berman. *Women and Monasticism in Medieval Europe: Sisters and Patrons of the Cistercian Reform*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2002, p59-61

¹³ Nolan, Kathleen Ibid., p127

¹⁴ Nolan, Kathleen Ibid., p121

¹⁵ Otto von Habsburg,. "Funeral Ceremony." *Otto von Habsburg*. 7 July 2011.

<http://www.ottovonhabsburg.org/medien/text/2011-07-04pressreleasefuneralceremoniesEN.pdf> (accessed September 7, 2011)

¹⁶ Joan Ferrante,. *Epistolae - Medieval Women's Latin Letters*. 2011. <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/> (accessed February 1, 2011)

several popes including Gregory IX, Honorius III and Innocent IV. These letters covers a number of topics, but there are two quite significant notes which reveal an abandoned plan of Blanche's. In 1223 she had been given permission by Pope Honorius III to enter a Cistercian monastery; 'dearest daughter of Christ, inclined to your honourable requests which we willing favour in their faithful and devout purpose to enter once in your life with ten honourable women into a Cistercian monastery at the time of a general chapter'.¹⁷ In the same year, Blanche finally became queen of France, twenty-three years after her marriage and it would appear that Blanche was already looking to the future when her children were grown and she could retire from public, royal life. Of course, this never eventuated following the death of her husband a mere three years later and Blanche becoming regent.

During Blanche's first regency, together with her son, Louis IX, she commissioned a large stained glass rose window in Chartres Cathedral, Eure-et-Loir, France in 1230 (see *Appendix IX*). The entire window is laced with biblical kings, prophets and saints and is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. At the centre of the Rose is the Virgin Mary, surrounded by 'doves of the spirit', 'censing angels', 'angels holding candles' and 'seraphim'. The middle circuit is filled with the Kings of Judah and the outer most circle consists of biblical prophets (*for exact positions and identities, see Appendix X*). At the right and left lower corners of the rose window are alternating panels of the French fleur-de-lis coat of arms and the Castilian castle coat of arms (*see Appendix XI*), representing the primary donor as Blanche of Castile, who was at the time of the commission, the regent of France. Assuming Blanche had some

¹⁷ Pope Honorius III, Letter to Blanche de Anscarids, Queen of France, 1223, Opera Omina 4 303, Epistolae Book 7, ep 83, summary in RHP, 2.119 #4264 from Ferrante, J. (2011) Epistolae - Medieval Women's Latin Letters, Retrieved February 1, 2011, from <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/>

influence in the design and creation of the rose window, she has deliberately associated herself with typical Christian saints, prophets and kings; indeed the panel directly underneath the rose is of St Anne and her infant daughter, the Virgin Mary, accompanied by the French coat of arms ([see Appendix XII](#)). What is so significant about this particular commission is the fact that it is still in existence today unlike the monastic houses of Maubuisson, Royaumont and Notre-Dame-de-Lys which were destroyed during the French Revolution. With these multiple commissions, Blanche further highlights her religious devotion; for not only was she a devout Christian, it is clear that she wanted to be remembered as thus. These kinds of memorials seem appropriate for the mother of two French saints, Louis IX and Isabelle.

A similar tribute was commissioned by her son, Louis IX, in 1248 with the construction of the La Sainte-Chappelle in Paris, France. Its main function was to house the Crown of Thorns, purchased by the saintly king during the 1230s however the design marks a substantial honour towards his mother, Blanche. The Lower Chapel is dedicated to the Virgin Mary with some of the internal pillars being painted red and decorated with gold castles, in homage to Blanche's natal coat of arms, alternating with pillars painted blue embossed with gold fleur-de-lys ([see Appendix XIII](#)). These motifs also appear on a decorated wall of the upper chapel ([see Appendix XIV](#)) and on ceramic floor tiles through both chapels ([see Appendix XV](#)). Once again, Blanche is associated with the mother of Christ, a relationship mirrored in Blanche and Louis IX. He continued his memorialisation of his mother with his expansion to the Chateau de Bourgueil in Rouen, Normandy in 1265. New stained glass windows were installed that displayed golden castles within its borders, once again representing Blanche ([see Appendix XVI](#)). It is worth noting that this particular

commission was made after Blanche's death in 1252, illustrating how devoted and attached Louis was to her.

Margaret of Anjou does not have as many contemporary sources attributed to her commissioning agency; however this could be explained by the instability of her husband's reign for Margaret was more occupied with the conservation of the House of Lancaster upon the throne. The first contemporary source is 'Poems and Romances' commissioned by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as a gift for Queen Margaret on the occasion of her wedding in 1445.¹⁸ The volume includes a presentation scene of Shrewsbury offering the publication to the King and Queen in front of a full court ([see Appendix XVII](#)) and consists of stories about Alexander the Great, Nectanebus and Olympias, Candacalus, Charlemagne and Naymes, amongst many others. It is worth noting that despite Margaret being represented as a crowned and enthroned queen, this volume was commissioned and presented to Margaret in Rouen after May 1444, but before her English wedding ceremony and subsequent coronation.¹⁹

A commission close to Margaret's heart was established soon after her marriage. Margaret was granted the licence to establish 'The Queen's College of St Margaret and St Bernard', more commonly known as 'Queen's College' at the University of Cambridge. The charter was granted in 1448 'for our health and the safety of our beloved consort Margaret queen of England so long as we shall live and for our souls when we have departed from this life, and for the souls of our illustrious father and mother and all our forebears and all the

¹⁸ The British Library, *Poems and Romances (the 'Talbot Shrewsbury book')*. 2011. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18385&CollID=16&NStart=150506> (accessed August 9, 2011).

¹⁹ Joanna Fronska. *Royal Weddings from Royal Manuscripts*. 26 April 2011. <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2011/04/royal-weddings-from-royal-manuscripts.html> (accessed September 3, 2011).

faithful who have died' (*for the entire charter, [see Appendix XVIII](#)*).²⁰ Several buildings in the college are littered with stained glass windows and tiles of Margaret herself and her coat of arms, however as the majority of these were commissioned well after Margaret's death, they shall be discussed in the following chapter. The college itself is the only commission from Margaret that is still in existence today; there are no commissions for stained glass windows, statues or monastic houses; if they ever existed, they have not survived.

The only contemporary stained glass window that may be of Margaret of Anjou is located in Angers Cathedral, France. The south rose window of the cathedral, created by Andre Robin around 1452, consists of a zodiac and twenty four 'Elders of the Apocalypse' ([see Appendix XIX](#)).²¹ Painton Cowen argues that the figure representing 'Virgo' is in fact Margaret of Anjou ([see Appendix XX](#)), though he does not expand on his thought process behind this claim. There are no corresponding dates of Margaret's life that occurs between 23rd August and 22nd September; her birthday is 23rd March, making her an Aries, her marriage was 23rd April, her husband's ascension and deposition dates are 4th March, 30th October and 11th April respectively. The only date of significance which falls within 'Virgo' is her death, 25th August 1482; this could explain why Margaret was chosen to represent 'Virgo', however the rose window was built thirty years before her death.

However, unlike Blanche, several volumes of correspondence to and from Margaret have survived. Authors and recipients of these letters include Henry VI of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Northumberland, the Bishop of

²⁰ Queens' College Cambridge. *Charter of Foundation 1448*. 2011.
<http://www.quns.cam.ac.uk/general-information/official-documents/charter-of-foundation> (accessed September 16, 2011)

²¹ Painton Cowen. *Angers Cathedral - South Rose Window*. 2008.
<http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Angers/S-rose-Frame.htm> (accessed September 26, 2011).

Carlisle, the Duke of Somerset, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Exeter, the Duke of York, the Duke of Norfolk and the Sheriff of London. Within these letters, Margaret plays matchmaker with her servants and courtiers; ensures the repayment of monies owed to her; and requests of good treatment to her squires, clerks and servants.

A most valuable contemporary source is the volumes of the *Paston Letters* from 1422 to 1509 written by four consecutive generations of the Paston family in Norfolk, Norwich. These letters between family members reveal the common sentiment of many important stakeholders in the Cousins' War including and especially Margaret of Anjou. They recount the suspicions against Margaret in the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1447²², the birth of her son, Edward, in 1453²³, her petition for the regency²⁴, the accusation that Edward was not the king's son²⁵, and her continuing feud against the Duke of York²⁶. Whilst it is granted that the Pastons were merely repeating the national gossip concerning the queen, from these sources, it is demonstrated that Margaret was embroiled in suspicion, intrigue and accusations of murder and adultery during her power struggle to obtain the regency. Despite the very possibility that none of these allegations had any merit, Margaret was unable to rise above them, perhaps proving that no action of hers would appease the English populace and have them forgive her French-ness and the loss of their territories.

Due to the relative stability of Blanche's regency, she was able to establish a number of monastic houses and commission pieces of art and architecture. The presence of such

²² James Gairdner. *The Paston Letters 1422-1509*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1904, Vol I, p47

²³ Ibid., Vol I, p130

²⁴ Ibid., Vol I, p136

²⁵ Ibid., Vol I, p187

²⁶ Ibid., Vol I, p158

lasting monuments is a testament to Blanche's ability to stabilise France during her tenure as regent and to the prosperity of France, having the monetary means and resources to establish enduring reminders of her reign. Other pieces of art and architecture which were commissioned soon after Blanche's death testify to the popularity she enjoyed in her lifetime and the popularity of her son, Louis IX; it was almost a package deal, to love Louis IX was to love Blanche and vice versa. Margaret, on the other hand, having lacked the stability in England during her lifetime, has but one enduring testament to her reign in Queens' College at Cambridge. Not even her tomb lies upon English soil, for Margaret died an exile in Angers, France; the only consolation was being buried in the same cathedral as her parents. Margaret lacks immediate posthumous commissions within England which demonstrates the general opinion of the English people and its subsequent kings; it would seem that Margaret was to be preferably forgotten, if not remembered with disdain.

Blanche chose to associate herself with religion and piety as demonstrated through the numerous commissions of monastic houses and stained glass windows within cathedrals. In Margaret's one major commission, she chose to combine education with religion in the foundation of Queens' College at the University of Cambridge which was named for St Margaret and St Bernard; though her choice would have been influenced by Henry VI, having already established King's College some years previously.

France is littered with reminders of Blanche with some commissioned on her authority and others on that of her son. Both Blanche and Louis were determined that she was going to be remembered as a pious, dutiful queen who defended the crown for her son and nurtured France as a whole, strengthening its resources and grandeur. It could be argued that Margaret had the same hopes for her own memory and that of her son, Edward, and if she

had been successful in the wars, she would have had the opportunity to rehabilitate her reputation and win back the love of the English people. Her defeat in the Cousins' War cemented her position as an ambitious adulterer who prolonged a long suffering war for her own selfish reasons.

Historical Representation

A historical representation can be a combination of different mediums, from biographies and histories, to statues, stained glass windows and buildings, which have been written and built centuries following one's death. Naturally these kinds of commemorations cannot be controlled by the individual; but it does not necessarily mean that they do not reflect the individual. At times, these posthumous commemorations demonstrate exactly how the individual has been remembered over time. Several of these commemorations, particularly statues, churches and stained glass windows, can survive for centuries and be more well known than any relevant primary source.

There are several scholarly publications that focus on the time surrounding Blanche of Castile, but the main topic is either her son, Louis IX, John of England or Philip II of France; Blanche only appears in these volumes due to her relationship with the men of her extended family. The only comprehensive biographical publication covering Blanche is by historian Regine Pernoud, published in 1975, analysing her entire life from her birth in Castile to her death in France sixty four years later. Joseph Dahmus argues that Pernoud's publication is 'no true biography in the accepted sense' because other publications covering Louis IX or a history of France would have included the same content.¹ Indeed, it is worth noting that Pernoud's university degrees, both her Bachelor and Doctorate, are in Literature with her doctoral thesis on '*Municipal Statutes of the City of Marseille*'.² Despite this

¹ Joseph Dahmus. "Reviews", *The American Historical Review* 78, No 3, June 1973, p671

² Herve Lemonie. "*National Celebrations – Regine Pernoud*", National Academy of France, September 2011 <http://www.archivesdefrance.culture.gouv.fr/action-culturelle/celebrations-nationales/2009/litterature-et-sciences-humaines/regine-pernoud>, [18 October 2011]

literature background, Pernoud would later become the Curator of the Museum of Reims in 1947, the Museum for the History of France in 1949 and at the Centre of Joan of Arc in 1974.³ Dahmus argues that Pernoud relies too heavily on Matthew Paris' *Chronicles* and accuses her of Anglophobia, with Pernoud arguing that John of England had inherited his instability from his father, Henry II, but overlooks the fact that Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine were both essentially French in ancestry.⁴ Pernoud does not challenge the traditionally held position in regards to Blanche's contemporary reputation nor does she attempt to alter the accepted historical representation. Whilst she does not lack including primary sources, Pernoud does not question them and her publication appears to be a mere collation of the accepted history.

Several numerous overarching volumes merely outline Blanche's rise to power and her subsequent actions in regards to the preservation of the throne for her son. Generally, neither her motives nor methods are substantially questioned or analysed in great depth. However, in le Goff's *Saint Louis*, he debates whether Louis conferred the regency upon Blanche and argues that she took measures to ensure the regency for herself. Le Goff highlights discrepancies in the details of the documents that confirmed Blanche as regent and paints her as a scheming woman who took the regency, instead of being given it.

The first discrepancy was the date signed upon his will; the year was 1226 but there is no month or a day.⁵ The lack of a specific date is curious, for if there was nothing to hide surely a full date would have been attached; but what if the date of the will was after the death of the king and therefore not of his hand? It may have meant that Louis did not give

³ Lemonie, Herve. Ibid.

⁴ Dahmus, Joseph. Ibid., p672

⁵ Jacques Le Goff. *Saint Louis*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009, p46

Blanche the regency and that she forged the will with the complicity of the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais. Le Goff argues that Louis 'never indicated in his testament or in his solemn declaration made before the group of powerful figures assembled around him on 3rd November 1226, whom he designated to rule or at least wished to exercise what we would now call regency'.⁶

The last discrepancy lies with the naming of only three of the bishops present at his deathbed than the full five as witnesses to the king's death.⁷ The Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Chartres and Beauvais were named in the will, but there were two others also present. It may have been that these two unnamed bishops refused to be complicit in Blanche's plans for the regency and this was the reasoning behind their absence in the official document. Bush seems to support Le Goff's theory by arguing that Louis did not give Blanche the regency and that she 'assembled all the most powerful barons who were attached to her' and in front of those barons had the bishops 'attested upon oath that in dying he had invested her with that dignity, and pronounced her the guardian of his children'.⁸

It is possible that these discrepancies are mere oversights made by Louis and the assembled clergy in the hastiness of completing the will before the king expired; considering the swiftness of his illness, this is plausible. The absence of such specific details would have only been noticed after the fact and subsequently could have been taken advantage of by Blanche's detractors, simultaneously creating reasonable doubt in the legality of Blanche's

⁶ Ibid., p47

⁷ Ibid., p47

⁸ Annie Forbes Bush. Ibid., p154

position and generating a more solid legal ground to their disagreement of the outcome of Louis' will.

Le Goff explores a theory that only one other scholar even acknowledges; that Blanche may not have been given the regency as smoothly as we have come to believe and may have in fact conducted a coup under false pretences. This would show a different side to the queen who has been portrayed as a mother who only stepped in to protect the reign of her son. If Le Goff's insinuations are true, than Blanche would be uncovered as a cunning political figure who not only knew how to accomplish such a feat, but had the courage to attempt it in the first place.

Le Goff's research attempts to break away from the traditionally held historical belief that Blanche was merely given the regency. By exposing these discrepancies, Le Goff attempts to recast Blanche's reputation in history. Instead of becoming the benevolent regent of France by the grace of Louis, Blanche may have in fact been a silent and stealthy usurper. Bush appears to build upon Le Goff's theory, arguing that Blanche not only forged the will that granted her power, but forced bishops and nobles alike into accepting the 'false' arrangement. This theory is mere speculation and cannot be properly corroborated against the version that history has come to accept without question.

In Zoe Oldenbourg's *Massacre at Montsegur*, she argues that Blanche had 'more luck than ability' because, as a woman, she was able to 'flaunt the conventions of chivalry whereas her opponents could not'⁹. Oldenbourg accuses Blanche of 'taking advantage of her sex, for as a woman how was she expected to know the rules of chivalry when she was never supposed to be in a position of power'. It is worth noting that Oldenbourg's book

⁹ Zoe Oldenbourg. *Massacre at Montsegur*. Translated by Peter Green. New York: Weidelfeld and Nicolson, 1961, p245

focuses on a massacre during the Albigensian crusade and it is not a biography and has more of a religious, rather than militaristic or political undertone. These events happened to occur during Blanche's regency in March 1244 and would seem that Oldenbourg chastises Blanche for not preventing such an atrocity.

Bush's *Memoirs of the Queens of France* covers each consort since Basine, wife of the Merovingian king Childeric I (440-482) and distinguishes, within the table of contents, which French queen was merely a consort or became a regent during her lifetime. The publication is dedicated to 'Her Majesty, Marie Amalie, Queen of the French' and was 'inscribed by her majesty's faithful and obliged servant, Annie Forbes Bush'. It could be argued that the memoir passes judgement on Marie Amalie's predecessors and outlines the reasons behind each decision; some were schemers, others were pious and so on. In this sense, Bush's *Memoirs* could be a contemporary accompaniment to Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, illustrating the positive and negative virtues of femininity, warning the reader with examples of both.

Bush accuses Blanche of being ungrateful towards Theobald of Champagne in the matter of a succession dispute with his niece, Alice of Cyprus.¹⁰ This dispute arose after Theobald had betrayed Blanche a number of times and whilst Bush calls this 'ingratitude',¹¹ it was possible that Blanche was merely teaching her inconstant ally a lesson in loyalty. It was also possible that if Theobald's loyalty waivered later, he would stand to lose Champagne. It could be argued that the moral of Blanche's story that Bush is trying to convey is that a queen should remain loyal to her followers, even if they do not return that loyalty.

¹⁰ Bush. Ibid., p160

¹¹ Bush. Ibid., p160

It is a testament to their memories that long after Blanche and Margaret died, they are still being remembered through statues, stained glass windows and portraits. One of the more famous works to include Blanche and Margaret is the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris, France, which have a specific garden that is dedicated to 'the most illustrious women of France' ([see Appendix XXI](#)). It was commissioned by Louis Philippe I, King of the French in 1843 and features statues of French queens, complete with their name and dates of birth and death on inscribed plaques¹². This collection of statues would appear to be a continuation of an expansion project of the gardens and the Luxembourg Palace by the king which began as early as 1836; with such additions included an Egyptian Obelisk and the Fontaine Moliere.¹³

Amongst these honoured women, which include Jeanne III d'Albret of Navarre (1528-1572), Louise de Savoie (1476-1531), Anne Habsburg (1601-1666), Anne de Valois (1461-1522), Laura de Noves (1310-1348) and Saint Genevieve (423-512), are both Blanche and Margaret ([see Appendix XXII](#) and [XXIII](#)). However while Blanche was included in the original collection, the statue of Margaret is a late addition, replacing a statue of Joan of Arc which was moved to the Louvre in 1872, having been considered too fragile to remain outdoors.¹⁴ Margaret's statue is unique in the fact that hers alone is accompanied by an inscription '*Si vous ne respectez une reine proscrire respectez une mere malheureuse*', roughly translated this means 'If you cannot respect the exiled queen, at least respect the unlucky mother. This may an attempt at rehabilitating Margaret's reputation, pleasing for

¹² Appleton's Journal. "Famous Gardens – Art Supplement". *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, No 17, 24 July 1869, p7

¹³ Edward L'Anson. '*The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal Volume 22*', Groombridge and Sons, 1859, p158

¹⁴ French Senate. *The Statues of the Jardin du Luxembourg: Queens, Holy and Illustrious Women*, September 2011, http://www.senat.fr/visite/jardin/map_femmes.html, [13 September 2011]

understanding of a mother who did everything she could out of love for her only son. The grouping of these two categories of women appears to reinforce the traditionally held association between queens and iconic religious women, as mentioned in the initial chapter of this dissertation.

There are even architectural memorials dedicated to Blanche in the United States of America. In New Orleans, Louisiana stands the Basilica of St Louis. The State of Louisiana was named for Louis XIV of France in 1682¹⁵ with the city of New Orleans being founded on 7th May 1718 and named after Philippe de Orleans, the Regent of France.¹⁶ The first church was built in 1727, standing until it was destroyed by fire in 1788. Despite the territory having been ceded to Spain in 1764¹⁷, construction on a replacement church was approved and completed in 1794.¹⁸ The Basilica is littered with architectural tributes to Louis IX is a lone stained glass window dedicated to Blanche, of Louis receiving a blessing from his mother ([see Appendix XXIV](#)). In a state named after a king of France, in a city named after a prince of France, it is not surprising to find a basilica dedicated to yet another french royal. What is interesting is despite the numerous changes of state ownership from France to Spain, back to France and then to America, the basilica has remained, untouched by the surrounding change.

Similarly with Margaret of Anjou, despite her being an important figure during the Wars of the Roses, there are not many publications which specifically deal with Margaret as

¹⁵ E, Bunner. *History of Louisiana from its Settlement to Present Day*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1842, p46

¹⁶ Melissa Haley,. *Guide to the New Orleans Collection 1770-1904*, The New York Historical Society, 2002, <http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/nyhs/neworleans.html>, [3 September 2011]

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Crosby Kern. "History of the St Louis Cathedral", 2011 http://www.stlouiscathedral.org/early_history.html, [4 August 2011]

the core topic. Most scholarly research of the Cousins' War has an overarching analysis of the civil war and with so many significant stakeholders, it is difficult to specifically concentrate on one individual. Margaret has the dubious honour in being immortalised in the Shakespearian play *Henry VI* where she is portrayed as the power-hungry, scheming and ambitious woman history has come to remember her by. First performed by 1592 *Henry VI* reinforces the popular belief of Margaret's tarnished reputation with such passages as 'She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France, whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth! How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex to triumph, like an Amazonian trull, upon their woes whom fortune captivates! But that they face is, visard-like, unchanging, made impudent with use of evil deeds, I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush. To tell thee whence thou camest, of whom derived, were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not shameless'.¹⁹

The loss of the French provinces of Anjou and Maine are clearly laid at her feet, 'Unto the daughter of a worthless king, having neither subject, wealth, nor diadem. By devilish policy art thou grown great and, like ambitious Scylla overgorged with gobbets of thy mother's bleeding heart. By thee Anjou and Maine were sold to France, the false revolting Normans thorough thee disdain to call us lord and Picardy hath slain their governors, surprised our forts and sent their ragged soldiers wounded home'.²⁰ The fault for the misfortune of England is placed squarely in front of Margaret; for while Henry VI was pliable enough to not constitute a threat, it was Margaret who was the troublemaker.

¹⁹ William George Clark & William Aldis Wright. *The Works of William Shakespeare Volume VII*, Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1899 *Henry VI*, Part III, Act I, Scene IV, Lines 111-120

²⁰ *Henry VI*, Part II, Act IV, Scene I, Lines 81-90

It is not merely the publication of these plays which do not bode well for Margaret's historical reputation; it is their widespread acclaim and syndication. Shakespeare becomes a classic playwright and poet of his time. A consequence of this is the continuation of this damning reputation of Margaret's; how can any reputation recover from such a public, continual and extensive assassination. It must be noted that the aforementioned lines are said by the Duke of York and Walter Whitmore, the captain of the ship sent to escort Margaret from France to England; the reasonings behind York's comments stem from Margaret's stubbornness in preventing him from, as he believed, his rightful place as regent whereas the captain appears to merely exemplify the sweeping attitude towards the Angevin princess before she has even set foot on English soil. Later historical publications, whilst they do not specifically build upon Shakespeare's portrayal of Margaret of Anjou, they certainly do not question it nor are they entirely successful in rehabilitating her reputation.

Biographer Mary Ann Hookham's *Life and Times of Margaret of Anjou* and historian Jock Haswell's *The Ardent Queen* trace Margaret's life from her birth in Anjou, France through her time as the wife of Henry VI, to her exiled return to France after losing the war, her husband and her son. A review of Hookham's *Life and Times of Margaret of Anjou* in the *Spectator Magazine* accuses the publication of 'wanting in accuracy, judgement and impartiality, it moralises too much, has no opinions of its own on point which earlier writers have differed and has no index'.²¹ It also argues that Hookham 'lacks the historian's touch to

²¹ ProQuest. 'Mrs Hookham's Margaret of Anjou (Book Review)', *The Spectator*, 47: 2386, 21 March 1874, p370

transform the mass of information into useful history' and charges her with favouritism for Queen Margaret with her praises and prejudices being quite transparent.²²

Jock Haswell, on the other hand, was a major in the British Army and is in fact a Military Historian, publishing other books such as *The British Army: A Concise History* (1980), *The Battle for Empire* (1976) and *Soldier on Loan* (1961). Having been previously criticised for relying too heavily on secondary sources with his publication on James II of England, Haswell does include several chronicles in his research for 'the Ardent Queen' such as *History of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (1824), *Memoirs of Philip de Commynes* (1900) and *Chronicle of Lancaster and York* (1809).²³ The same review also notes several 'minor factual errors' and declares his work as a 'labour of love [and] not the work of a scholar'.²⁴ With such criticisms for previous works, it would not be hard to expect the same mistakes for Margaret's tale.

Margaret's lasting commemorations are at Queens' College, Cambridge; however the college was refounded by Elizabeth Woodville, the Yorkist queen. This resulted in Margaret's coat of arms being stripped from the college's seal and replaced with Elizabeth's. Even the name Queens' College is due to the patronage of two queens, Margaret and Elizabeth. However in some form rehabilitation, it may appear that the symbols of Margaret's patronage were restored during the nineteenth century.

Her coat of arms appears in several locations and in several mediums such as plaster and stained glass; Margaret's coat of arms are distinct and easily recognisable due to the number of quarterings ([see Appendix XXV](#)). Within the grounds of the college, a large gilded

²² ProQuest. 'Mrs Hookham's Margaret of Anjou (Book Review)', *Ibid.*, p370

²³ Patrick McGarry. 'Haswell, Jock James II (Book Review)', *Historian*, 35:3, May 1973, p485

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p485

Coat of Arms sits above an arched entryway ([see Appendix XXVI](#)) and in the Oriel Window within the Hall ([see Appendix XXVII](#)). Above the elaborate fireplace within the Hall is a tiled motif of the months of the year and ceramic portraits of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville, the founders of Queens' College ([see Appendix XVIII](#)). Here Margaret sits enthroned as a queen, wearing a crown and holding an orb and sceptre, at her best having just been wed and crowned when she was at the height of her popularity. The symbols of royalty reaffirm her position as a past queen of England and whilst it may be pure coincidence, the smaller tiles depicting swans may be a reference to her son, Prince Edward, whose badge was that of a white swan.²⁵ This may be a form of rehabilitation in an effort to re-establish some of Margaret's grandeur as a queen of England, which would subsequently positively reflect upon the college as well. Since their instalment, they have been a static and constant reminder of Margaret throughout the college as an honoured and worthy patroness whose very existence the college owes.

In the local church at Muckleston, Staffordshire there is a large stained glass window depicting Margaret of Anjou ([see Appendix XXIX](#)). The window was commissioned by George Chetwode, 6th Baronet (1823-1905) and it was customary for a member of the family to be incorporated into the represented figures. It is believed that it is Chetwode's wife, Alice Jane Bass, whose likeness was used for Margaret of Anjou; this is supported by her name appearing within the Latin inscription on the window. The scene is meant to represent the sadness of Margaret's life for it was rumoured that within that church tower, she watched the Battle of Blore Heath. Having witnessed her army's defeat and fearful of

²⁵ William Marx. *An English Chronicle 1377-1461*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003, p79-80

capture, Margaret ordered the local blacksmith to shoe her horse backwards, in order to create a false trail.²⁶

Another nineteenth-century representation of Margaret is John Gilbert's '*Margaret of Anjou taken prisoner after the Battle of Tewkesbury*' which was painted in 1875 ([see Appendix XXX](#)). It shows the Queen under guard by Yorkist troops, beaten, defeated, conquered. It is a sad image of a once powerful queen who had fought so hard and has now lost everything. During this battle, the Prince of Wales had been cut down and her husband, Henry VI, taken prisoner once more. This painting depicts Margaret at her lowest when she has fought and lost and lost badly; it would be exactly how the Yorkists would want her to be remembered.

Blanche's eternal memory is continuously linked with her religious nature for which she was known for during her lifetime. She is remembered through her patronage of monastic houses and commemoration in churches' stained glass and architecture; to be able to channel funds and resources to these projects demonstrates stability in government and monetary management. Even in the remembrance of others, like her son, Blanche is included; it could be argued that this illustrates the extensiveness of her popularity across France and beyond. She is seen as a fiercely protective mother who actions are performed out of love for her son. She is remembered as a pious queen who funded monastic houses. She is remembered as the fertile queen, giving birth to thirteen children. She was, in many ways, the perfect queen.

Margaret's eternal memory is mostly embedded within her defeats, particularly after the Battle of Blore Heath (1549) and the Battle of Tewkesbury (1471) through the stained

²⁶ Holinshed, Raphael. Vol. III, Ibid., p251

glass window at Mucklestone and Gilbert's painting. Despite bestowing a college upon Cambridge, Margaret is more remembered for her loss of the Cousins' War. The lack of primary commissions by Margaret after 1445 is illustrative of the instability of England and her husband's position as king. Had Henry VI been steadier upon the throne, Margaret would have had the means and resources to commission more works. It was under her command that the Lancastrian armies lost several battles, directly resulting in the deaths of the majority of England's nobility and indirectly in the deaths of her husband and son. She is remembered as a queen with blood upon her hands and vengeance in her heart. She is remembered for prolonging the war, by refusing to allow her son to be disinherited, at a time when peace was the preferred outcome. She is remembered as an adulterous whore who tried to force the son of another man upon the throne of France.

Conclusion

So how have Blanche and Margaret developed different contemporary reputations and historical representations, despite the several similarities in their lives? Whilst Blanche and Margaret would not have had any control over their contemporary chronicles and correspondence, they did have control over what sort of commissions they authorised during their lifetimes; however Blanche had control over her ability to patronise commissions whilst Margaret did not. As stated previously, the very existence of approved commissions speak to the patron's agency, both in resources, time and monetary funds. A large number of contemporary commissions could demonstrate a long period of peace during one's lifetime whereas a lack of them could imply a time of upheaval. Due to Margaret having to devote the majority of her time and effort towards the preservation of her husband's dynasty and the future of her son, she did not have the opportunity to commission many artistic or architectural testimonials.

Blanche and Margaret were not typical consorts of their age for they wielded power, legitimate or not. They enforced justice through the punishment of rebellious nobles; they negotiated peace treaties with their respective enemies and sealed them with the marriages of their own children; and they raised and lead armies across their countries in defence of their marital dynasty. In short, despite being female, both Blanche and Margaret displayed very masculine virtues. Margaret's lack of contemporary commissions opens the way for others who may not so favourable to the Lancastrian queen to fill this source gap. The chronicles which defame her, the Paston letters repeat every rumour about her and the plays portray her as an ambitious she-wolf culminate in a very negative reputation which cannot be argued against by anything that Margaret herself, or others close to her, left

behind. There are no monuments to speak of her devotion to her husband and son or her tenacity in raising and leading an army during a time where women were looked down upon for such actions. Margaret is unable to respond to these accusations which have echoed across time. Shakespeare's plays are more widely known than the publications of her letters, her defeat during the Cousins' War is more known than her love for her son; and it is this 'popular history' that is remembered by the masses.

As for Blanche, her numerous commissions in art, architecture and monastic houses which emulate the special relationship she had with her son would deflect any attack upon her personal character, for how could a woman who patrons religious houses and churches be accused of anything unvirtuous? Indeed the commissions would last longer than any accusation and would therefore be forgotten over time whilst the churches and monastic houses still stand. Blanche is remembered as a caring, devoted mother who shouldered the heavy burden of regency in order to protect her son and happened to enhance the standing of the monarchy of France and France as a country. A number of Blanche's posthumous commissions are of the same kind as her contemporary commissions as within the Saint Chapelle Church, Chartres Cathedral and St Louis Basilica.

It could be argued that we do not have an accurate understanding of Margaret of Anjou. The sources of her time are too unkind to Margaret and her ability to leave any kind of positive response was robbed from her with her defeat at the Battle of Tewkesbury. The multitude of negative contemporary sources does not portray her in any positive light and there are no other contemporary sources that illuminate the same events in a more kindly manner towards her. The majority of Margaret's letters do not offer an insight to her true character as they are of an official nature; they are not personal correspondence between

herself and other members of her family. They do not reveal her true thoughts and feelings regarding her situation as queen of England and the wife of an impotent king.

Nor do we have an accurate understanding of Blanche of Castile for the reputation and representation left behind by her numerous contemporary and historical sources maintain this mysterious divine nature that was initially perpetuated by Blanche herself. It could be argued that Blanche wanted to be remembered as a pious queen and mother and took deliberate and calculated steps to ensure this kind of reputation in the commissions she chose. To some extent, she has been fortunate that several posthumous commissions have echoed the very same attitude which has only reinforced her plausible initial wish.

This kind of research and analysis may benefit investigations into the negative reputations of other various medieval and early modern queens, both regnant and consort, such as Isabella of Angouleme (1188-1246), Margaret of Burgundy (1290-1315), Isabella of France (1295-1358), Joanna I of Naples (1328-1382), Isabelle of Bavaria (1370-1435), Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), Henrietta Maria of France (1609-1669). All of these queens were involved in political intrigue and had negative reputations and subsequent representations in the country of which they were queen. The above queens could be contrasted with queens who possessed a positive reputation, such as Matilda of Flanders (1031-1083), Isabella of Aragon (1247-1271) Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290), Elizabeth of Aragon (1271-1282), Philippa of Hainault (1314-1369) and Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603).

Another avenue of research would be to analyse these differences in reputation and representation in regards to women who were the ruling heiresses of their own territory, such as a kingdom or duchy or county, but also married another king, thus becoming a

consort in a second territory. Was there any difference in how these women were remembered between their native kingdom and their marital one? Were their own territories more powerful or influential than their husband's and if so, how did that affect the marital and political relationship? Were these women viewed as consorts in their marital territory or as a ruler of their own lands and therefore on an equal standing with their husbands? Did their husbands have any political influence in these women's lands or was it by her choice? Such queens would include Eleanor of Aquitaine, consort of France and England (1122-1204), Joan I of Navarre, consort of France (1271-1305), Isabella I of Castile, consort of Aragon (1451-1504) and Mary I of Scotland, consort of France (1542-1587).

If Blanche had been unsuccessful in her defence against the French rebels, it is possible that she may have been exiled back to her native Castile, a not too dissimilar fate of her eventual granddaughter, Blanche of France.¹ Therefore Blanche would not have had the opportunity to commission her monastic houses or her stained glass windows. To legitimise and reinforce their own positions, Peter of Brittany with Hugh of Lusignan and Philip of Boulogne could have influenced Louis IX to distrust and even dislike his exiled mother. Blanche would have been remembered as an ambitious and interfering woman who overstepped her place, by trying to inhabit the position of regent.

If Margaret had the benefit of being victorious during the Cousins' War, it would be logical to assume that she would have instigated a large, wide-spread propaganda

¹ Blanche of France (1253-1323) was the wife of Infante Ferdinand de Anscarids of Castile (1253-1275) and mother of Prince Alfonso (1270-1333) and Ferdinand (1275-1322). Her husband died before his father and her son, Alfonso, was overlooked for the succession, with the Cortes favouring Blanche's brother-in-law who became Sancho IV of Castile (1258-1295). After her failure to have her son crowned, Blanche left Castile for her native France, never to return.

campaign, in order to rehabilitate not only her own reputation, but that of Henry's as well. Henry could have remained slipping in and out of his mental fog, leaving Margaret and Edward as the key rulers of England until either Henry's death or even possible abdication, in favour of his son. This may have been a more favourable option for the English people who did not hold the same opinion of Prince Edward as they did his mother, Queen Margaret. Naturally, Margaret would have had some influence as the queen mother, but as with her position of consort, it would have been a behind the scenes position of power and influence.

The lesson to be learned from the lives of Blanche of Castile and Margaret of Anjou is that the eternal memory is open to manipulation, be it positive or negative. This memory can and usually is deliberately crafted by the individual involved to reflect their positive aspects or in the absence of personally authorised commissions, it can be crafted by others even decades after the individual's death. A representation based upon an imbalance of contemporary and historical commissions can never accurately represent the individual in question. It is only through the acknowledgements of this general fault in regards to the remembrance of any historical figure that we can have a better understanding of these wonderful women in general.

Appendix I Examples from 'Of Famous Women'



Detail of a miniature of Isis, crowned, escaping in a boat to



Detail of a miniature of Juno crowned in heaven, with priests



Detail of a miniature of Artemisia defeating the Rhodians

Egypt

with censers below, and women with an infant



Detail of a miniature of Zenobia hunting, and with her army, and a warrior kneeling before her



Detail of a miniature of Penthesilia, the queen of the Amazons, on horseback

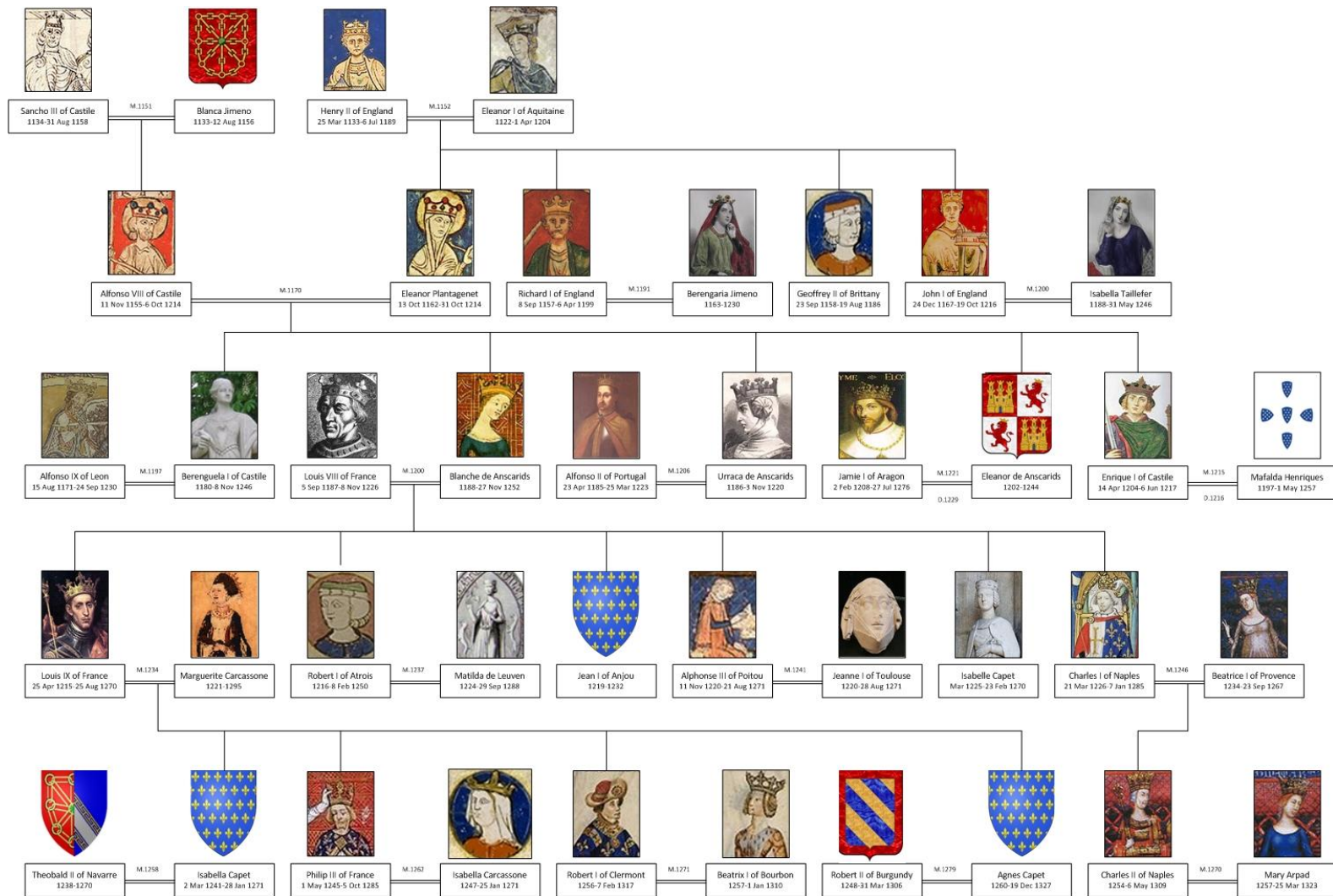


Detail of a miniature of Sulpicia leaving her friends to follow her husband into exile

Source: The British Library. *De Claris Mulieribus in an anonymous French translation* . January 2011.

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8359&CollID=16&NStart=160705> (accessed August 13, 2011)

Appendix II Family Tree of Blanche of Castile

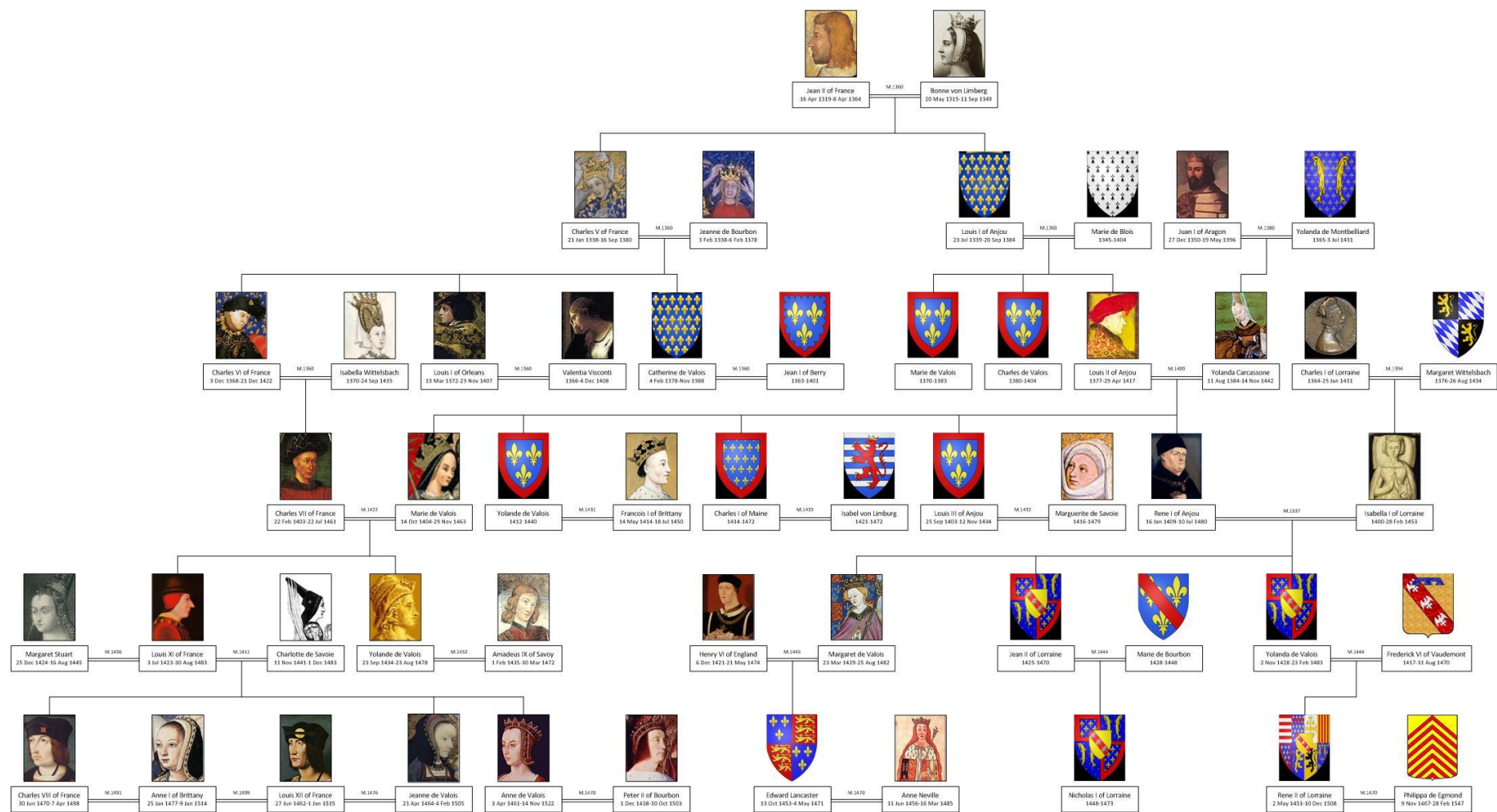


Appendix III Coronation of Louis VIII of France

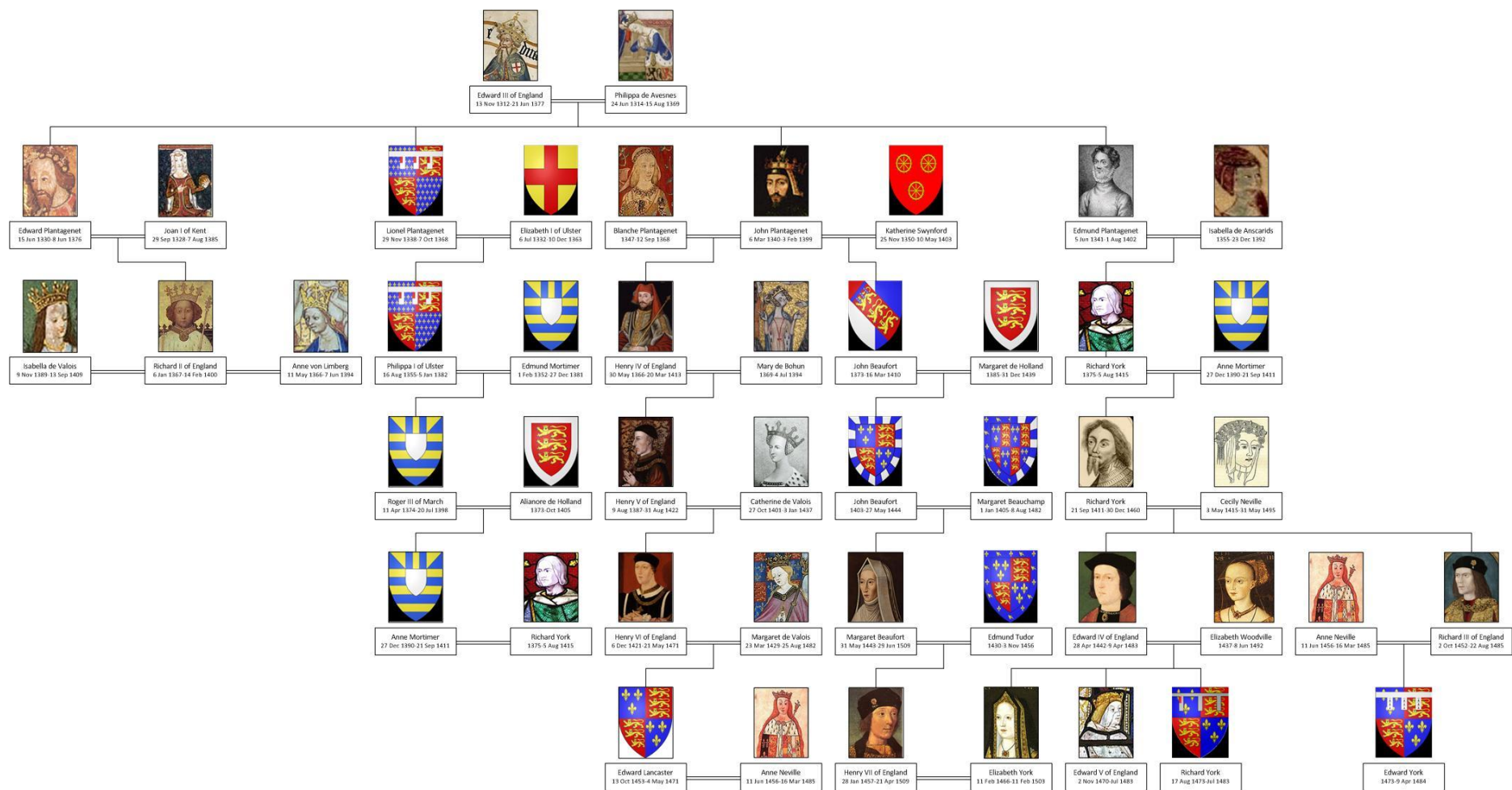


Source: Mahiet. "Miniature of the coronation of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castile, with an illuminated initial 'E'." British Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts - Royal 16 G VI. *Chroniques de France ou de St Denis*. Paris, 1332-1350

Appendix IV Family Tree of Margaret of Anjou



Appendix V Descent from Edward III of
England



Appendix VI Royaumont Abbey, Val-d'Oise



Source: Leme, Gerard. "Royaumont Abbey." <http://www.flickr.com/photos/theleme95/4146184013/>. *Photograph*. Val d'Oise, 21 November 2009

Appendix VII Maubuisson Abbey, Ile-de-France



Source: Verbex, A. "Abbaye de Maubuisson - ensemble de la façade sud." Photograph.

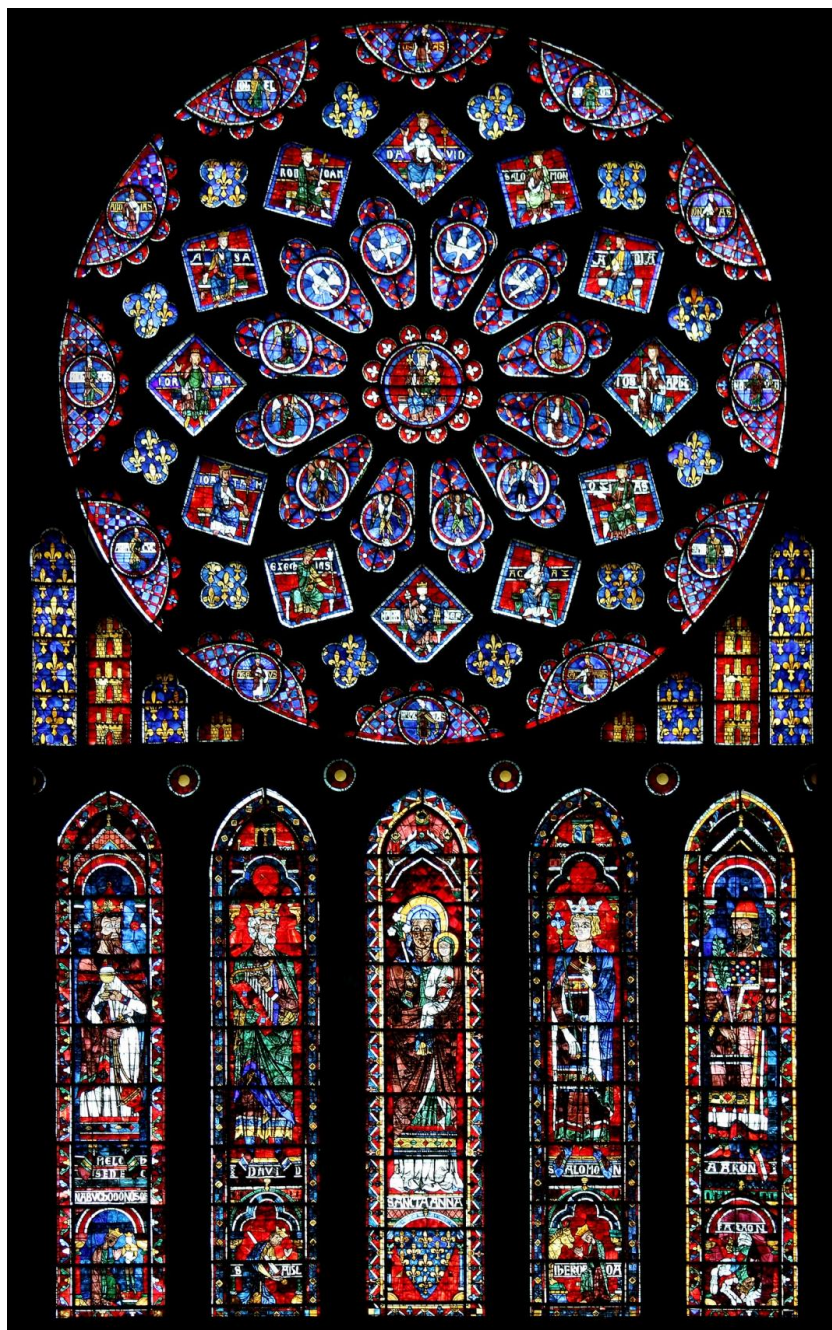
<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maubuisson3.jpg>. Ile-de-France, France, 30 June 2007

Appendix VIII Le Lys Abbey, Ile-de-France



Source: Quintanar, Caroline. "Ruins of Le Lys Abbey." Photograph. <http://arthistorycq.tumblr.com/post/8295772696/le-lys-abbey-location-dammarie-les-lys-france>. Dammarie-les-Lys, France, 31 July 2011

Appendix IX North Rose Window, Chartres Cathedral

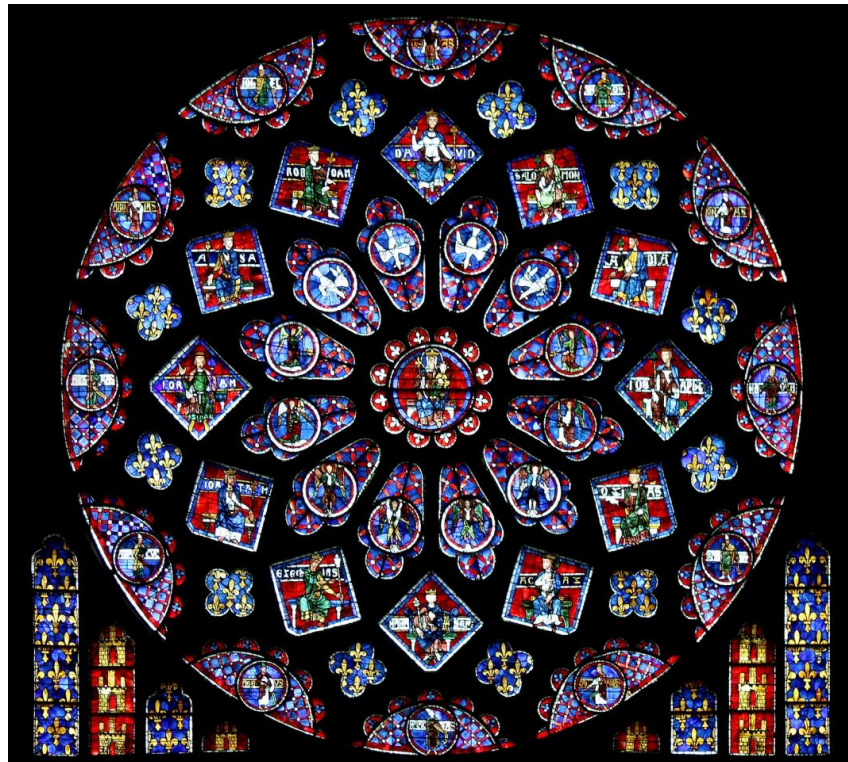


Source: Piolle, Guillaume. *Chartres Cathédrale Rosace Nord*.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Chartres_-_cath%C3%A9drale_-_rosace_nord.jpg,

Chartres, France

Appendix X Detail of North Rose Window, Chartres Cathedral



Appendix XI Detail of North Rose Window, Chartres Cathedral



Source: Cowen, Painton. *Chartres Cathedral*. 2011. <http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Chartres/w121-frame.htm> (accessed September 26, 2011)

Appendix XII Detail of St Anne



Source: Cowen, Painton. *Chartres Cathedral*. 2011.

<http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Chartres/w121-frame.htm> (accessed September 26, 2011)

Appendix XIII Lower Chapel, La Sainte-Chapelle



Godliman, Darrell. "France - Paris - Sainte Chapelle - Lower Chapel 03." Photograph. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/darrellg/5655050595/>,

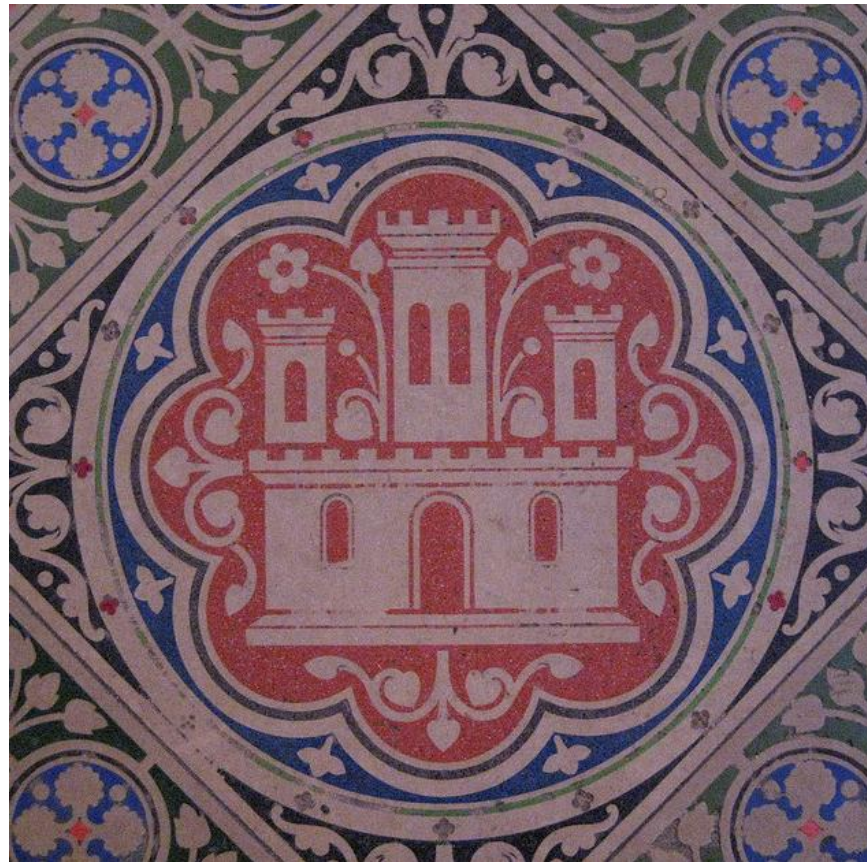
Paris, France, 30 September 2010

Appendix XIV Detail of Upper Chapel Wall of Saint Chapelle



Walker, D. "Castles and Fleur-de-Lis." Photograph. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/21000745@N02/3746251553/>, Paris, France, 26 March 2008

Appendix XV Detail of Ceramic Floor Tile, Saint Chapelle



Pomegranate, Lea. "Saint Chapelle Floor Tile." Photograph. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/panjan2drum/2141370671/>, Paris, France, 17

December 2007

Appendix XVI Detail of
Grisaille Panels from
Chateau de Bourgueil,
Rouen, France



Roan, Peter. "The Early Gothic Room: Grisaille Panels 1265 from Chateau de Bourgueil."

Photograph. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/peterjr1961/5299171902/>, Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York, USA

Appendix XVII Detail of Presentation
Scene from 'Poems and Romances', the
Talbot Shrewsbury Book



Source: The British Library, *Poems and Romances (the 'Talbot Shrewsbury book')*. 2011.

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18385&CollID=16&NStart=150506> (accessed August 9, 2011).

Appendix XVIII Charter of Foundation for Queens' College, Cambridge

HENRY BY THE GRACE OF GOD King of England France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom the present letters shall come, Greetings.

Know that - when we on the twenty-first day of August last preceding by a letter of ours

to the praise glory and honour of almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and of the blessed and inviolate virgin Mary, mother of Christ and of the glorious confessor Saint Bernard, for the extirpation of heresies and errors, the augmentation of the faith, and the dignity of the clergy, and the establishment of the sacrosanct mother church, whose mysteries ought to be entrusted to fit persons, who should shine like stars in their courses, and may instruct nations with learning and example alike,

an everlasting college according to the tenor of the said letter of ours in and of the number of one President and four fellows (whether more or fewer as the case should be according to the resources of that college and the amplification or diminution of expenses)

who are to dwell for study and prayer in our university of Cambridge - for our health and the safety of our beloved consort Margaret queen of England so long as we shall live and for our souls when we have departed from this life, and for the souls of our illustrious father and mother and all our forebears and all the faithful who have died - this president and fellows jointly and severally each at their successive times in existence according to the statutes and ordinances (thence through the venerable master John Somerseth the chancellor of our exchequer, Richard Cawedray, Peter Hyrford, John Sparhawk, Hugo Damlet, and Thomas Boleyn clerics, so long as they should live and the greater part of them, and after the death of one or several of them through those who survive or the majority of those who survive statutes are to be founded made and established) we wish to be elected

and placed in charge and instituted, ruled directed and governed, corrected punished and removed, and deprived

in a farm and land situated in the parish of saint Botulph in Cambridge (lying between the habitation of the Carmelite brothers of the town of Cambridge in the north and the royal area called Small Bridges Street in the south and the river bank likewise to the west and the road called Mill Street to the east),

which land and farm we recently have had to a purpose for these from the gift and grant of the aforementioned president and fellows through the name of one messuage with the houses and garden and of four tenements with gardens adjacent to those tenements, just as is more fully explained in a letter written to us by that president and those fellows dated first of August last,

according to the tenor of the aforementioned letter we have founded erected created and established it to exist in perpetuity and master Andrew Doket as president and vice-president of that college and John Lawe, Alexander Forkelowe, Thomas Haywode, and John Carewey, clerics, fellows of that same college elected by us and appointed for that purpose, who are according to the ordinances and the statutes which are, as aforementioned, to be made and issued thereafter through the John Somerseth Richard Peter John Sperhauk, Hugo and Thomas Boleyn (as aforementioned) we have placed them in charge created and ordered them, to be governed directed deprived and removed, just as is more fully explained in that aforementioned letter of ours among other things which are consonant with and conducive to the foundation erection creation and establishment,

which letter with all the contents of it jointly and severally the president and fellows have delivered to our chancellery our royal assent having been granted to them in this part, for cancellation revocation and annulment,

We most humbly supplicating to accept it so far as it is to be cancelled revoked and annulled and - so much the aforementioned farm or land with its properties as other farm or land (situated in the aforementioned parish of Saint Botulph in the aforementioned town of Cambridge between the monastic messuage of St Radegund of Cambridge and also the messuage of Andrew Doket cleric, the messuage of Reginald of Ely, the messuage of Thomas Neel, the messuage of Thomas Lovell, the messuage of Henry Symsons and the messuage of

Robert Bradwey cleric in the south, and the messuage of the Abbot and convent of Sawetry and the messuage of Benedict Morys dyer in the north, and abutment(?) at the eastern head above the royal street called Trumpyngton Street, to the western head above the royal street leading towards the Carmelite brothers of Cambridge) with their possessions, which farm or land the aforementioned president and fellows have recently had our grant, and one tenement with its possessions (lying in the aforementioned parish of St Botulph of Cambridge beside the tenement of the college of Corpus Christi and the blessed Mary of Cambridge to the north and the tenement of the rectory of St Botulph to the south, and the abutment(?) to one head above the garden of the aforementioned college of Corpus Christi and to the other head above the royal street called High Street towards the west) - to resume them totally into our hands according to their assent and will, and meanwhile to grant and concede those farms or lands and tenements to our aforementioned beloved consort,

and also to that same consort of ours another college of this kind in honour of the glorious virgin saint Margaret and saint Bernard to be founded erected created and established on the aforementioned farm or land which recently belonged to the aforementioned John Morys of Trumpyngton knight, we graciously deigned to grant our royal licence in the subsequent form,

WE ALL duly contemplating the single premisses with internal meditation, from the assent of the president and the aforementioned fellows and according to the singular contemplation of our aforementioned consort and the petition and supplication of the president and fellows which have been specially made to us in this respect

of our especial grace and certain knowledge we accept the cancellation of our letter in the aforementioned form and we cancel it according to the tenor of the present, and we revoke and annul and decree the revocation and complete annulment through those present of all things jointly and severally contained and specified in that same letter;

and we resume into our hands the farms or lands and tenements aforementioned with their properties for the reasons aforementioned and the same farms or lands and tenements with their properties we grant and concede through those present to be had and held by them their heirs and nominees in perpetuity - to the intent and purpose that she

shall erect found and establish in the subsequent form a college of this kind on the same farm or land recently of the aforementioned John Morys;

and further we have granted from our more ample grace and have given licence for us and our heirs and our successors to our aforementioned consort,

that she (to the praise glory and honour of God and the blessed Mary and the aforementioned glorious virgin saint Margaret and saint Bernard and to other divine works of piety) a perpetual college according to the tenor of those present in and of the number of one president and four fellows (or more or fewer as the case may be according to the resources of that college and the amplification or diminution of its finances)

who are to dwell in our aforementioned university of Cambridge for study and prayer - for our health and that of our consort as long as we shall live and for our souls when we have departed from this life, and for the souls of our illustrious fathers and mothers and all our forebears and all the faithful who have died -

this president and these fellows jointly and severally at their successive times to exist according to the statutes and ordinances (which are to be founded instituted created and established thereafter by the venerable father William Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and the aforementioned John Somerseth, Richard Cawedray Peter Hirford Hugo Damlet and Thomas Boleyn and William Millyngton clerics while they shall live and the greater part of them and after the death of one or several of them through those who shall survive or through the greater part of those surviving) we wish to be elected placed in charge and instituted ruled directed and governed corrected punished and removed and deprived

shall be able in the aforementioned farm or land which (as aforementioned) recently belonged to the aforementioned John Morys to found erect create and establish a college which shall last in perpetuity

and shall be able to place in charge create and order the aforementioned master Andrew Docket president and vice-president of that college and the aforementioned John Lawe, Alexander Forkelowe, Thomas Haywode and John Careway clerics fellows of the same college according to the ordinance and statutes (thereafter to be made and issued by the aforementioned bishop John Somerseth Richard Peter Hugo Thomas and William Millyngton as aforementioned.

For we wish and grant, that when the aforementioned college has been founded erected created and established by our aforementioned consort in the aforementioned form and the aforementioned president and fellows have similarly been placed in charge created and ordered by her, the same president and fellows and the successive president and fellows of the same college according to the ordinances and statutes which are to be made and issued (as aforementioned) they shall be able to elect gather and admit more fellows who are to be governed corrected deprived and removed according to those ordinances and statutes - these fellows and their successors thus elected gathered and admitted (to be governed corrected deprived and removed according to the statutes and ordinances of this manner) we wish and grant for ourselves our heirs and successors in perpetuity through those present that they be fellows of that college and be held and in all respects considered as it were fellows and members of the same college.

We further wish and grant that after the foundation erection creation and establishment of the aforementioned college and the creation and ordination of the aforementioned president and fellows which is to be accomplished in the aforementioned form when that same president shall depart or decease or for whatever other reason be removed or deprived from that place, the remaining fellows of the same college in existence at that time, according to the form and purpose of the ordinances and statutes which are to be made in this form (as aforementioned), we hold according to the tenor of those present that another suitable man elected as president after the election of himself as president and vice-president of the same college through the chancellor of the aforementioned university and his successors existing at that time and not through our aforementioned consort nor any other queen of England succeeding her shall be admitted and confirmed and governed corrected deprived and removed according to the aforementioned ordinances and statutes,

and that when presidents of this manner retire or decease or are deprived or removed by whatever means thereafter the remaining fellows of the aforementioned college should have and be able to have according to the ordinances and statutes to be made (as aforementioned) a free choice from time to time of a new president of the aforementioned college, whom we wish and grant for ours our heirs and successors so far as is in our power in perpetuity through those present to be perpetual president of the same

college without licence being sought or obtained from our aforementioned consort or any queen of England succeeding her.

We also wish and grant that after the creation and ordination of the aforementioned fellows of the aforementioned college by our aforementioned consort which is to be accomplished in the aforementioned form, when fellows of the aforementioned college depart or decease or are deprived or removed therefrom or when one of them departs or deceases or is deprived or removed therefrom in future, the aforementioned president and fellows and their aforementioned successors should have in perpetuity according to the ordinances and statutes of this kind the right of free choice and election of new fellows who are to be placed in their stead without licence having to be sort or obtained for the future from our aforementioned consort or any queen of England who succeeds her, and these thus elected and admitted and none others are to be fellows of the aforementioned college and are to be held and considered as it were fellows and members of the same college and are to be governed corrected and removed according to those ordinances and statutes.

And we further wish and grant that the aforementioned college when it has been founded erected created and established shall be called in perpetuity **The Queen's College of Saint Margaret and Saint Bernard in the university of Cambridge**, and that the aforementioned president and fellows in existence there at the time shall be called in perpetuity **The President and Fellows of the Queen's College of Saint Margaret and Saint Bernard in the university of Cambridge**:

and that the same president and fellows shall be one body in themselves in reality and in name, and shall have everlasting succession, and that they themselves through the name and in the name of the president and fellows of the aforementioned college shall be persons capable and perpetually at law of requesting receiving and seeking lands tenements returns and services and advowsons so much from us our heirs and successors as from other persons whosoever granted that they are held immediately from us our heirs and successors through military service or by any other method whatever; these to be held and kept by the same president and fellows and their successors in perpetuity notwithstanding the statute concerning lands and tenements which decrees that they are not to be placed in a dead hand:

and similarly that they can through the aforementioned name approve and disapprove prosecute and defend all manner of actions at law personal and mixed of whatever kind they are and disputes cases and quarrels of whatever kind, and answer them and be answered in them in the aforementioned name in the presence of us and our heirs and even justices and secular and ecclesiastical judges of whatever kind;

and that the same president and fellows and their successors should have in perpetuity one common seal which will serve for the transaction of their business and actions and causes.

Furthermore we have granted and given licence for ours and our successors as far as it is in our power through those present to our consort that she (immediately after the foundation erection creation and establishment of the aforementioned college and after the creation and ordination of the aforementioned president and fellows of the same college which is to be accomplished through our consort in the aforementioned form) should be able to give and concede the aforementioned farms or lands and tenements with their possessions to the aforementioned president and fellows and their successors, so much for the creation and construction in and above those same farms or lands and tenements of their homes and buildings and their places of habitation and their other necessities as for the perpetual augmentation of the sustenance of the same president and fellows and their successors, and also we have given special licence according to the tenor of those present to the same president and fellows that they themselves should be able to receive and possess for themselves and their successors in perpetuity the aforementioned farms or lands and tenements with their possessions from our aforementioned consort in the aforementioned form, notwithstanding the aforementioned statute which prescribes that land and tenements should not be placed in a dead hand.

And furthermore we wish grant and give licence for ourselves our heirs and successors so far as it is in our power though those present, the aforementioned bishop, John Somerseth, Richard Cawedray, Peter, Hugo, Thomas Boleyn and William Millyngton that those seven while they live or the greater part of them, and after the death of one or several of them the greater part of those surviving shall be able to correct emend reform or totally change the aforementioned ordinances and statutes for the good and sound government of the college, according to which the presidents and fellows who shall in

future exist in the same college must be governed and removed and deprived in the manner and form aforementioned.

We have further granted and given licence for ourselves our heirs and successors as far as is in our power through those present to the aforementioned president and fellows that, when the same president and fellows have been created and established in the aforementioned form, they and their successors as president and fellows of the aforementioned college shall be able to seek lands tenements and returns and advowsons and other ecclesiastical benefits of whatever kind as much as from the lands and tenements which are held from us through military service or through some other service or from others as from us for whatever kind of service, which lands tenements returns and other ecclesiastical benefits of whatever kind which may reach two hundred pounds per year, the lands tenements returns and advowsons are to be held and kept by the same president fellows and their successors for free pure and perpetual charity in perpetuity,

and shall be able to appropriate ecclesiastical and other benefits and thus appropriated hold them for their own uses and for the use of their successors for their sustenance in food and clothing and other necessitates in perpetuity and without hindrance or the need to apply to our heirs or successors or any others whosoever, notwithstanding the aforementioned statute or any other statute or ordinance issued to the contrary:

and this without any large or small feud(??) or fine(??) of whatever kind being restored paid or made to us our heirs or successors for the aforementioned or any of the aforementioned, because express mention concerning other gifts and concessions made though us to our aforementioned consort before this time made in those present does not exist according to the form of the statutes to be issued thereafter notwithstanding.

As testimony to which thing we have made these our letters to be patent. With me myself as witness at Westminster on the thirtieth day of March in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.

KIRKEHAM

Through the king himself and by the authority of parliament on the aforementioned date.

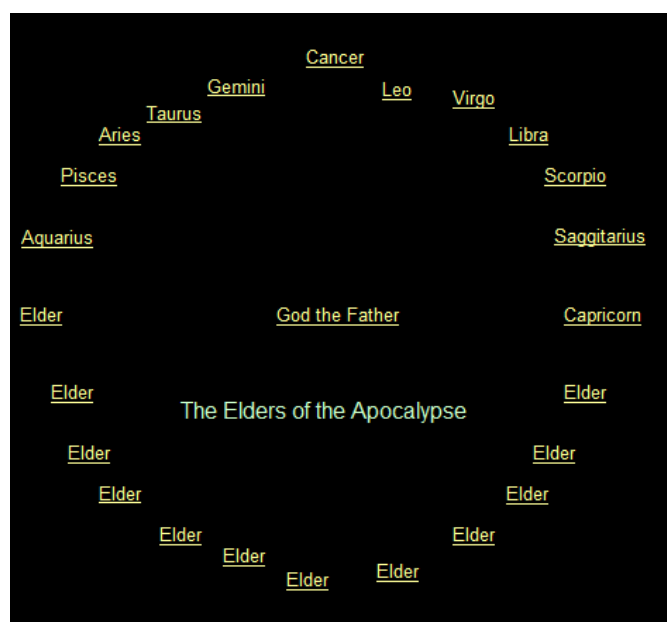
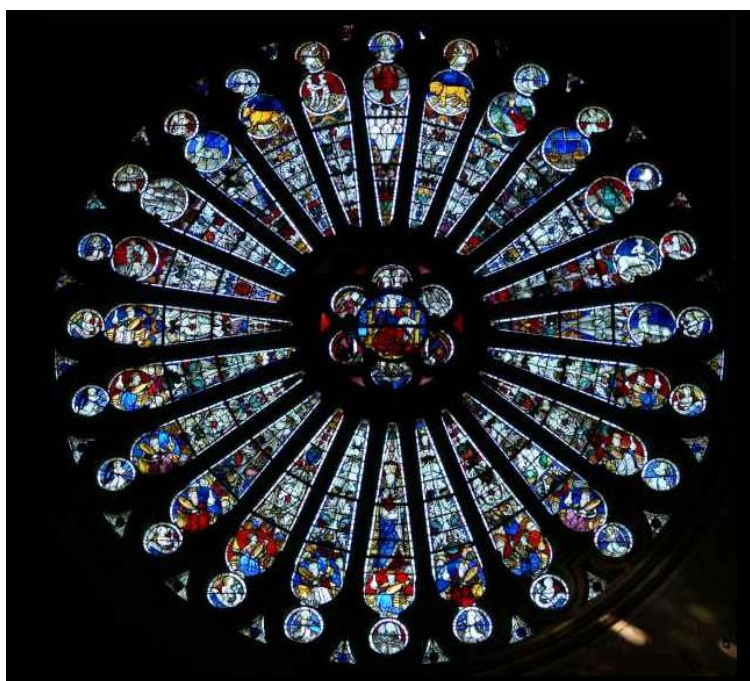
Source: Queens' College Cambridge. *Charter of Foundation 1448*. 2011.

<http://www.quns.cam.ac.uk/general-information/official-documents/charter-of-foundation>
(accessed September 16, 2011)

Appendix XIX Angers

Cathedral South Rose

Window



Source: Cowen, Painton. *Angers Cathedral - South Rose Window*. 2008.

<http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Angers/S-rose-Frame.htm> (accessed September 26, 2011).

Appendix XX Detail of Angers South Rose Window

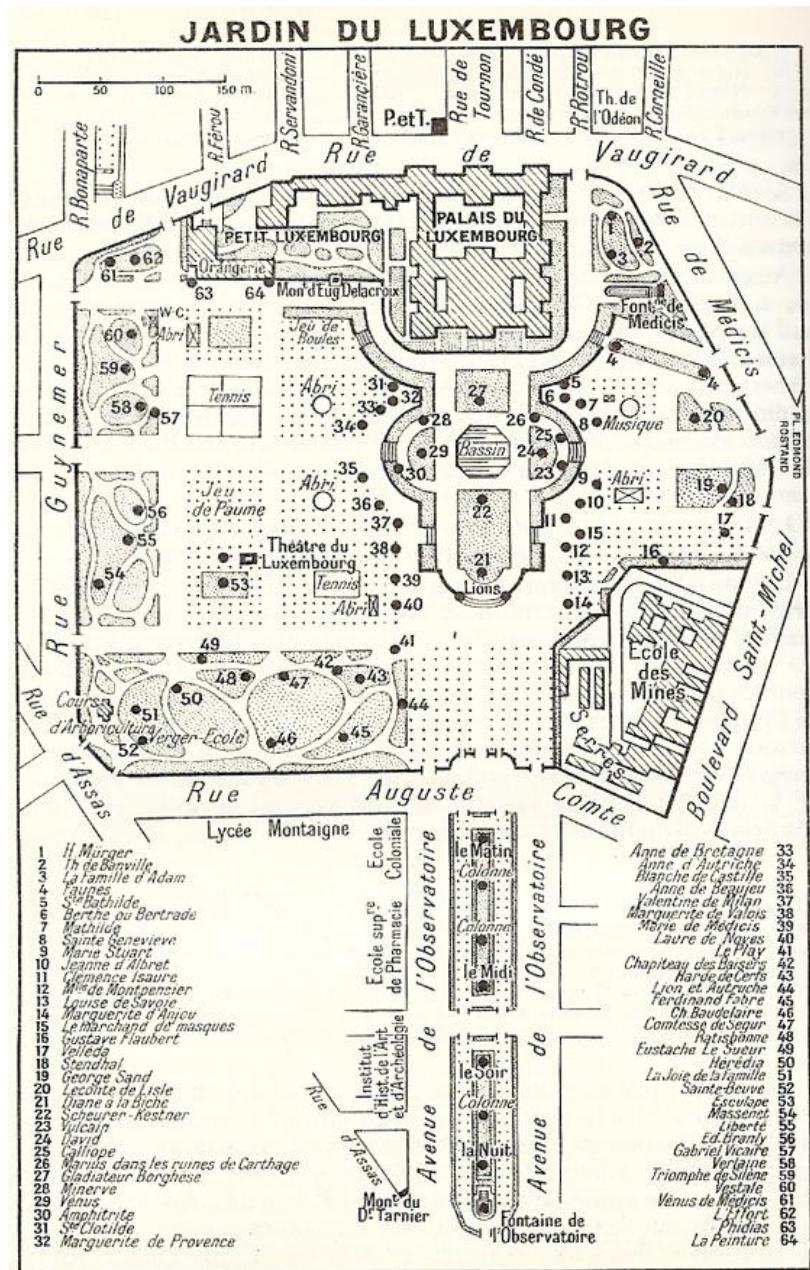


Margaret of Anjou as Virgo

Source: Cowen, Painton. *Angers Cathedral - South Rose Window*. 2008.

<http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Angers/S-rose-Frame.htm> (accessed September 26, 2011).

Appendix XXI Map of
Luxembourg Gardens,
Paris, France



A-Paris.Net, Luxembourg Gardens Map, Palais de Luxembourg, 1848, Queens and Famous Women of France, <http://www.a-paris.net/A-paris-balade-jardin-du-luxembourg.htm>, 2003

Appendix XXII Statue of Blanche of Castile in Luxembourg Gardens



Dumont, Auguste. *Blanche de Castile* 1848, Luxembourg Gardens, Paris, France

Appendix XXIII Statue of Margaret of Anjou in Luxembourg Gardens



Taulet, Ferdinand. *Margaret of Anjou* 1895, Luxembourg Gardens, Paris, France

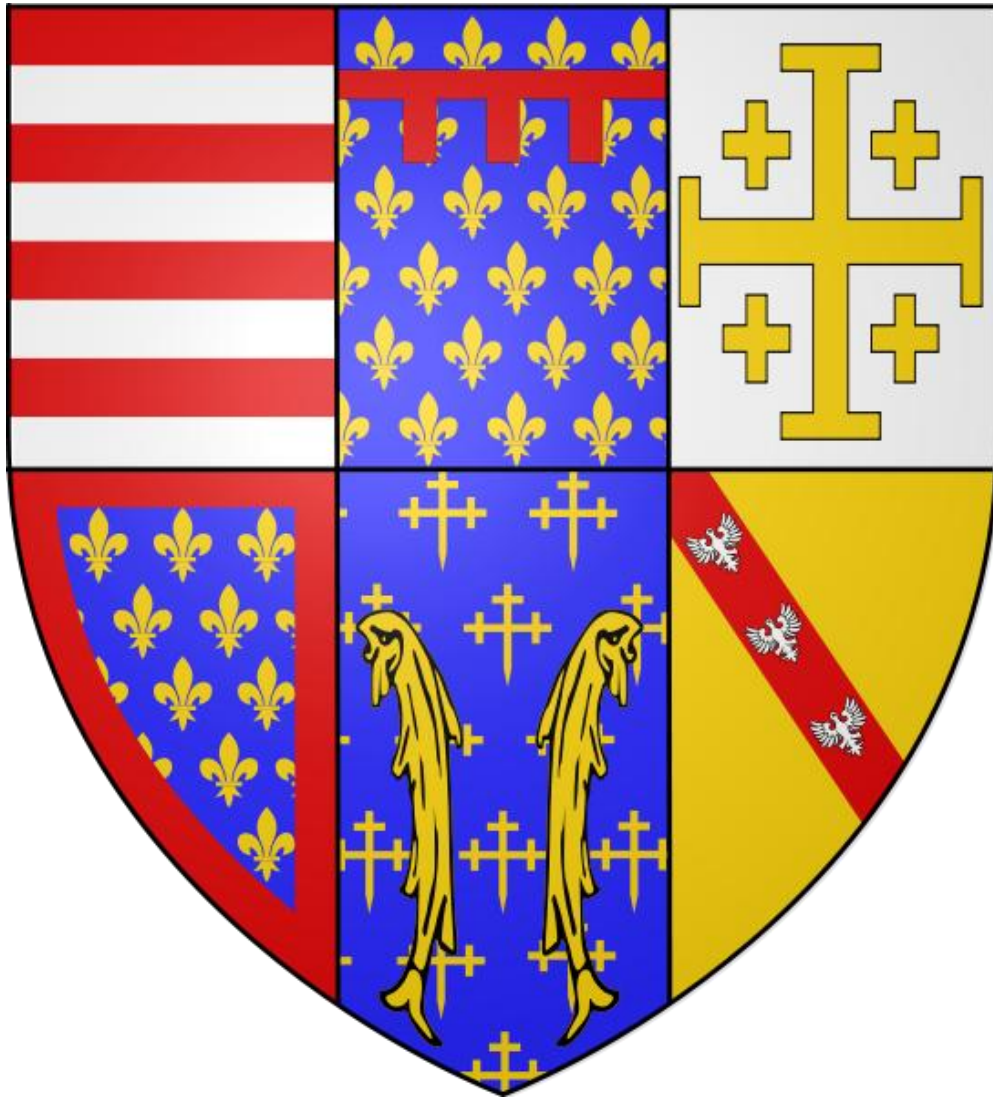
Appendix XXIV Stained Glass, Basilica of St Louis, King of France



Source: Tiz, Kathleen. 'St Louis Receives Blessing from St Blanche, his mother 1789'. 16th

January 2010 http://www.flickr.com/photos/tiz_herself/4319074437/ [23 September 2011]

Appendix XXV Margaret of Anjou's Coat of Arms



First Row: **Hungary** (*Barry of eight, gules and argent*), **Naples** (*Azure Fleurs de Lys, gold lambel gules*), **Jerusalem** (*Gold Cross potent, between four crosses of the same*)

Second Row: **Anjou-Valois** (*Azure sown with lilies and gold border gules*), **Bar** (*Azure sown with crosses and two gold bars backing the same*), **Lorraine** (*Gold, the band gules, charged with three silver eagles*)

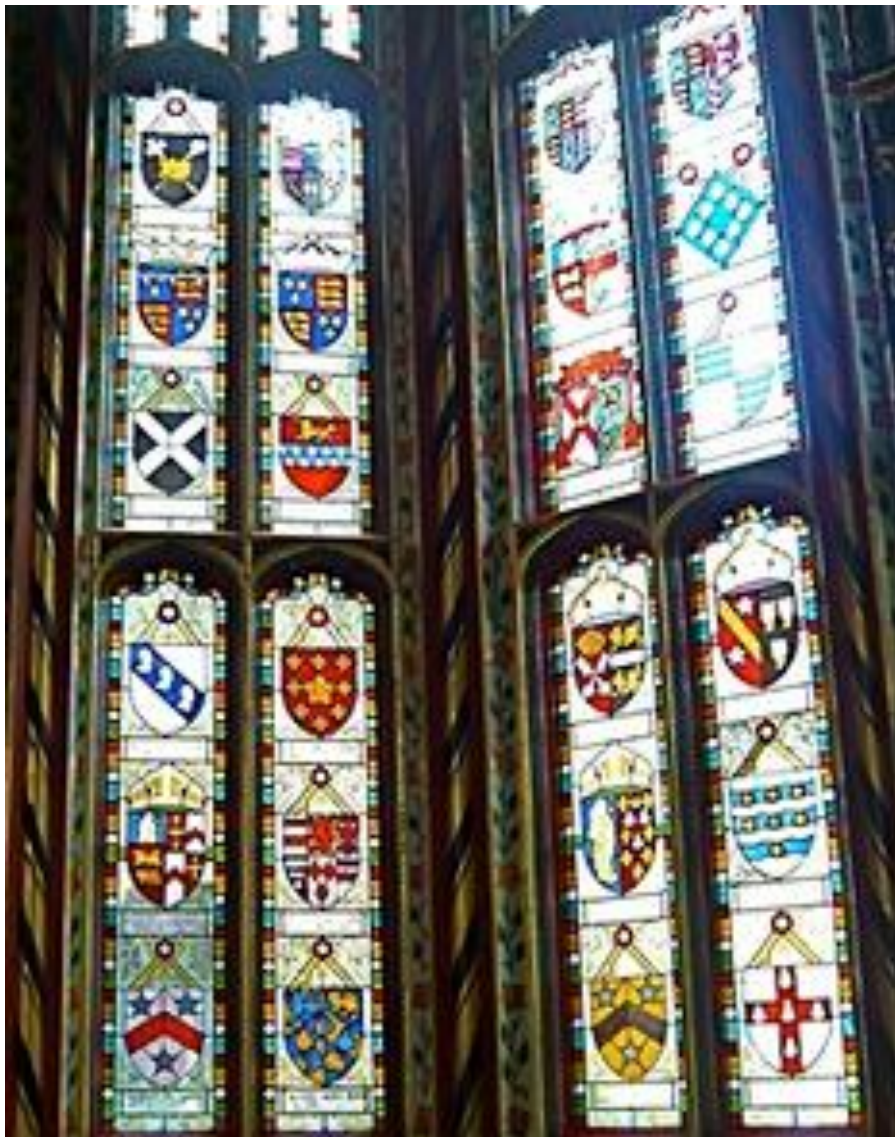
Appendix XXVI Margaret of
Anjou Coat of Arms,
Queens' College



Source: Thorpe, Jennifer, '*Crest, Queens' College, Cambridge*', 22 April 2010,

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/jennyannethorpe/4544278620/>, [8 September 2011]

Appendix XXVII Oriel Window, Queens' College Hall



Source: Roman, Constantin. 'Oriel Window, The Hall, Queens' College 1854', 13 July 2008

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/costi-londra/2670523792/in/photostream/>, [28 September 2011]

Appendix XXVIII Margaret of Anjou Fireplace Tile



Source: Crorie, Robert, 'William Morris tiles at Queens' College Cambridge – Margaret of Anjou c1870' 22 September 2011, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/robmcrorie/6172738983/>, [1 October 2011]

Appendix XXIX Stained Glass, Mucklestone Church, Staffordshire



Source: Greaves, Darren, 'Alice Chetwode as Queen Margaret of Anjou c1880', 19 April 2005

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/bonacey/11386500/>, [30 September 2011]

Appendix XXX Sir John Gilbert Painting



Gilbert John, *'Margaret of Anjou taken prisoner after the Battle of Tewkesbury'*, 1875, Oil on Canvas, Guildhall Art Gallery, London, United Kingdom

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