

**Twelfth-century English queens:  
charters and authority**

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**Declaration of originality**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university, and that it is entirely the work of my own research, except as cited in reference.

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## **Summary**

This thesis examines the authority of the first five English queens of the twelfth century, as seen through the English charters from this period. Surveying the charters issued by, witnessed by, and mentioning Matilda of Scotland, Adeliza of Louvain, Matilda of Boulogne, Empress Matilda, and Eleanor of Aquitaine provides a glimpse into the authority held and exercised by each. The definition for authority employed for this investigation includes a provision concerning not only actions but also means of action. Those means of action are seen here as preconditions for authority. Three preconditions are analyzed, namely alliances through dowries, land through dowers, and wealth through Queen's Gold. Once this basis for authority has been established, the authority itself is appraised. The charters are divided into two main categories for this study: those the queens issued themselves, and those they witnessed. The charters for which a queen was 'actor' are examined first, numerically, chronologically, and contextually, with a clear emphasis on the beneficiaries. Then, the charters witnessed by each queen are examined, based on the same criteria. What this material together shows is that there was little of a defined role for the queens in the administration of the kingdom, and that they all exercised their authority, to varying extents and at diverse periods of their reign.

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## Abbreviations

<i>Acta I</i>	<i>Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Hand-list of documents surviving in the original repositories in the United Kingdom, part 1</i> , ed. Holt & Mortimer. Volume 21 in List and Index Society, Special Series (London, 1986).
<i>Acta II</i>	<i>Acta of Henry II and Richard I: A supplementary handlist of documents surviving in the original in repositories in the United Kingdom, France, Ireland, Belgium, and the USA, part 2</i> , ed. Nicholas Vincent. Volume 27 in List and Index Society, Special Series (London, 1996).
<i>Ancient charters</i>	<i>Ancient charters, royal and private prior to A.D. 1200, part I</i> , ed. and annot. John Horace Round (London, 1888).
<i>Bec cart.</i>	<i>Select documents of the English lands of the abbey of Bec</i> , ed. Marjorie Chibnall, Camden Society Third Series, vol. 73 (London, 1951).
<i>Boxgrove cart.</i>	<i>Cartulary of the priory of Boxgrove</i> , ed. Lindsay Fleming, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 54 (Cambridge, 1960).
<i>Chichester cart.</i>	<i>The cartulary of the High Church of Chichester</i> , ed. W.D. Peckham, Sussex Record Society, vol. XLVI (Lewes, 1942)
<i>Durford cart.</i>	<i>The Durford cartulary</i> , ed. Janet H. Stevenson, Sussex Record Society, vol. 90 (Lewes, 2006).
<i>EEA (+ location)</i>	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i> , The British Academy. (Oxford, 1980-2007)
<i>Eye Priory cart.</i>	<i>Eye Priory cartulary and charters, part 1</i> , ed. Vivien Brown, Suffolk Record Society (Woodbridge, 1992).
<i>Haughmond cart.</i>	<i>The cartulary of Haughmond Abbey</i> , ed. Una Rees, Shropshire Archaeological Society (Cardiff, 1985).
<i>Luffield cart.</i>	<i>Luffield Priory charters, part 1</i> , ed. G.R. Elvey (Welwyn Garden City, 1968).
<i>Missenden cart.</i>	<i>The cartulary of Missenden Abbey, part I, containing royal and episcopal charters and charters relating to Missenden, Kingshill, the Lee, and Wendover</i> , ed. J.G. Jenkins (2 vols., London, 1938 & 1955).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (2004).
<i>Pancras cart.</i>	<i>The cartulary of the priory of St. Pancras of Lewes, part II</i> , ed. L.F. Salzman, Sussex Record Society, vol. XL (Lewes, 1934).
<i>Percy cart.</i>	<i>The Percy cartulary</i> , ed. M.T. Martin, Surtees Society, vol. 117 (Leeds, 1911).
<i>Reading cart. I</i>	<i>Reading Abbey cartularies, vol. I: general documents and those relating to English Counties other than Berkshire</i> , ed. B.R. Kemp, Camden Society Fourth Series, vol. 31 (London, 1986).

- Reading cart. II*      *Reading Abbey cartularies, vol. II: Berkshire documents, Scottish charters, and miscellaneous documents*, ed. B.R. Kemp, Camden Society Fourth Series, vol. 33 (London, 1987).
- Regesta II*      *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum 1066-1154, Vol. II: Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135*, ed. Johnson & Davis (London, 1956).
- Regesta III*      *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum 1066-1154, Vol. III: Regesta Regis Stephani AC, Matildis Imperatricis, AC Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154*, ed. Cronne & Davis (Oxford, 1968).
- Regesta IV*      *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum 1066-1154, Vol IV: Facsimiles of original charters and writs of King Stephen, The Empress Matilda, and Dukes Geoffrey and Henry, 1135-1154*, ed. Cronne & Davis (Oxford, 1969).
- Sibton cart.*      *Sibton Abbey cartularies and charters, part two*, ed. Philippa Brown, Suffolk Records Society (Woodbridge, 1986).
- Shrewsbury cart.*      *The cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey in two volumes*, vol. I, ed. Una Rees (Aberstwyth, 1975).
- Shaftesbury cart.*      *Charters and custumals of Shaftesbury Abbey 1089-1216*, ed. N.E. Stacy, Records of Social and Economical History, new series, vol. 39 (Oxford, 2006).
- Templars*      *The cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, ed. Michael Gervers, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, vol. VI (Oxford, 1982).
- Waltham cart.*      *The early charters of the Augustinian canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062-1230*, ed. Rosalinda Ransford (Woodbridge, 1989).
- Yorkshire cart.*      *Early Yorkshire charters, being a collection of documents anterior to the thirteenth century made from the public records, monastic cartularies, Roger Dodsworth's manuscripts and other available sources, in four volumes*, ed. William Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914).

## Introduction: Authority

'But it is because you are not subtle enough to perceive that  
though *man* be *male* and *female*, *authority* is not.'<sup>1</sup>

Although western society has, in the recorded past, typically been patriarchal, women have always played some role in governance, a fact alluded to by Thomas Hobbes in 1662. The extent of their involvement, however, be they twelfth-century queens or twentieth-century stateswomen, is a matter of scholarly debate. As Heather Tanner stated in her article on queenship, Anglo-Norman queens 'shared in the governance of the realm — a power derived from anointment and marriage and shaped by custom and political exigency.'<sup>2</sup> The question addressed here is what authority was displayed by the first five English queens of the twelfth century in their charters? The best place to begin such a study is with a definition of authority on which to base the analysis. Perhaps the most frequently-referenced interpretation is from the sociologist Max Weber, who defined legitimate authority as 'the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons'.<sup>3</sup> He then divided authority into three types, namely legal-rational, which is impersonal and formal; charismatic, which stated that the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary qualities of the central person with authority; and traditional, which is based on patriarchalism and certain inviolable norms considered sacred.<sup>4</sup> For this investigation, however, the first definition is overly vague, while the second is overly detailed. Other interpretations tend to focus on coercion, supremacy, force and obedience.<sup>5</sup> A definition offered by Pauline Stafford caters to an integrated approach, encompassing history, feminist studies, and sociology. She wrote that authority is the right and ability to 'have and follow a strategy, to be a social actor,' 'to take part in the events, [and] to have the *means at your disposal to give some chance of success* in them [...] i.e. the means of strategic action'.<sup>6</sup> Because the

1 Thomas Hobbes, *Considerations upon the reputation, loyalty, manners, and religion of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, written by himself by way of letter to a learned person*, in *The English Works*, ed. Molesworth, vol. iv (Aalen, 1966), p. 434.

2 Heather Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc? The case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp 133-134.

3 Max Weber, *Economy and society*, ed. and trans. Roth & Wittich (Berkeley, [1922] 1978 ed.), p. 212.

4 Max Weber, *From Max Weber: essays in sociology*, ed. and trans. Gerth & Wright Mills (London, [1948] 1998 ed.), pp 295-297.

5 See, for example, S. Lukes, 'Power and authority', in Bottomore & Nisbet (eds), *A history of sociological analysis* (1978), pp 633-676; and R.S. Peters & P. Winch, 'Authority', in Quinton (ed.), *Political philosophy* (1967), pp 83-111.

6 Pauline Stafford, 'Emma: the powers of the queen', in Duggan, *Queens and queenship* (1997), pp 11-12, emphasis hers.



charters of queens represent individual actions taken by them, as well as offering information into their physical and hypothetical areas of control, Stafford's interpretation applies well to this study.

Overall, this thesis analyzes the administrative authority of queens, as demonstrated through the English charters of the twelfth century, first examining the 'means' mentioned by Stafford which can be seen as such preconditions for authority as land and wealth, and then analyzing the charters for which each queen was 'actor' or witness.<sup>7</sup> This analysis is based on numerical, chronological, and contextual data, and shows that the authority displayed varies considerably. What is new about this research is that, although the queens have been examined individually, very little work has been done comparing these five queens. The one article that does look at the Anglo-Norman queens of the twelfth century does not focus on their charters.<sup>8</sup> In fact, almost no research has been done at all on the charters of queens, a gap this dissertation seeks to fill.

### ***The queens: an overview***

The queens used as a basis for this study are the first five queens of England in the twelfth century. Matilda of Scotland (1080–1118) was daughter of King Malcolm III and Margaret of Scotland and was the first queen-consort of Henry I.<sup>9</sup> She reigned in England from 1100 to the time of her death in 1118.<sup>10</sup> Henry I's second wife was Adeliza of Louvain (c.1103–1151), whom he married in 1121. After Henry I's death in 1135, Adeliza married William d'Aubigny, who became earl of Arundel soon after their union. Since Henry had left no legitimate living male heirs, a period of struggle followed his death. Because of this, two queens are considered for the next period: Matilda of Boulogne (c.1103–1152), queen-consort of King Stephen, and Empress Matilda, daughter of King Henry I and Matilda of Scotland. Empress Matilda was married first to Emperor Heinrich V of Germany, from whom she claimed her title of 'empress' despite having never been formally crowned by a pope.<sup>11</sup> After his death in 1125, the childless

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7 Definitions of these terms, as they are used here, can be seen in the section 'Terminology and methodology', pp 16-18.

8 Lois Huneycutt, '*Alianora Regina Anglorum*: Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors as queens of England', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds) *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp. 115-132.

9 A queen-consort was the wife of a king, who came to power through her husband. A queen-regnant, which will be discussed later regarding Empress Matilda, was a queen who held her title of her own right.

10 For a visual representation of this section, see Appendix 1: Genealogy.

11 Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother, and Lady of the English* (Hoboken, 1993), pp 32-33.

Empress returned to her father's court in England, where she was married to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, in 1128. When Henry I of England died, Empress Matilda laid claim to her father's throne as queen-regnant, but only after the coronation of her paternal cousin, King Stephen, and his wife, her maternal cousin, Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>12</sup> After Stephen's death, he was succeeded by Henry II, the son of Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou. Henry II's queen-consort was Eleanor of Aquitaine (1124–1204), formerly the queen of France as wife of King Louis VII. This study ends with Eleanor, rather than including King Richard's wife, Berengaria of Navarre, for two main reasons. First, Eleanor's death coincides nicely with the end of the century in question. Second, while Eleanor of Aquitaine was active in English politics during Richard's reign,<sup>13</sup> even going so far as to be co-regent during his absences, Berengaria was not similarly involved.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Eleanor of Aquitaine is seen here as the effectual queen of England until the end of the twelfth century.

This thesis examines the authority displayed by these five queens by looking at the charters related to each of them, in combination with contemporary chronicles and modern scholarship. The charters are divided into the categories of those issued by a queen, those witnessed by a queen, and those merely mentioning a queen, and are then analyzed on a numerical, chronological, and contextual basis. This shows that the queens each exhibited different degrees of authority as a result of the political situations in which they found themselves, their general roles (such as queen-consort versus queen-regnant), and, as far as can be seen, their personal preferences.

### ***Queenly power: historiography***

The last fifty years have seen a rise in scholarship on queens, with a particular burst in the last twenty years. This scholarship can be divided into two main categories, namely biographies of queens and anthologies on queens and queenship. Biographies of kings, which include references to the queens, also provide important material for

12 Although Empress Matilda was never crowned queen of England, and therefore never became a true queen-regnant, I will at times call her 'queen-regnant' and 'intended queen-regnant'. For further analysis of Empress Matilda's titles in England, see Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp 98 and 102-104.

13 See particularly Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and a "queenly court"?', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds) *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp. 426-435.

14 As Ralph Turner noted, 'Berengaria never visited England during her husband's reign'. (Ralph Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 273.) This is supported by Robert Bartlett, who wrote that Berengaria 'probably has the claim to be the least English of England's queens, never having visited the country, either in her husband's lifetime or during her long widowhood.' (Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 37.) This absence precludes Berengaria from any authoritative activity on the island.

contextualizing the authority held by queens. Three main biographies of queens are employed in this study. The study of Matilda of Scotland by Lois Huneycutt is clear, concise, and coherent.<sup>15</sup> The logical division of the biography in themes, rather than chronology, makes her arguments easy to follow. This can be seen in the chapter on the lands and revenues of Matilda of Scotland, in which Huneycutt first lays out the four sources of income available to a queen, and then details what is known about each of those sources for the case of Matilda.<sup>16</sup> Add to this the appendices on the *Vita of St. Margaret of Scotland* and all the extant charters of Matilda of Scotland, and this biography clearly becomes the authoritative book on the queen. Marjorie Chibnall's book is also definitive.<sup>17</sup> One criticism is that Chibnall seems overly quick to accept some sources or to present her own judgments as full fact, making her depiction of the life of Matilda appear more certain than perhaps it ought to be. This is most clearly presented in her frequent use of such statements as 'she never considered' and 'undoubtedly he believed'.<sup>18</sup> Still, it is a reliable biographical source on the Empress. Ralph Turner's survey of the life of Eleanor, although hardly the most exhaustive of studies, is strongly developed and firmly based on a wide variety of primary source evidence.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, certain passages which seem to have been added for literary flair are out of place and sometimes go directly against what was previously stated, reducing the overall credibility of the biography. One example of this flamboyance in Turner's writing is the following passage:

'Although Louis professed his continued love for Eleanor and a desire to preserve their marriage, he probably saw that their unhappy marital relations would be less visible to others if they kept apart on the voyage. Eleanor was *no doubt* thoroughly sick of the sight of her husband and anxious to avoid continued contact with him in a small vessel.'<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, later on in the book, Turner wrote that 'It is possible that Eleanor urged such severity on her new husband, just as she had with Louis VII', although he had not verified these 'urgings' on the part of Eleanor for either husband.<sup>21</sup> Another issue is that when Turner wrote about the charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine, rather than citing

15 Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a study in medieval queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003).

16 Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp 55-72.

17 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*.

18 These particular references are seen in Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp 107 and 91.

19 Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* (New Haven, 2009).

20 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (2009), p. 96 (emphasis added).

21 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 176.

calendars or manuscripts of the charters, he refers almost solely to the works of Marie Hivergneaux.<sup>22</sup> Because of these factors, although Turner's biography of Eleanor appears otherwise substantiated, it can be difficult to accept.<sup>23</sup> That being said, it is at the moment the best full English biography of Eleanor available, particularly when compared to those of Amy Kelly and Alison Weir. The main problem with Kelly's biography is that it is dated, with certain passages seeming to scold Eleanor for her non-housewife-like behavior.<sup>24</sup> The issues one faces reading Weir are quite different.<sup>25</sup> While Weir is criticized for her reliance primarily on narrative sources and neglect of the administrative sources, she does make a clear attempt to demonstrate her objectivity (such as it can be for a medieval historian). In this, as with other aspects of her book, Weir leans toward the frivolous. When addressing the question of whether Eleanor had an affair with Duke Geoffrey of Normandy, the father of her second husband, while still married to Louis VII, for example, Weir presents a variety of evidence, even if some of the sources are of questionable veracity.<sup>26</sup> Beyond this, the fact that her writing is stylistically more compatible with a novel than a history is a detriment to Weir's credibility. All together, this makes Turner's book the definitive English-language biography of Eleanor at the moment.

There are no published biographies for the other two queens examined here, Adeliza of Louvain and Matilda of Boulogne. In these cases, biographies of their husbands are employed as secondary sources. In most cases, these proved only mildly useful. C. Warren Hollister's biography of Henry I contained a meager eight references to Adeliza, whereas Matilda of Scotland was mentioned at least nineteen times.<sup>27</sup> What information Hollister did present on Adeliza is engaging, but appears to be based primarily on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.<sup>28</sup> Lois Huneycutt's biography of Adeliza in the *ODNB* is more rounded than what is recounted by Hollister.<sup>29</sup> Bartlett's concise sub-chapter on the role of queens in his book *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* clearly outlines the sources of lands held by the queens of the twelfth century, what lands

22 More than any other cartularies, annals, calendars, or manuscripts, Turner cites Hivergneaux, *Le cour Plantagenêt*. See, for example, the endnotes for chapter 11: Securing the Plantagenet Legacy, pp 358-361.

23 Although a minor point, it is also worth noting several typos within Turner's book that seriously detract from its credibility. One example is seen on page 99, where he wrote that the future Henry II was named for his 'paternal grandfather', rather than his maternal grandfather.

24 Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the four kings* (Cambridge, 1950).

25 Alison Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, by wrath of God, Queen of England* (2nd ed., Ontario, 2008).

26 Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 54-55.

27 C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven, 2001).

28 See, for example, Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 281, note 5.

29 Lois Huneycutt, 'Adeliza (c.1103–1151)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

were held by each of the queens in question, and specific examples of networks of patronage and the issuing of writs.<sup>30</sup> In this ten-page section, Bartlett included as much information on Adeliza as Hollister does in his entire 550-page book, making Bartlett a superior source in regards to the queen.

Matilda of Boulogne is 'luckier' in that she enjoys more space in the biographies written about her husband, King Stephen, perhaps because, as will be shown later, she was more active during his reign than Adeliza was in Henry's. Although David Crouch mentioned Matilda of Boulogne regularly, these are hardly more than passing references to the queen.<sup>31</sup> Rather than detailing Matilda's involvement in the civil war between her husband and Empress Matilda, Crouch vaguely wrote that 'there was also the other Matilda, Stephen's queen, already now a woman with a formidable reputation as a negotiator and leader in the field', without explaining how that reputation was acquired.<sup>32</sup> The earlier biography on King Stephen by R.H.C. Davis similarly leaves much to be desired concerning Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>33</sup> Although Davis included considerably fewer references to Matilda of Boulogne in his book, and glossed over explanations for Henry I giving Stephen the hand of Matilda of Boulogne, he was more explicit in his outlining her political involvement. For instance, Davis wrote about treaties Matilda helped negotiate, which may have given her the 'reputation' mentioned later by Crouch.<sup>34</sup> Still, like with Adeliza, the *ODNB* article by Marjorie Chibnall offered the most inclusive analysis of the life of Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>35</sup>

Although not always the case, anthologies on queenship generally present mini-biographical sketches rather than sweeping assessments of the themes they cover. The focus on queenship is clear in the titles of anthologies published in the last twenty years: *Medieval queenship*, 1994,<sup>36</sup> *Power of the weak: studies on medieval women*, 1995,<sup>37</sup> *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, 1997,<sup>38</sup> *Women in medieval Europe*, 1999,<sup>39</sup>

30 Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford, 2002).

31 David Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000).

32 Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 169.

33 R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (London, [1967] 1980 ed.).

34 Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 49.

35 Marjorie Chibnall, 'Matilda (c.1103-1152)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

36 John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval queenship* (London, 1994).

37 Jennifer Carpenter & Sally-Beth MacLean (eds), *Power of the weak: studies on medieval women* (Chicago, 1995). This book contains a chapter by Lois Huneycutt transparently detailing the queenly role of intercession as portrayed by Matilda of Scotland:

Lois Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high medieval queen: the Ester topos', in Carpenter & MacLean (eds), *Power of the weak: Studies on medieval women* (Champaign, 1995), pp 126-146.

38 Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1997).

39 Janet L. Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', in Mitchell, *Women in medieval western European culture*

and, most recently, *Queens and power in medieval and early modern Europe*, 2009.<sup>40</sup> Each of these books offers a different theme or perspective on queenship.

While its title implies a focus on only one of the five queens of this study, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* contained several chapters applicable to different areas of this thesis. The chapters by Marie Hivergneaux<sup>41</sup> and Jane Martindale<sup>42</sup> both centered around the political activity of Eleanor of Aquitaine, but Heather Tanner's article on Matilda of Boulogne brought in references to all of the Anglo-Norman queens.<sup>43</sup> Tanner's chapter was intelligible and descriptive, and is an exception to the rule of anthologies being mini-biographies. It offered an inclusive comparison between Matilda of Boulogne and her predecessors, as well as Matilda and her successors, about their roles as queens. Finally, also found in this book is the only other work specifically on these five queens, a chapter by Lois Huneycutt called '*Alianora Regina Anglorum: Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors as queens of England*'.<sup>44</sup> In this detailed and inclusive article, Huneycutt examined a variety of aspects of queenship throughout the twelfth century. Although she did deal with authority to a certain extent, she focused more on familial relationships, money, and patronage. This leaves a gap in the scholarship to be filled by examining the charters that relate to these queens.

### ***Charters: authority in dialogue***

In his introduction to *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, David Bates wrote that one cannot study medieval history without looking at charters, but that the language employed both in the documents and used to describe them can seem

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(New York, 1999), pp 179-207. Janet Nelson's article in this book analyzed the nature of queenship, comparing across both centuries and countries. The sweeping generalizations she made allow for a broader frame of reference in this paper.

Janet L. Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', in Mitchell, *Women in medieval western European culture* (New York, 1999), pp 179-207.

- 40 Carol Levin & Robert Bucholz (eds), *Queens and power in medieval and early modern England* (Lincoln, 2009). This book dealt primarily with later queens than concern this study, but included an article on Empress Matilda, by Charles Beem. Beem's chapter was concise, but prosaic in its analysis as he presented the facts one by one and only explores them in-depth when looking at Matilda's use of her various titles. This analysis of titles, however, did provide a glimpse into another aspect of the display of authority.

Charles Beem, '"Greater by marriage": The matrimonial career of the Empress Matilda', in Levin & Bucholz, *Queens and power* (2009), pp 1-15.

- 41 Marie Hivergneaux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137-1189', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp. 55-76.

- 42 Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and a "queenly court"?', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp. 423-439.

- 43 Heather Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc? The case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)', in Wheeler & Parsons (eds), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (2002), pp. 133-158.

- 44 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', pp. 115-132.

limiting.<sup>45</sup> He stated that the term 'confirmation charter' refers to almost any document falling into the diplomatic category, and therefore includes notifications, writs, precepts, and grants.<sup>46</sup> But despite the constricting feeling associated with charter scholarship, diplomatic documents are imperative to the study of authority because they reveal, according to Judith Green, the interplay between how laws were made and how they were recorded and disseminated in twelfth-century England, or, in other words, how the authority of those in power was portrayed to the public.<sup>47</sup> The question, then, is how to approach these charters to get the most out of them. Bates provided an answer by writing that there are several ways to look at charters. They can be seen as a '*description of an act* by which a public authority turned out a formal and legally binding document' or the more general '*production of a document* to record a transaction.'<sup>48</sup> He suggested viewing them as the former, by looking not only at 'form, content, production and language' but also 'purpose, audience and context' of each document.<sup>49</sup> This is important because, as Bates wrote, 'a royal writ might well be imbued with immense inherent authority, but it was a dialogue and awareness of local power and interests which informed the creation of a text'.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of queens, this becomes all the more crucial, because of the varying degrees of authority that could be wielded. Thus, the dialogue and interests within the text become the aspects that inform the modern historian about that authority. This dialogue can be seen in the type, the form, and the content of each document, and becomes of greater importance when looking at the witnesses.<sup>51</sup> Who is granting what to whom and when, and its meaning in the overarching context, is intrinsic to charter scholarship. A large part of this comes through looking at who is acting as witness, what this means for each witness, and what that person is getting out of the arrangement. For the study of queens, who are more likely to be witnessing than issuing charters, this is the central point. Studying this will allow historians the opportunity to find new guidelines for interpreting the documents before them when there is no clear frame of reference and will direct historians to new methods with which to analyze witnessing and issuing

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45 David Bates, 'Charters and historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and possibilities', in Flanagan & Green, *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (2005), p. 1.

46 Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 9.

47 Judith Green. "'A lasting memorial': The Charter of Liberties of Henry I", in Flanagan & Green, *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (2005), p. 66.

48 Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 4, emphasis added.

49 Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 2.

50 Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 8.

51 Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 10.

patterns.<sup>52</sup> Overall, this will expand our understanding of the period in question, as well as the workings of the charters themselves.

### **'Actor', witness, and mention**

A charter was a document recording the transfer of land, money, title, or the like, typically to an individual person or a religious house. But, as Marie Therese Flanagan wrote, a charter was an evidentiary record rather than being a juridical act in and of itself, which explains the format of a charter as an open letter.<sup>53</sup> She continued: 'Because the verbal *donatio*, or solemn oral declaration of a transfer of gift in the presence of witnesses, was valid in itself, not every grant was accompanied by a charter'.<sup>54</sup> This has several implications. First, the historian cannot be certain how many of the royal charters from the twelfth century survived, since bestowals listed in charters did not require a charter in order to be valid. It is impossible to know whether all grants were in fact supported by a written charter. This is particularly the case for queens, about whom less was recorded in contemporary chronicles than the kings. The charters which have survived tend to do so in 'clusters', in the comprehensive cartularies of particular monasteries.<sup>55</sup> To put this in another way, 'documentary survival' may give 'unjustified prominence to a particular kindred group', distorting the past as it is seen today.<sup>56</sup> This presents a biased picture when analyzing beneficiaries (the person or institution who benefits from a grant recorded in a charter). Furthermore, while the general research into English charters has 'reached an advanced stage', with a large variety of private charters, episcopal registers, and other calendars of charters from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries having been published,<sup>57</sup> the same attention has yet to be paid to the charters of queens.

That being said, there is still a wealth of information on the charters of queens scattered throughout a variety of editions and registers. Having studied all the published calendars available within the scope of this research, 533 charters were found and examined.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Bates, 'Charters and historians', p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish royal charters: texts and contexts* (Oxford, 2005), p. 25.

<sup>54</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> Nicholas Vincent, 'Regional variations in the charters of King Henry II (1154-89)', in Flanagan & Green, *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (2005), p. 74.

<sup>56</sup> David Bates, 'The prosopographical study of Anglo-Norman royal charters', in Keats-Rohan, *Family trees and the roots of politics: the prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth century* (1997), p. 90.

<sup>57</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, pp 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> See the bibliography for a complete list of the editions in which charters relating to the queens of England were found, bearing in mind that many other cartularies were also examined, but, as they contained no charters issued by, witnessed by, or otherwise mentioning the queens, are not listed here.



These charters relate to at least one of the five queens of this study, meaning these are the charters for which a queen was 'actor', witness, or was otherwise mentioned in the text of the charter itself. This thesis examines these three diverse ways of being involved in the charter issuing process.<sup>59</sup> To be 'actor' means to be the issuer, or co-issuer, of *acta*. Of the charters examined here, 196 were issued by a queen of this study. What must be kept in mind is that an *act* 'issued in the queen's name could have been drawn up, sealed, and witnessed by royal officers without her personal involvement'.<sup>60</sup> Because they can be combined with the previously-mentioned narrative sources, however, these charters offer both indications as to the lands held by each queen and her authority over them. The role of witness to royal charters was important and tells the modern historian about the levels of authority within the court. The king's *curia* can be distinguished from other aristocrats by the frequency with which they witnessed royal charters. The more often a person witnessed a charter, the more constant members of the court they could be seen to be.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, one's rank within the court can be determined by the individual's placement in the testatory clause.<sup>62</sup> Of the 533 *acta* examined here, 146 were witnessed by one or more of the queens, and these give insight into the authority of the queen at court. Finally, the category of 'mention' covers 191 charters and relates to being named in a charter, without being either 'actor' or witness. This includes citations of earlier charters of queens, kings' charters confirming the *acta* of queens, grants made for the soul of a queen or at the request of a queen, and charters in which the 'actor' details his relationship with the queen. These, like the charters issued and witnessed by queens, reveal the authority held by each queen.

In conclusion, this thesis explores the differences in authority exercised by the first five English queens of the twelfth century, as seen through English charters. There are several reasons for this restriction to English charters. First and foremost, as put forth by David Bates, there is a significant difference between the 'diplomatic traditions' of England and Normandy, which requires that English and Norman charters are 'analyzed on different principles'.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, while scant material survives regarding the precise dower lands of each queen in England, there is even less on what lands they were given

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59 When, throughout this dissertation, it is written 'all charters regarding' or 'all charters found in association with' any of the queens, a total of all of the charters in all three categories is implied.

60 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 125.

61 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 30.

62 Flanagan, *Irish royal charter*, p. 30. This topic of precisely what can be seen from the witness lists of royal charters is presented in greater depth in the chapter on witnessing, pp 48-60.

63 Bates, 'Prosopographical study', p. 90.

on the continent. Because the connection between beneficiaries and dower lands is a main variable explored here, the lack of information makes this aspect of the investigation less feasible. Finally, an in-depth survey of the published editions of English charters revealed a wealth of data, with 533 charters issued by over fifty different people, benefiting approximately one hundred different abbeys and individuals. Altogether, this makes analyzing continental charters simply beyond the scope of this investigation. Still, what is shown in the information analyzed here is that the first five English queens of the twelfth century held authority from a variety of sources, which they exercised to varying degrees. The sources, or preconditions, addressed are landed power, in the form of dowries and dowers, and wealth in the form of Queen's Gold. Once the basis of authority has been established, the charters issued and witnessed by the queens are then examined by looking at dates, beneficiaries, and political contexts.

## Chapter 1: Preconditions for authority

When analyzing the authority of queens, it is necessary to recall that Pauline Stafford's definition of authority as the right and ability to act includes the qualifier of having the 'means' to support any actions taken.<sup>64</sup> Because of this, although the activity itself, in the form of charters relating to twelfth-century English queens, is the main focus of this thesis, the 'means' or 'preconditions' that represent the foundation of the authority of queens must also be analyzed. Lois Huneycutt noted that 'any medieval queen's position often rested on her perceived influence at court rather than on formal institutional powers' and this influence could have many sources.<sup>65</sup> Possible sources included property, either inherited or given as dower lands, gifts from people seeking rewards, and the tax of Queen's Gold.<sup>66</sup> This chapter addresses three of these sources which provided the basis of a queen's authority, leaving out the unquantifiable gifts, as they were necessarily unrecorded.<sup>67</sup> The three preconditions addressed here are specifically those that a queen had upon her marriage or before, as opposed to aspects established later in her reign.

The first precondition of authority addressed is that of the political allies a wife would bring to her marriage. This is seen as 'authority through allies' and includes the dowries of the potential queens. Dowries, the goods, wealth or estates a bride brought to her marriage, are distinctive because they can be both material and political, although the emphasis when choosing a queen was on the latter. The stress placed on the bloodlines of the future Anglo-Norman queens, and the alliances a marriage with their family would bring, demonstrates this emphasis.<sup>68</sup> Although Eleanor of Aquitaine certainly brought to Henry II a substantial dowry in the form of her duchy, the only twelfth-century case in which landed wealth played a large role in the choosing of a wife was that of Stephen of Blois and Matilda of Boulogne, and their marriage took place before there was any notion of Stephen becoming king.<sup>69</sup> This shows that, although wealth was an added bonus, familial ties were more important in royal marriages and positively affected a queen's perceived influence, thereby magnifying her overall authority.

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64 For Pauline Stafford's definition of authority, see page 8 of this thesis, and 'Emma', pp 11-12.

65 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 121.

66 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

67 For a look at the sources of and meaning behind gifts to the queen, see Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp 57 and 59-61.

68 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 121.

69 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 121.

The second precondition analyzed is called 'authority through land' and refers to the power a queen had through the dower lands she was given by her husband upon their marriage. According to Robert Bartlett, some lands which became associated with the queen's demesne were part of her dower. He went on to write, however, that records are not always clear about the sources of estates held by queens, making it more difficult to prove that they were dower lands.<sup>70</sup> Despite this, dower lands were an important prerequisite for a queen's administrative authority because, as Stafford wrote, any 'lands she controlled meant that she had tenants and officials dependent on her, who included nobles of considerable wealth.'<sup>71</sup> Weber outlined this same observation in a different way, writing that the greater the number of people dependent on a ruler, the more privileges that ruler would hold, thereby extending his own 'administrative means'.<sup>72</sup> This can be applied to queens in that the authority a queen exercised might have been a consequence of the dower lands she held. More than the dower itself, the way dower was given, in a public ceremony, served to acknowledge and cement the status of the royal bride to the extent that even the symbolic holding of these lands emphasized the authority of the queen.<sup>73</sup> From this, it becomes clear that holding land implied both wealth and social status, both of which were the groundwork for administrative authority.

Finally, this chapter looks at the wealth a queen received through the tax of Queen's Gold. 'Authority through wealth' is seen as administrative activity based upon the acquisition and distribution of funds. Money was and remains a far-reaching means on which to base authority. Heather Tanner made the claim that English queens typically controlled enough wealth to play a cogent role in the governing of the realm.<sup>74</sup> As the twelfth century progressed, this became more critical, with the Anglo-Norman world becoming more monetary-based.<sup>75</sup> With this being the case, the relatively quantifiable monetary income of Queen's Gold becomes a meaningful precondition for authority. These three preconditions for authority are examined in reference to all of the queens-consort of this study, arguing that they each commanded a large income and could use it to create their own network of patronage.<sup>76</sup> This, in turn, provided the queens with the administrative authority displayed in their charters examined in the next chapters.

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70 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 42.

71 Stafford, 'Emma', p. 11.

72 Weber, *Essays in sociology*, p. 298.

73 Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 190.

74 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 137.

75 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 376.

76 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 44.

## ***Authority through allies: dowries***

When a medieval royal marriage was being negotiated, what the bride would bring to the marriage was of the utmost importance, both in terms of land through her dowry and in terms of the alliance a union of two powerful families could bring. The bride could be taken either from within the kingdom or from another one. Janet Nelson wrote that, while there were benefits for marrying within one's own aristocracy, there was also the chance that, upon the birth of a son, the family of the bride would become overly powerful.<sup>77</sup> Because of this, and because foreign brides brought together dynasties, the kings of twelfth-century England were more inclined to take a bride from outside their kingdom, with a diplomatic dowry.<sup>78</sup> Regardless of where a potential queen came from, the scale of both her dowry and dower were 'an index of the prestige' of the bride, and the authority a queen held was at least partly based on this initial weighting of her standing.<sup>79</sup>

In the case of Matilda of Scotland, her dowry upon marrying Henry I seems to have been quite small. William of Malmesbury wrote of Henry that 'a rich dowry was in his eyes of no account'.<sup>80</sup> William reported that 'Matilda [of Scotland] brought little or nothing to the marriage in the way of material goods and spoke instead of a long-standing affection between Henry and Matilda'.<sup>81</sup> This is supported by Orderic Vitalis, who wrote that the orphaned daughters of Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland had to look to God for aid.<sup>82</sup> Still, it is doubtful that the sister of a neighboring king would not bring any land or other wealth as a dowry. Huneycutt suggests that, rather than having no dowry, what Matilda of Scotland brought to her marriage was seen by contemporaries as less than what was expected of a royal bride.<sup>83</sup> From this it may be seen that Matilda of Scotland was valuable more in diplomatic terms than economic ones, in that she brought with her an alliance with the king of Scotland and the prestige of marrying into the Anglo-Saxon royal line, rather than money or property. This would be a 'diplomatic dowry'. On this point, Huneycutt notes that a marriage between Matilda and Henry 'carried the

<sup>77</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 187.

<sup>78</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 190.

<sup>79</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 190.

<sup>80</sup> *Gesta regum anglorum, the history of the English kings, by William of Malmesbury*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Thomson, & Winterbottom, Vol. I, (Oxford, 1998), p. 715.

<sup>81</sup> Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 120. While Huneycutt presumably referenced William of Malmesbury's *Storia novella*, which she mentioned later, she gave no reference for this passage. William was not as glowing in his *Gesta regum anglorum*.

<sup>82</sup> *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Chibnall, six volumes, (Oxford, 1969-80), vol 4, p. 273.

<sup>83</sup> Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 120.

possibility of an heir who would unite the bloodlines of conquerors and conquered. It would also secure the Scottish border, freeing Henry's attention for expansion into Wales and the extension of his continental holdings.<sup>84</sup> As the daughter of the later-Saint Margaret (*d.* 1093), Matilda of Scotland was a descendant of King Edmund 'Ironside' (*d.* 1016) of the early-eleventh century, and a direct relative of Edward the Confessor (*d.* 1066), which may have served to help cement Henry I's right to the English throne. It may also have been the case that this marriage brought about an end to conflict between England and Scotland regarding lands that were in dispute before Henry I took the throne, a possibility that would not have been recorded as a dowry.<sup>85</sup> Overall, it seems that Matilda of Scotland brought with her to her marriage with Henry I significant allies, which increased her own authority after her coronation.

This idea of a 'diplomatic dowry' is also applicable to Henry I's second wife, Adeliza of Louvain. This hastily arranged marriage both augmented Henry's existing alliance with the German empire and allowed him the chance to produce more legitimate heirs.<sup>86</sup> A marriage to Adeliza brought to Henry I connections with the ducal houses of both Lower Lotharingia and Boulogne, as well as emphasized his link with his son-in-law, the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>87</sup> Robert Bartlett wrote that although Henry, while in negotiations for the marriage, may have considered Adeliza's bloodlines and youth (both factors in his need for male heirs), the main focus was more likely to have been 'immediate political calculation'.<sup>88</sup> Adeliza's father was Godfrey (*d.* 1139), count of Louvain and duke of Lower Lotharingia and Brabant, and an ally of Henry I's son-in-law, Emperor Heinrich V (1086–1125).<sup>89</sup> As Godfrey's lands bordered Flanders, a county allied with the king of France against Henry I, an alliance Louvain and the Germans was 'particularly important', according to Bartlett.<sup>90</sup> A marriage between Henry I and Adeliza of Louvain provided him with a strong political alliance. More than would have been the case had Adeliza been chosen solely for her reputed beauty and moral character, this would have likely added to her authority while she was queen.<sup>91</sup>

84 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', pp 119-120.

85 Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 58.

86 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 120.

87 Francesca Church, 'Queen Adeliza of Louvain and the Anglo-Norman Voyage of Saint Brendan: an interdisciplinary study of medieval queenship' (B.A., TCD, 2009), p. 2.

88 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 40.

89 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 40.

90 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 40.

91 Lois Huneycutt, 'Adeliza (c.1103–1151)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

Another perspective on dowries and alliances emerges when looking at the case of Stephen and Matilda of Boulogne. Whereas Henry I married Matilda of Scotland within months of his coronation, Stephen was married to Matilda of Boulogne in 1125, ten years prior to his coronation. Although they were married before there was any sign of his gaining the throne, the union did serve to improve his economic standing.<sup>92</sup> This was because Matilda was the heiress of Eustace, count of Boulogne, who was among the wealthiest land-owners in England.<sup>93</sup> Beyond this financial gain for Stephen, Matilda also brought him the distinction of an alliance with 'Europe's most illustrious crusading family'.<sup>94</sup> R.H.C. Davis claimed that, in 1125, it was imperative that Matilda of Boulogne become married because of her father's desire to retire to a monastery but, given her wealth and background, the status of her husband was also quite important. Davis went on to write that Henry I chose Stephen as Matilda of Boulogne's husband because, although not of the highest aristocracy, his interests were directly linked to Henry's own.<sup>95</sup> This marriage set Stephen slightly above the rest of the members of Henry's *curia*.<sup>96</sup> While the marriage of Stephen to Matilda of Boulogne may have been intended as part of the dynastic chess game designed to make the empress her father's successor, as argued by David Crouch, what it served to do was increase the prestige of both parties, reinforce Stephen's claim to the English throne ten years later, and provide both husband and wife with a formidable authority upon their coronation.<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately for them, that authority was matched by Empress Matilda's stronger claim to the throne.

The Empress Matilda is an interesting case to examine when looking at dowries and royal marital alliances. On the one hand, her second marriage to Geoffrey, count of Anjou (1113–1151), was perfectly ordinary in that it was purely political and a joining of the daughter of a king and the son of a nobleman. On the other, it is difficult to assess each of their positions in the marriage because, although Empress Matilda had already received oaths from her father's magnates and the English bishops,<sup>98</sup> no oaths were sworn to Geoffrey and his position was never made explicit.<sup>99</sup> Generally, the lands an Anglo-Norman woman inherited were under the control of her husband, with her role

92 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', pp 120–121.

93 Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 8.

94 This eminence came from Matilda of Boulogne's paternal uncles, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, who reigned in Jerusalem in the early twelfth century. See Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', pp 120–121.

95 Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 10.

96 Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 21.

97 Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 24.

98 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 51.

99 Chibnall, 'Empress Matilda (1102–1167)'.

being limited to confirmation of permanent grants concerning it.<sup>100</sup> Geoffrey may have expected to control the lands given as Empress Matilda's dowry, which included castles on the border between Henry I's Normandy and Geoffrey's Anjou.<sup>101</sup> According to Marjorie Chibnall, however, this dowry was an immediate point of contention between the king and the count, as 'Henry clearly intended his daughter's rights to be expectative and was determined to hold the castles as long as he lived' whereas 'it was important for Geoffrey that his wife should control them as a foothold for entering Normandy when the king died.'<sup>102</sup> Given that the policy of the time was that the husband would control the dowry his wife brought, Geoffrey may have anticipated an amplification of his authority both through his marriage to the Empress and the dowry he received therefrom. Instead, because of the lack of clarity surrounding his role in her inheritance, it seems that neither experienced as much a change in their authority as the other queens examined.

Finally, Eleanor of Aquitaine also presents an unusual case study regarding dowries and the authority associated with them. Eleanor, like Matilda of Boulogne, was an heiress in her own right, but unlike Matilda, Eleanor inherited her duchy in 1137, long before her marriage to Henry of Anjou.<sup>103</sup> At this point of the twelfth century, Aquitaine was 'one of the richest domains in mediaeval Europe [...] encompassing all the land between the River Loire in the north and the Pyrenees in the south, and between the Rhône valley and the mountains of the Massif Central in the east and the Atlantic Ocean in the west'.<sup>104</sup> As Eleanor was duchess of Aquitaine, the whole of this property came with her as her dowry. The control of these lands, however, are what catch the attention of a modern historian. According to Turner, Eleanor exerted her full authority over her duchy in the time between the annulment of her marriage to Louis VII in the spring of 1152 and when she left for England in the early winter of 1154, as seen from the charters she issued at that point.<sup>105</sup> By the end of the following year, however, this was no longer the case, and Eleanor's name disappeared entirely from the charters of her duchy for over a decade.<sup>106</sup> Despite this lapse, Eleanor issued more documents relating to Aquitaine than to England during the fifty years she was either queen-consort or queen-dowager. Marie Hivergneaux lists twenty-eight charters relating to Aquitaine issued by Eleanor during

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100 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

101 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 60.

102 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 60.

103 See, for example, Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 36; or Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 20-21.

104 Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 5.

105 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 112-114.

106 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 133.



her time as queen of England whereas only three were found relating to England for the same period.<sup>107</sup> Because of this lack of information regarding Eleanor's control over her inheritance, its impact on her authority in England is less transparent.

Having examined the individual queens, the most obvious conclusion that can be drawn is that the alliances the brides of kings brought with them were very important. The medieval marriages of kings were first and foremost political arrangements, and the status of a bride affected her authority as a queen. Matilda of Scotland brought Henry I both important allies and a royal ancestry, which helped cement his leadership in England. This at least partly established the authority held by Matilda of Scotland during her reign. Her successor, Adeliza of Louvain, brought Henry important but less powerful allies in and of themselves. The secondary connection with the German empire was as important as the alliance with the dukes of Brabant, and as there was no direct connection between Adeliza and the German emperor, the result was that she received less prestige from the affiliation. Matilda of Boulogne, by contrast, not only brought the prestige of her title and county, but also helped establish her husband as king. Empress Matilda and Eleanor of Aquitaine are the most difficult of these five queens to analyze with regard to the authority they obtained from their dowries. Empress Matilda is out of place because, in her attempt to claim the English throne in her own name, her husband's place was uncertain. Because of this, what authority she received from what she brought to him is questionable. For Eleanor, the contentious point is what authority she held in her own duchy, and what effect this had on her authority in England. Overall, it is clear that these queens exercised various degrees of authority which could be based on the alliances they brought to England.

### ***Authority through land: dowers***

A dower was nearly the reverse of a dowry. Rather than being what a bride brought to her marriage through her family, a dower was a gift by a husband to his bride. By the Norman period, 'the church had largely taken over the [Saxon] secular marriage service' and it now 'became customary for the bridegroom to endow his bride *ad ostium ecclesiae* — not at the betrothal but at the time of the marriage ceremony'.<sup>108</sup> The control exercised by queens over their dower lands can be seen as a 'complex "bundle of rights"',

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<sup>107</sup> For the Aquitanian charters, see Hivergneaux, 'Eleanor and Aquitaine', p. 63. For the English charters, see *Reading cart I*, §466 and 467, and *Chichester cart.*, §126.

<sup>108</sup> George Haskins, 'The development of Common Law dower', *Harvard Law Review*, 62:1 (Nov. 1948), pp 45-46.

in some cases referring to direct property holdings, in others, spheres of jurisdiction, and, in others still, solely sources of revenue.<sup>109</sup> Although there is not a considerable amount recorded on the dowers of queens, one possibility that has been proposed is that the resources controlled by queens was highest before the twelfth century and dwindled after that.<sup>110</sup> Janet Nelson pointed out, however, that one must be careful in making over-generalizations, because 'the queen's control of "her" resources was a highly contingent variable and no generalization about this holds true'.<sup>111</sup> This variability demonstrates that 'means', the preconditions for authority discussed here, fluctuated, which in turn impacted the overall authority displayed by queens. Heather Tanner points out several variables that affected the dower lands of queens. She noted that

'by custom, queens were assigned lands and revenues to maintain household and office, but there was little continuity in the estates that later became known as the queen's dower. The property a queen might inherit from her family, a queen-dowager's possible survival, and political exigencies all influenced the amount of land a queen might control.'<sup>112</sup>

All of these factors affect one or more of the queens of this study. For instance, having brought to the marriage her own English lands, Matilda of Boulogne does not seem to have received a substantial dowry from Stephen, whereas Matilda of Scotland, who is not recorded as having brought any land to her marriage, received from Henry I a fairly large dower.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, the fact that Adeliza of Louvain outlived Henry I may have compromised the lands received by Matilda of Boulogne, although Matilda was in less need of a dower.<sup>114</sup> Overall, the dower lands held by a queen were a seminal but mercurial precondition for the authority of queens.

Although there was little direct continuity between the dowers the different queens of this study held, the dower lands given to Matilda of Scotland form a basic precedent for the holdings of later queens, particularly those immediately succeeding her. This can be seen in the writings of Roger of Hovedon, who claimed that Richard gave to his mother,

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<sup>109</sup> Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 166.

<sup>110</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 202.

<sup>111</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 202.

<sup>112</sup> Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

<sup>113</sup> For Matilda of Boulogne, see H.A. Cronne, *The reign of Stephen, 1135-54: Anarchy in England* (Worcester, 1970), p. 73; Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 21; and Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

For Matilda of Scotland, see Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, ch. 3: The Queen's Demesne: the lands and revenues of Queen Matilda II, p. 55-72.

<sup>114</sup> Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136-137.

Eleanor, 'all the dower that Matilda, wife of the elder Henry had, and all that which Adelicia the wife of king Stephen had, and all the dower that Henry, son of Matilda the Empress and king of England, had given to her'.<sup>115</sup> Despite the fact that Roger of Hovedon has clearly mistaken Adeliza of Louvain and Matilda of Boulogne, the implication is that there was an attempt at continuity, even if it was not entirely achieved. Although the sources are not entirely clear on which queens held which lands, some patterns are visible. As can be seen in the table 'Dower lands held by queens-consort, in England', there were several properties held by at least two of the queens-consort, but the only dower lands that were definitely common to all four queens were Waltham, in Essex, and Queenhithe, in London.<sup>116</sup>

One can see from charters issued shortly after Matilda of Scotland's marriage to Henry I of England that, despite not bringing much wealth to the union, the queen was provided with a generous bride gift of substantial dower lands.<sup>117</sup> Huneycutt notes several areas over which Matilda of Scotland exercised jurisdiction, including Waltham Abbey (which Huneycutt lists as possibly worth in excess of £100); the church of Holy Trinity at Aldgate; the nunneries of Romsey and Wilton (together valued in the Domesday book at nearly £170); the abbey of Malmesbury, and numerous properties in the city of London itself.<sup>118</sup> As can be seen from the table in Appendix 4, at least four of these six estates (the term 'estates' is used here in the most general sense) were passed on to two or more of her successors. From these properties, Matilda would have received revenue in the form of rents, tithes, tolls, and taxes. Based on the wording of the charters issued by Matilda of Scotland, it is hard to know precisely which of these areas other than the holdings in London were held in demesne by her and which she controlled as Henry I's deputy.<sup>119</sup> Still, throughout her life, Matilda of Scotland controlled many lands and received from them a substantial monetary income, all of which would have given her another foundation to her administrative authority.

Adeliza's dower lands and her control of them are especially interesting because she outlived Henry I for sixteen years. This relates directly to one of the variables outlined by Tanner. It is known from the Pipe Roll of 1130 that Adeliza held lands in a variety of counties, including Essex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Middlesex.<sup>120</sup> Among these

<sup>115</sup> *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 3, p. 27.

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix 4: Dower lands held by queens-consort, in England

<sup>117</sup> See, for example, *Regesta II*, §676 and 897. See also Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 56.

<sup>118</sup> Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 63-66.

<sup>119</sup> Christopher Brook and Gillian Keir, *London, 800-1122: the shaping of a city* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 318.

<sup>120</sup> For further analysis on the lands held by Adeliza, see Bartlett, *England under the Norman and*

properties was Arundel, which Adeliza received from her first husband. Her second husband, William d'Aubigny, became earl of Arundel upon their marriage.<sup>121</sup> That Queen Adeliza kept possession of her dower lands is visible from the fact that, upon Adeliza and William's deaths, the land and title of Arundel passed to their son. This may have been a bribe to keep her loyal to Stephen.<sup>122</sup> This would have been a particularly important bribe, because Adeliza was the mother-in-law of the Empress and had close enough ties to her to justify openly receiving Empress Matilda upon the beginning of her English campaign for the throne, despite Adeliza's husband William d'Aubigny's 'stalwart support' of Stephen.<sup>123</sup> Still, it seems some control of the area eventually reverted to the king, as income from Arundel was given to Eleanor of Aquitaine as part of her dower from Henry II.<sup>124</sup> As Adeliza of Louvain died in 1151, three years before Eleanor's coronation, it is possible that Henry II considered this land both part of the 'traditional' queen's demesne and available. In any case, Adeliza's control of these dower lands markedly contributed to her administrative authority, particularly after the death of Henry I, as will be shown in the following chapters.

As previously stated, that Matilda of Boulogne and Eleanor of Aquitaine each held *de facto* control over an already considerable inheritance meant that they needed less of a dowry from the royal demesne.<sup>125</sup> Despite this 'lessened need' for Eleanor, it is known that 'Eleanor's dower included some twenty-six properties scattered over thirteen English shires, ranging from simple manors to income from prosperous towns, as well as some lands in France.'<sup>126</sup> While it is unknown how much Eleanor actually received from these lands, Turner calculated that, based on payments to her exchequer, Eleanor received approximately £415 per *annum*, whereas the average English baron averaged only £202. Figured into this are income from the dower lands, an annual pension of approximately £115, and Eleanor's Queen's Gold, the amount of which is unknown.<sup>127</sup> All things considered, Eleanor's income from her lands was substantial, and this ought to have increased her overall authority, but as it appears she did not control these lands until after Henry II's death, that was not the case.<sup>128</sup>

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*Angevin Kings*, p. 43.

121 Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 86, and note 8. Also see Davis, *King Stephen*, Appendix 1, pt. 16 and 18, for an outline of when William d'Aubigny gained his title of earl of Arundel.

122 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

123 Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 107.

124 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 261.

125 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 136.

126 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 165.

127 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 166.

128 For Eleanor's control of her dower lands, see Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 134; Turner, *Eleanor of*

In conclusion, Turner's description of the dowers of queens as a 'complex "bundle of rights"' is appropriate, and any attempt to quantify the authority drawn from this bundle is going to encounter a variety of difficulties.<sup>129</sup> The dowers themselves are difficult to make sense of, and the records of which queen was given what are incomplete.<sup>130</sup> What is known is that the queens held different lands, and what they were given affected their authority. But, of course, what they were given was dependent upon several factors, including the circumstances of the kingdom at the moment, such as the civil war between Stephen and Empress Matilda, whether the 'traditional' dower lands were still held by the previous queen, as in the case of Adeliza, and what dowries or inheritances the bride brought with her to the marriage, as was the case with Matilda of Boulogne and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The question that remains, which will be addressed in the following chapters, is what impact the dower lands had on the administrative authority of the queen, namely whether it was limited to those lands or spread over the kingdom as a whole. This question will be addressed directly when looking at the beneficiaries both of the charters issued by the queens and those witnessed by them.

### ***Authority through wealth: Queen's Gold***

Wealth — the ability to acquire, spend, and distribute money — was and remains a very important precondition for authority. The tax of Queen's Gold was one way in which English queens acquired money. It was a surtax applied to fines paid to the king of England, received on top of what was collected for the king.<sup>131</sup> For every one hundred

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*Aquitaine*, p. 166. Lois Huneycutt also focuses on Eleanor's control of her dower lands after Henry's death rather than before. (Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 126.)

129 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 166.

130 Only two of the charters found mentioning queens concern dower lands being given. Both were issued by the king, and neither were witnessed by the queen in question. *Regesta II*, §525 (also seen in *Waltham cart.*, §3.) for Matilda of Scotland; *Regesta III*, §31, for Matilda of Boulogne.

131 William Prynne's definition of Queen's Gold quantity and proportion of the tax, p. 2, Sect. I: 'AURUM REGINÆ is a Royal Debt, Duty, or Revenue, belonging and accruing to every [??] CONSORT, during her marriage to the King of England, (both by Law, Custom, and Prescription time out of mind) due by every Person of what quality or calling soever within the Realms of England or Ireland, who hath made a voluntary Oblation, Obligation or Fine to the King amounting to Ten Marks or upwards, for any Priviledges, Franchises, Dispensations, Licenses, Pardons, Grants, or other Matters of royal Grace or Favor conferred on him by the King, arising from and answerable to the quantity of such his Oblation or Fine; to wit, one full tenth part over and above the intire Fine or Oblation to the King; as one Mark for every ten Marks, and ten pounds for every one hundred pound fine, and so proportionably for every other sum exceeding ten Marks; Or one Mark of gold to the Queen for every 100. Mark fine in Silver to the King: (being both one in value and proportion) Which Summe becomes a real Debt and Duty to the QUEEN by the Name of AURUM REGINÆ, by and upon the parties bare agreement with the King for his fine, without any promise to, or contract with the King or Queen for this tenth part exceeding it, which becomes a Debt on Record to the Queen by the very recording of the Fine.'

From William Prynne, *Aurum Reginae; or a compendious tractate and chronological collection of*

silver pieces paid to the king, one gold piece was paid to the queen. Likewise, for smaller payments, for every ten silver pieces given to the king, one silver was given to the queen.

Unfortunately, although the definition of Queen's Gold is readily available, its precise history is not. The main expert on the subject of Queen's Gold is still William Prynne, who conducted a comprehensive study of Queen's Gold during his time as 'keeper of the records' in the Tower of London in the seventeenth century.<sup>132</sup> Based on his studies, he found that the first mention of Queen's Gold in the Pipe Rolls, as an officially institutionalized tax, dated from the reign of King Henry II, and that the first mention of Queen's Gold in writs comes from the reign of King Edward III, on which Prynne centered his work.<sup>133</sup> At no point did he make any conjectures about Queen's Gold possibly being collected before this time.<sup>134</sup> This argument is supported by H. G. Richardson, who stated that nothing is known of the tax before the reign of Henry II.<sup>135</sup> Lois Huneycutt made the claim that all that is known of Queen's Gold is that it was instituted 'at some point during the twelfth century', and may possibly have been available to Matilda of Scotland.<sup>136</sup> She substantiated this by writing that because the first known documents are concerned with the lack of clarity in the law from the time of Henry II could mean either that Henry II was still in the process of creating a new tax or, as she deemed more likely, that a practice that had lapsed during the civil wars between Stephen and the Empress was being reinstated.<sup>137</sup> Heather Tanner seconded this idea, writing that 'the lack of Pipe Rolls from Stephen's reign precludes any estimate of [Matilda of Boulogne's] revenue from Queen's Gold', rather than stating that Queen's Gold was unlikely to have been collected before the reign of Henry II.<sup>138</sup> Whether or not Queen's Gold was standardized prior to the reign of Henry II, the fact that 'queens could also expect their cut from the constant stream of proffers, fines, and payments that the

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*records in the Tower and Court of Exchequer concerning Queen-Gold* (London, 1668).

132 William Lamont, 'Prynne, William (1600–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

133 Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 2, Sect. II, and p. 4, Sect. III. Prynne's main explanation of the sources is 'as the *Fine and Pipe Rolls* during the reigns of King *John*, *Henry* the 2. & 3. and *Edward* I. abundantly testifie'; William Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 2, Sect. II.

Sadly, because the first mention of Queen's Gold in a writ comes from the reign of Edward III, it will not be seen directly in the charters examined for this study.

134 William Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 4, Sect. III, emphasis his.

135 Richardson, 'Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', p. 209. It is important to note that Richardson's claim is based at least partly on the writings of Prynne.

136 Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 57.

137 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 127.

138 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 137.

king received' implies that queen's did receive some income in the format of such proffers and fines before this point.<sup>139</sup>

Another consequence of the somewhat negligent book-keeping of the day is that the specific amount raised as Queen's Gold, and how regularly it was received, remains unknown. Several significant facts regarding Eleanor of Aquitaine's collection of the tax do, however, give an idea of its importance. Both Bartlett and Turner wrote that Queen's Gold was of enough importance for Eleanor to have her own clerk present during the sessions of the exchequer, to be certain of her receipt of Queen's Gold.<sup>140</sup> It is also known that this, along with her other income, supplied funds for her household needs, including the arming and dressing of retainers, funding religious houses, and purchasing of 'goodwill' among both clergymen and nobility, all of which emphasized Eleanor's authority.<sup>141</sup>

Another point that has been made about Queen's Gold is that 'however irregular the income from [it], its mechanisms of collection and pardon support arguments for the existence of a queenly office and for queens' exercise of regal authority.'<sup>142</sup> This can be taken to mean not only that the queen had the authority to claim the tax, but also that there could be an interplay between those paying the tax and the queen. This idea of Queen's Gold being a representation of the queens' position in court is advocated by Prynne, who wrote that this showed the 'King and Queen being but one flesh' and that those who paid the tax to their queen could later enjoy her support.<sup>143</sup> From this, one gathers that he saw Queen's Gold as being a form of give-and-take between the queen and those paying the tax, as well as a tribute to her both monetarily and meritoriously.

Altogether, although it is difficult to place definitively both the time Queen's Gold was begun and the amount each queen accrued from it, this tax offers a glimpse into the authority of the queen. This authority is seen in the amount of money given to each queen each time the tax was paid. At least one tenth of the debt itself for the smaller fines, and that debt increased as the fines increased, was hardly insubstantial. Beyond this, the simple availability of money, which the queen was able to distribute as she saw fit, provided her with a form of authority in and of itself. Finally, that the queen should

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139 Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 43.

140 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 166; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 43.

141 Richardson, 'Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', p. 210; and Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 166.

142 Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 137.

143 William Prynne, *Aurum Reginae*, p. 5, Sect. III.

be granted such an 'honor', as Prynne described it, magnifies her position within the court and the kingdom.

### ***Chapter conclusion***

The preconditions for a queen's authority addressed in this chapter were three-fold: allies brought to the king, land given to the queen, and wealth she acquired through the tax of Queen's Gold. These represent three of the 'means' outlined by Pauline Stafford in her definition of authority, which stated that authority was the right and ability to act, with the means to support such activity. These three 'means' are not the only basis for the authority of queens. Other possible variables included whether or not a queen produced children, and what her relationship with her children was, and whether or not the queen was viewed as an intercessor by her subjects. These, however, were both aspects of authority that were established later in the reign, whereas the preconditions examined here are all sources of authority that a queen acquired either before her marriage or upon her marriage or coronation. Similarly, it is much more difficult to quantify the authority associated with these other variables. Therefore, although they are important, they are not detailed in this chapter. Still, as the rest of this thesis will address the administrative authority displayed by the queens through charters, it was necessary first to establish what prerequisites the first five English queens of the twelfth century may have had and needed as a foundation for their authority. What has been shown by looking at their dowries, dowers, and their income from Queen's Gold is that each of these queens held a very different basis for her authority, which implies that they each held very different degrees of authority, as will be addressed hereafter.



## Chapter 2: Queens as 'actor'

The role of issuing royal charters involved active participation in the administration of the kingdom. To be an 'actor' — to issue diplomatic *acta* in one's own name — is to exhibit authority over the beneficiaries and anyone else affected by the grant. The perspective this brings to the overall analysis of authority through charters is that there are many intricacies to be taken into account. These complexities can be seen in such areas as how reflections of a queen's authority were shown by later charters mentioning the charters of queens, or charters issued by kings confirming the charters of queens. This examination of the charters of twelfth-century English queens, through numerical, chronological, and contextual analysis, provides a glimpse into the political authority they held, and allows for a comparison between the individual women. This chapter shows the diversity between each of the five queens in this study, and explains the basis for this contrast. The role of 'actor' defines the boundaries of the role of queen, and is therefore the foundation of their authority.

This chapter analyzes the charters issued by queens in several ways. First, the number of charters issued by each queen is addressed in relation to the date of those charters, to the extent that the date is ascertainable with twelfth-century documents. This allows for a comparison between the queens, and demonstrates that, while Matilda of Scotland was more likely to issue charters at the beginning of her reign, Adeliza of Louvain issued significantly more after the death of Henry I. The *acta* are then looked at from a different angle, comparing the beneficiaries with the dower lands held by the queens. In looking at beneficiaries, it is also possible to draw upon the political context in which these charters were issued for the purpose of establishing what role a queen might take on during her reign. This is particularly relevant when analyzing charters issued to individuals. In the case of Empress Matilda, it will be shown based on the context that her charters to individuals were most often a way of gaining or bolstering support. The final area to be explored is that of references to charters which no longer exist, and charters issued by kings confirming the charters of queens.

### ***Issuing charters: active in administration***

When analyzing the authority seen in the charters issued by queens, it is appropriate to begin by examining the number of charters issued by each queen, the approximate dates

of these charters, and the political context of the time. This allows for a comparison between the queens, in an attempt to establish a mean amount of authority displayed. This section first compares the two wives of Henry I, Matilda of Scotland and Adeliza of Louvain, who present very different issuance patterns. The next comparison is between Empress Matilda and Matilda of Boulogne. Their case is an interesting one because, although the political context surrounding the two women was similar, their patterns of issuance are completely different because of their roles in England during the civil war. Finally, the case of Eleanor of Aquitaine is analyzed, with an emphasis on why only three English charters issued by her were found in this study. What will be shown is that there is no set pattern of issuance that applies to all of the queens. While Matilda of Scotland, for example, began her reign with a great deal of authority, her administrative involvement in the form of charter issuance decreased over time. The opposite is true for both Matilda of Boulogne and Adeliza of Louvain, who issued more charters later in their reigns and might be seen as acquiring authority. During her attempt to establish herself as queen-regnant, Empress Matilda issued several charters in England, more like a king than a queen. Eleanor of Aquitaine stands out in that her authority as based on her charters is difficult to place. It seems she was more active in Aquitaine than in England, but this is nearly impossible to judge since only English charters are examined for this study, and very few of those relating to Eleanor remain.

There are thirty-three surviving charters listed in the cartularies examined issued by Matilda of Scotland between her coronation in 1100 and her death in 1118. This is a very small percentage of the approximately 1200 extant royal charters issued during her reign and demonstrates the clear disparity between the roles of king and queen. But that disparity grows even greater when turning to Adeliza, who issued only three charters which are dated or possibly dated to Henry I's lifetime.<sup>144</sup> If, however, the period is extended to the entire thirty years in which Adeliza claimed the title of queen the number of charters for which she was the 'actor' jumps to seventeen.<sup>145</sup> Although there is a significant difference between three and seventeen, this still implies that Adeliza was not nearly as politically active as Matilda of Scotland. This is supported by the fact that her charters were hardly innovative, with one stating that 'she acquits the canons of Holy Cross, Waltham, of all geld, as in the time of Queen Maud'.<sup>146</sup> Lois Huneycutt concluded

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144 The three charters dating possibly during Henry's lifetime all benefited the canons at Waltham: *Waltham cart.*, §16 [also see *Regesta II*, §1986], 17, 18.

145 See Appendix 2 for the full breakdown of the charters relating to each queen.

146 *Regesta II*, §1986 (the original Latin is not listed in this edition).

that while Adeliza was later a great patron of literature, 'in marked contrast to her predecessor, [. . . she] took little part in governing the realm . . . , never served as regent, and does not appear as part of the king's curia'.<sup>147</sup>

Why Matilda was more active at Henry's court than Adeliza is a difficult question to answer, as is the question of why Adeliza became more active after Henry's death. Matilda of Scotland had her mother, Margaret of Scotland, as a role-model for her involvement in government, in the form of the didactic *Vita* which was written for Matilda. The *Vita* of Margaret portrays Matilda's mother as having organized mercantile trade to Scotland, 'conferred' particular 'glory and graces upon all the nobles of the kingdom', and coordinated 'ceremonies of submission to the king', all of which are presented as evidence of Margaret's being directly engaged in the workings of the kingdom.<sup>148</sup> Whether this was written as a guideline for Matilda or in praise of her own works, it is not surprising that her own actions should, at least to a certain extent, follow those of Margaret, as portrayed in the *Vita*. Moreover, it is clear that Matilda of Scotland was quite active in Henry's court, as can be seen in that she generally acted as regent during her husband's absences, except in the cases when she accompanied him.<sup>149</sup>

Adeliza does not seem to have had any such familial exemplar to emulate, or much chance to do so. Huneycutt made the plausible claim that Adeliza simply lacked the 'personal inclination' to involve herself in the workings of Henry's court.<sup>150</sup> Huneycutt substantiated this by pointing out that Adeliza was 'a French-speaking noblewoman from Lotharingia who could not have had the same interest in England as Matilda II [of Scotland] and Matilda III [of Boulogne], who had been raised mostly in England and were descendants of Anglo-Saxon kings'.<sup>151</sup> Other possibilities exist. For instance, by the time Adeliza of Louvain married Henry I, his administration had matured to the point that it no longer needed the oversight of a family member during the king's absences.<sup>152</sup> C. Warren Hollister believed that, even if Henry did leave the island, he would have preferred to keep his second wife with him, in hope of producing an heir, which would

<sup>147</sup> Huneycutt, 'Adeliza (c.1103–1151)'.

<sup>148</sup> 'Vita of St. Margaret of Scotland', in Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A study in medieval queenship*, p 167, sect. 11.

<sup>149</sup> *Regesta II*, §1000, 1001, and 1190, for example. Also see *Regesta II*, p. xvii.

<sup>150</sup> Huneycutt, 'Adeliza'.

<sup>151</sup> Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 128-129. That Adeliza was more frequently a member of Henry's court rather than holding one of her own will be established shortly. Because of this, Adeliza's queenly charters are seen as a matter of the king's court.

<sup>152</sup> Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 119.

have precluded her from issuing charters in his absence.<sup>153</sup> In terms of queenship in general, Nelson argued that a queen's position was secured and her authority magnified when she produced an heir.<sup>154</sup> It is possible that Adeliza's perceived failure to give Henry sons negatively affected the authority she held during his lifetime. Upon his death, however, and Adeliza's remarriage to William d'Aubigny, her position changed, as did her involvement in the public sphere. That Adeliza would begin her diplomatic career by issuing charters relating to an abbey founded by her first husband, and paying tribute to him, substantiates her own authority.<sup>155</sup> This established connection with Henry would allow her to branch out in her later ventures. A combination of the reasons discussed, however, is probably responsible for the change in Adeliza's pattern of issuance, with Matilda of Scotland's decreased issuance of her own charters supporting the claim that there was less of a need for day-to-day involvement in governmental affairs. In any case, both were active to a varying extent, and exercised their authority differently during their reigns.

The differences between the Empress Matilda and her contemporary, Matilda of Boulogne, are also very interesting. The charters in which the Empress was involved span from 1126, upon her return from Germany, to just before her death in 1166, a period of forty years. By contrast, charters referencing Matilda of Boulogne as queen of England date from a fifteen year period, between 1135 and 1150.<sup>156</sup> Despite the extraordinary difference in time-span, the two were listed in nearly the same number of charters, with the Empress issuing, witnessing, or being mentioned in 165 charters and Matilda of Boulogne in 147. Another dissimilarity between these two queens relates to the percentage of charters for which they were actors. Of Empress Matilda's 165, she was actor for 111 or 67%, whereas Matilda of Boulogne issued only thirty-two or 22% of her 147 charters herself.<sup>157</sup> From this, the differences between the authority of a queen-consort and that of a queen-regnant are clear. Although Matilda of Boulogne was

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153 C. Warren Hollister, 'The rise of administrative kingship: Henry I', *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), p. 673.

154 Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 194.

155 For these first charters after Henry's death, see *Reading cart. I*, §370, 459, and 534. This will be discussed in greater depth in the section on beneficiaries.

156 As previously mentioned, this study deals only with the charters relating to England. It is quite possible that Matilda of Boulogne issued more charters concerning her duchy, which was on the continent and therefore outside the scope of this paper. Likewise, 'charters referencing' and 'charters listed in' refer to the charters in all three categories examined: 'actor', witness, and 'mention'.

157 See Appendices 2.3 and 2.4 for charts of these percentages.

listed in a large number of charters in a short time, her role of queen allowed her less room to issue her own charters.<sup>158</sup>

Before judging the authority of these two queens, however, it is important to take into account that although Empress Matilda's overall reign was longer, she was not in England for all of the forty years. Because of this, she was not issuing English charters for that whole time. In fact, Empress Matilda was only in England for approximately twelve years between 1126 and 1166. She returned from Germany in 1126, after the death of her first husband, and departed for the continent again upon her marriage to Geoffrey of Anjou in 1128.<sup>159</sup> Empress Matilda's lengthiest period in England was between 1139 and 1148, during her struggle with Stephen for the crown.<sup>160</sup> After she left the island in 1148, it seems she never returned.<sup>161</sup> Altogether, the Empress spent less time in England than the fifteen years in which Matilda of Boulogne was queen. With this taken into account, the numbers even out.

The main reason for the difference between the number of charters issued by these two Matildas is their role in England: Matilda of Boulogne was queen-consort, whereas Empress Matilda was attempting to become queen-regnant. There was a sharp disparity between the numbers of charters issued by kings and by queens. As Empress Matilda was assuming a different and more masculine role, of necessity, she issued a significantly larger number of her own *acta*.<sup>162</sup> In the case of Matilda of Boulogne, Stephen held the superior position in the court and therefore handled most administrative activities.<sup>163</sup> Based on her queenly role, it was more important for Matilda of Boulogne to act as a witness than to issue diplomatic documents.<sup>164</sup> All things considered, that Empress Matilda was more likely to issue her own English charters and Matilda of Boulogne was more likely to witness Stephen's is not surprising, and shows the different types of authority held by these two queens.

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158 This assumption is based on Duggan's assertion that some 'aspects of male rule were absent for the government of queens', of which the frequent issuing of charters concerning the governance of the realm is considered one. (Duggan, *Queens and queenship*, p. xxii.)

159 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp 44 and 55-56.

160 Marjorie Chibnall discusses the Empress's 'eight and a half years in England' during the civil war in her chapter on Matilda's governance of the island. (Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 121.)

161 See Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp 149-151; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Empress Matilda (1102-1167)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

162 This is discussed in greater depth in the section on beneficiaries of charters issued by queens, pp 39-44.

163 See above, note 161.

164 See, for instance, Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', pp 201-202.

It is difficult to compare Eleanor of Aquitaine with the other queens of this study for several reasons. Firstly, it appears that Eleanor was more active in the administration of her duchy than she was in England.<sup>165</sup> This may, however, be at least partly based on the second reason, which is that very few of her English charters have survived, making it difficult to assess her overall authority on the island. Charters are the basis used in this study for judging authority, and yet while it is known that Eleanor played an 'indispensable part in the restoration of royal authority' in England, only a 'tiny fraction of the dozens and dozens [of *acta*] undoubtedly issued by her' have survived.<sup>166</sup> Beyond this, despite the many studies of Eleanor, not all the surviving documents have been analyzed systematically.<sup>167</sup> In all of the editions explored, only three English charters issued by Eleanor were listed.<sup>168</sup> Turner, by contrast, mentions nine such English charters.<sup>169</sup> Two of the *acta* in this study are dated from 1156-1157, while Eleanor was regent for Henry II.<sup>170</sup> The third is dated from the first four years of Richard's reign, between 1189 and 1193, again at a time when she was co-regent of England.<sup>171</sup> Although it is next to impossible to base any judgments on three solitary charters, it is worth noting that they all date from periods in which Eleanor was acting as regent.<sup>172</sup> This becomes all the more significant when compared with Marie Hivergneaux's analysis of Eleanor's activity outside England. Hivergneaux wrote that 'nearly 100 [Aquitainian] charters survive from the fifteen years of her widowhood (1189-1204).'<sup>173</sup> When compared with the three English charters found for this study, or even the nine mentioned by Turner, these one hundred are surprising. In terms of other continental charters, Ralph Turner noted that four of Eleanor's surviving charters relating to Aquitaine during her marriage to King Louis VII of France show her acting alone supporting major religious houses.<sup>174</sup> He also mentioned several confirmation grants she

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165 See, for instance, Marie Hivergneaux, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine: le pouvoir d'une femme à la lumière de ses chartes (1152-1204)', in Aurell (ed.), *La cour Plantagenêt* (2000), pp. 63-87.

166 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 154.

167 Huneycutt, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Anglo-Norman predecessors', p. 116.

168 Over 200 cartularies were examined for this study. Those listed in the bibliography are only those in which references to the queens were found.

169 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 154.

170 *Reading cart. I*, §466 and 467.

171 That Eleanor was regent at this time was stated by Geoffrey de Vinsauf, in *Chronicles of the Crusades, being contemporary narratives of the Crusades of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf and of the Crusade of Saint Louis by Lord John de Joinville with illustrative notes and an index*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (London, 1848), p. 176, ch. XXXVI.

172 That Eleanor was sure of herself and her authority can be seen in the fact that, as Turner wrote, 'Eleanor did not hesitate to issue writs overruling the chief justiciars.' Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 154.

173 Hivergneaux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine', n.1, p. 72.

174 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 59.

issued just after her marriage to Henry, supporting two of the same abbeys, and then more administrative acts that were issued during her time as queen of England, all pertaining to continental religious institutions.<sup>175</sup> What this clearly demonstrates is that there was a disparity between how active Eleanor was in her own duchy and in England. What is not apparent is whether this was because she preferred to focus on Aquitaine or because she was actively excluded from participating in England. Given her decade-long incarceration by Henry II, it is possibly the latter, but even that exclusion is not certain.<sup>176</sup> Still, it is clear from the charters that are extant that, during the points when Eleanor was free to issue insular charters, she did so to a surprisingly large (when compared to the rest of her reign) extent.

Overall, different patterns regarding the issuing of charters emerge when studying each of the five queens here. There are some similarities between Matilda of Scotland and Matilda of Boulogne, in that both issued close to the same number of charters in about the same amount of time, thirty-three in eighteen years and thirty-two in fifteen years respectively. Both were very active in their husbands' kingdom, although in dissimilar ways because of the circumstances of their reigns. By contrast, both Adeliza of Louvain and Eleanor of Aquitaine were much less involved in English administration during their reigns. However, the similarities between Adeliza and Eleanor only go so far, as their patterns diverge after the deaths of their royal husbands, with Adeliza's number *acta* increasing sharply and Eleanor's remaining the same. Finally, Empress Matilda stands out from the others in regards to the issuance of charters, based on her being queen-regnant rather than queen-consort. With such a variety of patterns, however, it becomes clear that the authority associated with queenship was one that was applied differently by different individuals.

### ***Beneficiaries: intercession and alliances***

To issue a charter recording a grant to a person or a place indicated an authority over that beneficiary. Because of this, the beneficiaries of the charters of queens provide a glimpse into the regions over which these queens exercised control. All five queens of this study were most likely to grant charters to religious institutions, rather than individuals. Many of these churches and abbeys were located within with queen's demesne. The areas that

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<sup>175</sup> Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 112 and 186.

<sup>176</sup> Eleanor was held under varying amounts of restraint for the last fifteen years of Henry's life, between 1174 and 1189. See Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 217-254; Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 231-255.

come up repeatedly in the *acta* are Holy Cross at Waltham, Holy Trinity of Aldgate in London, St. Martin le Grand in London, and the abbeys of Abingdon and Reading.<sup>177</sup> Of these, at least the first three were in the dower lands of two or more of the queens-consort of this study.<sup>178</sup> This implies that, while the queens' main focus was on her dower lands, it is possible that her authority extended beyond her demesne. Because of this, what is shown here are other ways in which the authority of a queen can be seen through the beneficiaries of her charters.

The example of Reading Abbey gives some idea to the motives behind and the patterns in Adeliza of Louvain's issuing of charters. Of the seventeen charters found that were issued by her, eight benefited Reading Abbey. These eight charters were spread throughout her reign. The first three were all issued at approximately the same time, in December of 1136.<sup>179</sup> As explained earlier, after the death of her first husband, Henry I, Adeliza was much more likely to issue her own charters than to witness the charters of others. That is clearly seen here, with one of the charters specifically mentioning a gift to the abbey for the anniversary of her husband's death.<sup>180</sup> While the exact reasons behind this change in pattern are difficult to explain given the paucity of information on Adeliza, the rationale for her support of Reading Abbey is much clearer. Reading Abbey was a Cluniac establishment founded by Henry I in 1121, for the souls of his father, brother, wife Matilda, and himself, and this is where he was buried after his death in 1135.<sup>181</sup> Hollister surmises that Adeliza was following the pattern set by Henry after the death of Matilda of Scotland.<sup>182</sup> Perhaps because of its association with her first husband, whether for sentimental reasons or to accentuate her own right to begin to issue charters, Reading Abbey became one of the most significant beneficiaries of Adeliza's charters.

This pattern of support for Reading Abbey continued, with both Empress Matilda and Eleanor of Aquitaine issuing *acta* in its favor. In the case of Empress Matilda, again the association with Henry I is pertinent and was actively stressed in the charters. In at least three of the charters for Reading Abbey, she was identified as 'Empress Matilda, daughter of King Henry'.<sup>183</sup> The emphasis of this relationship may have been for the

177 See Appendix 3 for a handlist of all the charters found issued by each queen, with their beneficiaries.

178 See Appendix 4 for a table listing all the known dower lands of the queens-consort.

179 For an analysis of the 'cult' around Henry established by his family at Reading, see Hollister, *Henry I*, pp 440-441.

180 *Reading cart. I*, §459.

181 *Regesta II*, §1427.

182 Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 440.

183 *Reading cart. I*, §654, 667, and 1108. It is interesting to note that in §1108, the grant is made by Empress Matilda not only for the soul of her father, but also for the 'safety of the kingdom of England'.



same reasons that her stepmother, Adeliza was supporting the abbey. With Eleanor, the motive is not as clear. Both of the charters she issued during her marriage to Henry were in favor of Reading Abbey, but rather than grants for the souls of her predecessors, they related to complaints made by the monks. The first charter ordered the sheriff of London to look into the abbey's complaints and the second answered the grievance, ordering a certain 'John Bucont' to give to the monks land he had promised.<sup>184</sup> Still, it is known that Henry II, like his mother, also supported Reading Abbey, which may have been why the church appealed to her during her regency.<sup>185</sup> In these three cases, although the stimulus was different, the beneficiary remained the same, which made Reading Abbey one of the top beneficiaries of the queens' charters. It may even have come to be seen that the support of Reading Abbey was in itself a sign of authority, because, as Hollister said, 'royal patronage is unequivocally familial'.<sup>186</sup>

Intercession was a powerful tool exercised by medieval queens which was based on the imagery of a familial bond, as well as the manipulative power of women.<sup>187</sup> Lois Huneycutt revealed the 'idealized formula for running a proper palace' as expressed by medieval author Sedulius Scotus, who 'portrays the queen as a woman of wisdom, a benevolent maternal figure whose advice will be sought and whose words will carry weight'.<sup>188</sup> This role of intercessor made the queen a powerful and accessible figure. In other words, as Pauline Stafford wrote, 'the intercessor is approachable, yet at the same time sufficiently a part of the mechanisms of power to be efficacious. Negotiation, patronage, and mercy are all aspects of intercession'.<sup>189</sup> Upon being approached by a supplicant, the intercessor might either intercede with the king on the supplicant's behalf or, dependent upon the intercessor's own authority, issue a grant favoring the individual or organization. A possible example of intercession through charters can be seen in the dates of *acta*, insofar as it is possible to date them, of Matilda of Boulogne. While Matilda of Boulogne supported four beneficiaries, more than any of the others favored in her *acta*, most of the charters for these beneficiaries were issued in groups. For instance,

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This grant is also seen in *Regesta III*, §698.

184 *Reading cart. I*, §466 and 467.

185 *Reading cart. I*, §32.

186 Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 441.

187 See, for example, Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen', pp 126-146; John Carmi Parsons, 'The queen's intercession in thirteenth-century England', in J. Carpenter & M.B. MacLean (eds), *Power of the weak: studies on medieval women* (Champaign, 1995), pp 147-177.

188 Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen', p. 126. Also see Sedulius Scotus, 'Liber de rectoribus chrisitanis', in J.P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64, vol. 103, pp 299-302; Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 186.

189 Stafford, 'Emma', p. 18.

three of the four charters found issued by Matilda of Boulogne relating to the Holy Trinity Priory, London, were dated 1147.<sup>190</sup> The remaining charter was issued sometime between 1139 and 1146.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, of the four charters she issued to the Templars, two were from between the spring of 1137 and the fall of 1138, and the final two between 1146 and 1149.<sup>192</sup> That a queen would issue multiple charters at the same time, each supporting the same religious house, suggests that the abbey in question asked the queen to intercede on its behalf. Similarly, one may speculate that, the fact that the religious houses would approach the queen, demonstrates that she was seen to have authority.

Intercession can be seen in the activities of other queens, as well. Huneycutt wrote that Matilda of Scotland presented 'an example of a medieval queen who fully realized the power and influence she could wield if her subjects perceived her to be successful in interceding with her royal husband'.<sup>193</sup> A representative case of this is seen in a letter to Matilda from Pope Pascal II, quoted by Huneycutt. The pope wrote to the queen asking her to "'turn the heart of the king away from the bad advice" of his "evil counselors"' through a form of gentle nagging.<sup>194</sup> Although the pope was clearly not one of her subjects, that he would appeal to Matilda implies that she was seen to have direct influence over her husband. One thing that stands out here is that, contrary to what one might expect, the clergy and even high-ranking church officials actively sought and accepted political gifts from women. Provided they received what they requested, the source was less important, which presupposes a high level of authority on the part of the queen, in this case Matilda of Scotland. One might say that the authority of the queen stemmed from her ability to deliver. Regarding intercession, this ability is the result of the queen's 'intimate relationship with the king's body, a body which itself can be twofold, a physical and an official body, king and kingship'.<sup>195</sup> Because of this proximity, a queen was an approachable figure, with the authority to fulfill requests made to her, by interceding to her husband.

To jump from the role of the queen-consort to that of a queen-regnant, Empress Matilda's pattern of issuing charters is more similar to that of a king than those already examined, in that she issued substantially more charters than the other queens and that her charters were divided between religious institutions and individuals, secular and clergy. These

190 *Regesta III*, §503, 512, and 513.

191 *Regesta III*, §509.

192 *Templars*, §2 [also seen in *Regesta III*, §843]; *Templars*, §5; *Regesta III*, §845, respectively.

193 Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen', p. 127.

194 Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen', p. 136.

195 Stafford, 'Emma', p. 10.

were issued predominantly during her struggle with Stephen, between 1139 and 1144, at a time when she was trying hardest to establish herself as queen of England.<sup>196</sup> She was more likely to have issued charters in favor of those who supported her in her claim to the throne, or to use charters to buy support, and so one finds multiple charters granted to Miles of Gloucester and Geoffrey de Mandeville and his heirs, as well as several for abbeys in Oxford during the time that it was under her control.<sup>197</sup>

After the death of her father, despite having taken oaths of fealty from his vassals, Empress Matilda was unable to claim the English throne immediately.<sup>198</sup> Instead, Henry I's nephew Stephen, with the support of his brother, Bishop William of Winchester, had himself crowned within a month of the king's death.<sup>199</sup> The ensuing conflict between King Stephen and Empress Matilda divided the church and the Anglo-Norman nobles between the two claimants, with some repeatedly reversing their loyalty.<sup>200</sup> Miles of Gloucester was a sheriff in the earldom held by Empress Matilda's half-brother, Robert of Gloucester.<sup>201</sup> Although he originally swore fealty to Stephen, Miles championed Empress Matilda upon her arrival in Gloucester and remained one of her most loyal supporters throughout the conflict.<sup>202</sup> The importance, for the Empress, of his allegiance is that Miles of Gloucester represented one of the two only 'great landed lords who rose to her support at once.'<sup>203</sup> As a result, she rewarded him with an earldom on 25 July 1141<sup>204</sup> and several other castles and lands over the next days.<sup>205</sup> Geoffrey de Mandeville was not quite so straightforward. Rather than remaining allied with either Stephen or Matilda, he received first an earldom from Stephen, had that confirmed and supplemented by Empress Matilda upon her capture of Stephen in February 1141, and then eventually shifted his allegiance back to Stephen in June of the following year.<sup>206</sup>

196 For the dates and beneficiaries of the charters of Empress Matilda, see the handlist in Appendix 3.3.

197 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 101.

198 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp 66-67.

199 For details of the coronation and Stephen's activities leading up to it, see Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 65; Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 16; Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 36.

200 David Crouch lists some of the initial supporters of King Stephen in his sub-chapter on the first six months of Stephen's reign, namely Bishop William of Winchester, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, Archbishop William de Corbeil of Canterbury, and several 'significant' members of the house of Clare. Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, pp 35-41.

201 The strategic importance of being supported by Miles of Gloucester, and Robert of Gloucester's attempt to persuade him to the cause of the Empress is detailed by Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 111; by Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 42.

202 David Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles of, earl of Hereford (d. 1143)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

203 Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 42.

204 *Regesta III*, §393.

205 *Regesta III*, §391, 392, 394, and *Ancient charters*, §26.

206 Different theories on the dates of these changes of allegiance are laid out by C. Warren Hollister, 'Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

During this period of a year and a half in which Geoffrey was allied with Matilda, she issued him two charters granting him the title earl of Essex, with other accompanying lands and manors, to secure his homage.<sup>207</sup> Although Geoffrey returned to Stephen's cause, his heirs seem to have supported Matilda again, as she issued another charter between 1144 and 1147 returning to him the lands held by his father.<sup>208</sup> What these charters show is that Empress Matilda used the authority associated with her charters to acquire allegiances or bolster the alliances she already had, and therefore to reinforce her own authority.

There are several concepts which manifest themselves in the information regarding the beneficiaries of charters issued by queens. Firstly, the role of intercession, which is directly associated with the role of queenship, is evident in the dating of charters issued by queens. For a queen to have issued at the same time multiple charters to a single beneficiary seems to imply that a request was specifically made to her by that religious house. The second idea demonstrated is that the beneficiaries of the charters of queens were most likely to be religious houses within her dower lands, or a church with some familial significance, like Reading Abbey. On the rare occasions that the beneficiaries were individuals rather than churches, what is shown is that the authority a queen held could be employed to extend her authority over these new dependents; in a way, this was purchasing authority through alliances.

### ***Lost and confirmations: qualified authority***

Beyond the charters issued by the queens themselves, there are other charters that relate directly to those for which a queen was 'actor', but were not issued by her. Of the approximately 530 charters relating directly to the queens addressed in this study, 191 of them merely mention the queens. The most common of these are the instances of charters citing the act of a queen giving a specific plot of land to a certain church or abbey, but with the original charter of the queen not being found.<sup>209</sup> The inclusion of these cited *acta* is problematic, of course, because their existence cannot be proven. Still, the charters which allude to the *acta* of the queens are interesting in that they provide insight into the power of the queens. For instance, while one cannot take for granted that

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(Oxford, 2004).

207 *Regesta III*, §274 and 275.

208 *Regesta III*, §277.

209 See, for example, *EEA Canterbury 1193-1205*, §469, for Eleanor of Aquitaine; *Templars*, §6, for Matilda of Boulogne; *Haughmond cart.*, §1254, for Empress Matilda; *Percy cart.*, §904, for Adeliza of Louvain; *EEA Coventry and Lichfield*, §4, for Matilda of Scotland.

the queen in question did, in fact, issue the said charters, there is that possibility. This would mean that the queen was even more active in the administration of the kingdom than can be seen from the extant charters, which expanded her role in the court. Using the example of Eleanor of Aquitaine, it is known that she acted as regent while Henry was away, and that she issued writs in this role. Only nine such writs survive, and only two were found in the sources examined here, but there are allusions to other writs and it seems highly likely she issued quite a few more during her time as queen.<sup>210</sup> Even if Eleanor or the other queens did not actually issue the charters that are cited, it still implies that the queen was considered enough of an authority to have issued such a charter. This, in turn, amplifies the amount of power the queen can be seen to have. Altogether, whether the charters available to the historian today refer to *acta* which have been lost, or to fictional *acta*, the fact that all five queens are mentioned in this way demonstrates their influence in the courts of their husbands.

Another form of mention important to 'queens as "actor"' can be found in the confirmation charters issued by kings, confirming the *acta* of queens. Kings, either husbands or sons, would frequently confirm the charters of queens by issuing their own.<sup>211</sup> The question in this case is more whether or not the queen's charter was mentioned in the king's, and what this double-issuance reflected on the authority of the queen. This form of mention provides one very difficult problem associated with accepting charters issued by these queens as symbols of their authority. For example, of the twenty-four charters for which Matilda of Scotland was the actor listed in the *Regesta II*, five were separately confirmed by Henry I and another was co-issued with him.<sup>212</sup> Similarly, at least four of the *acta* of Matilda of Boulogne were confirmed by Stephen, and one of her charters giving a tithe to an abbey in France is listed directly after a charter from her husband ordering her to do so.<sup>213</sup> This issuing of separate charters can be seen in several ways. On the one hand, it reinforces the actions of the queens by giving the beneficiary two documents stating that, for example, Matilda of Scotland has given a specific church in Yorkshire to St. Peter's.<sup>214</sup> This would mean that there are extra charters stating that this was done at the instigation of the queen, even if the authority of

210 Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 154.

211 Specific examples are listed below.

212 For the charters confirmed by Henry I, see *Regesta II*, §536, 641, 676, 744, 1009. For the charter co-issued by Matilda of Scotland and Henry I, see *Regesta II*, §680.

213 For the charters confirmed by Stephen, see *Regesta III*, §223, 504, 539, 541. For the charter ordering Matilda of Boulogne to give seisen of the tithe of Marck (Pas-de-Calais) to the Abbey of Arrouaise, see *Regesta III*, §25.

214 *Regesta II*, §675 and 676.

her husband was needed to legitimize it. But it can also be seen to undermine the authority of the queen, by making her charter less valid. In either case, her authority can be seen to be undermined, but to various degrees. Still, while the *acta* issued by these queens are important, they should not be taken as absolute authority over the region, people, or abbey in question.

These two types of 'mention' seen in the charters present two conflicting views of the authority of queens. On the one hand, that the queens' charters were referenced later shows that the queens were seen as authoritative figures. On the other, that the charters issued by the queens were frequently confirmed in charters issued by their kings undermines the authority associated with the queens' charters. What can generally be garnered from this is that, while twelfth-century English queens did in fact hold positions of power, that sovereignty was not unqualified and was stronger when supported by the king. While it is difficult to place this directly within the original formula of establishing the different levels of authority held, these charters do demonstrate that these queens held a qualified authority.

### ***Chapter conclusion***

An overall view of the charters issued by the first five queens of the twelfth century confirms the authority of the queens-consort to issue charters. Still, those examined here used this authority at different points in their reigns, and it can be seen as qualified, based on the charters issued by the kings. In the majority of cases, the *acta* of the queens pertained to abbeys on their dower lands rather than relating to the kingdom as a whole, but that was not always the case. Similarly, although these *acta* did not require confirmation by the king, that the kings did frequently issue their own confirmation of the queens' charters shows a disparity between his authority and hers. Still, that the queens were able to issue their own charters is clear evidence of the areas in which they were able to operate, based on their own character or inclination. The roles associated with queenship, such as mother or child-bearer and intercessor, are visible when examining these charters. It can be argued that the queens, with the exception of Empress Matilda in her attempt to claim the English throne, did not push the boundaries laid out for them in this role and that it is possible they could have exercised their power to a greater extent than they actually did. This is clearly the case for Adeliza of Louvain and Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose attention appears focused in areas other than English

administration. With the case of Eleanor as an example, it can be seen that the authority within England did not necessarily correlate with that off the island, particularly if the queen held an inheritance there. Exploring this further in the cases of Eleanor and Matilda of Boulogne would present an interesting area of study in the future. With the Matildas, it is more difficult to say. Matilda of Boulogne was actively involved not only with the issuing of her own charters but also with the military conflict against Empress Matilda. Matilda of Scotland was similarly involved in a variety of courtly enterprises, from writing to Archbishop Anselm to commissioning literary works, from founding and supporting religious houses to organizing international political marriages. Thus it seems that while the role of a queen-consort was secondary to that of her king, it was an important one, broad and malleable.

## Chapter 3: Queens as witness

When analyzing the authority of queens as seen through their witnessing of royal charters, it is necessary to first understand the role of the witness in twelfth-century England. Precisely what can be inferred from an attestation list has been debated since the 1930s, when George L. Haskins challenged Josiah Cox Russell's suggestion that one's rank on a witness list was based on rank within the court.<sup>215</sup> Haskins asserted that witness lists were an unreliable source, in that the Plantagenet courts were primarily meritocratic, rather than 'precedence'-based.<sup>216</sup> This was supported by Nicholas Vincent, who studied the ranking of earls in the attestation lists of charters issued by Henry II. Vincent found that the 'pecking order' of the earls was 'determined by the degree of their personal attachment to the king and by shifting political considerations, rather than by wealth, number of knights' fees, age, or the seniority of an earldom or earl measured according to the date of creation or succession.'<sup>217</sup> David Bates addressed the same topic from a different direction, stating that one must be cautious in taking too much for granted when looking at charters.<sup>218</sup> Not only can charters have been lost through the centuries, but the format of the charters, including the order of witnesses, may have been changed in different versions. He called these changes 'chronological contradictions', and stressed that all charters in cartularies must be 'treated as editions rather than copies'.<sup>219</sup> What Bates gathered from his study was that as William the Conqueror's (*d.* 1087) reign progressed, it became less likely that there was a correlation between witnessing and having an interest in the grant in question.<sup>220</sup> Because Vincent found the same to be true of witness lists from the reign of Henry II, it is likely that this pattern continued through the century in question for this investigation.

In terms of queens, however, it is interesting to note that neither Vincent nor Bates questioned the position of queens in the witness list. Although Bates emphasized that a historian must be careful judging a person's status based on their position in an attestation list, he made a clear distinction between the royal family, containing the king,

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215 For Russell, see J.C. Russell, 'The significance of charter witness lists in thirteenth-century England', *New Mexico Normal University Bulletin*, special supplement (1930). For Haskins, see G.L. Haskins, 'Charter witness lists in the reign of King John', *Speculum* 13 (1938), pp 319-325. For an analysis of this debate, see N. Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a policy towards the earls?', pp 18-20.

216 Haskins, 'Charter witness lists in the reign of King John', p. 320.

217 Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a policy towards the earls?', p. 24.

218 Bates, 'Prosopographical study', p. 98.

219 Bates, 'Prosopographical study', pp 91 and 92.

220 Bates, 'Prosopographical study', pp 100-101.



queen, and their sons, and the rest of the aristocracy.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, although Vincent wrote that Henry II did not exalt himself and 'assaulted' the hereditary privileges of the earls, the article outlined a clear hierarchy with the king at the top, the queen second, archbishops third, and earls last.<sup>222</sup> Vincent's study examined only what can be drawn from the position of an earl on witness lists of royal charters, taking for granted the position and authority of a queen. Without assuming that it is the tell-all answer to the question of an individual's rank, this investigation follows the general consensus that a person's position in an attestation list and the number of charters witnessed reflected his or her authority within the court.<sup>223</sup> With this as a basis, a comparison between the number of charters witnessed by each queen, her position on the witness list, and the range of the beneficiaries of these charters, is carried out, demonstrating the differences in the authority held by each of the five queens.

As Bates and Vincent presupposed, a queen was seen to hold her own inherent authority, based, as Stafford wrote, on the 'sacrally sanctioned office' of queenship.<sup>224</sup> But the level of this authority was not set and could vary. Because of this, much can be gathered from a queen's position in the witness list. The higher she was placed in the list, the more important she was seen to be. Matilda of Scotland, for instance, was first in every charter examined here, above even Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. Matilda of Boulogne, by contrast, was in some cases first among those witnessing her husband's charters, and last in others.<sup>225</sup> Similarly, Henry I's second wife, Adeliza of Louvain, witnessed primarily the *pancartes*, or general important announcement charters, of her husband. In these cases, her *signa* came directly after that of Henry, before those of the other witnessing archbishops.<sup>226</sup> From this, it would seem that Matilda of Scotland, and quite possibly her successor, Adeliza, held more distinguished positions than Matilda of Boulogne.

Three main variables affecting the authority of queens as seen through her attestations are examined in this chapter. First, the general number of charters witnessed by each

221 Bates, 'Prosopographical study', pp 98 and 95.

222 Nicholas Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a policy towards the earls?', in Keats-Rohan, *Family trees and the roots of politics: the prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth century* (1997), pp 25 and 23.

223 For other historians on this topic, see, for instance, Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 30; Stafford, 'Emma', pp 14-17; and Flanagan, *Irish royal charter*, p. 30. Stafford particularly stated that the office of queen 'placed her, in the eyes of those who drew up the witness lists of charters, not with ealdormen or king's thegns, but with bishops and abbots, often next to the king himself in the hierarchy of the kingdom.' (Stafford, 'Emma', p. 14.)

224 Stafford, 'Emma', p 11.

225 For the position of the wife in the witness list, see, for example, *Regesta II*, §544, 825 and 833, in reference to Matilda of Scotland; for Matilda of Boulogne, see *Regesta III*, §184, *Eye Priory cart.*, §15.

226 See, for example, *Regesta II*, §1301, 1391, and 1428.

queen and the dates of those charters are scrutinized. This establishes that there is no specific pattern as to when in their reigns these five queens were more likely to witness the charters of their husbands. The second variable is the beneficiary, which is compared with the dower lands held by each queen, and with the general role of a queen. The final point relates to the authority of queens as expressed in charters in which they were mentioned, which addresses the many forms of 'mention' used in the twelfth century. A close statistical approach to the subject shows that the first five English queens of the twelfth century were quite dissimilar in the patterns of their witnessing of charters. In that vein, the numbers of charters witnessed by each queen are examined in this section. The length of the reign of each queen is brought into question as well, in an attempt to determine a basis for measuring the authority that can be associated with the witnessing of charters. With all of these factors together, it becomes possible to create a rounded view of the authority held by each of the five queens in question.

### ***Charters witnessed: supportive queens***

To start with the earliest of the queens, Matilda of Scotland was found referenced in 138 charters, of which she witnessed sixty-two.<sup>227</sup> Whereas this counts as 45% of the total number of charters in which she was referenced, her successor, Adeliza of Louvain, witnessed only 20% of the total sixty-five charters with which she was associated.<sup>228</sup> That the numbers are so disparate is particularly interesting because they were each married to Henry I for similar lengths of time, Matilda for eighteen years and Adeliza for fourteen. It shows that the two queens either had different approaches to governance or held very different levels of authority, or both. Based on these figures, it would appear that Matilda of Scotland was much more active in her husband's court than Adeliza was, as was established in the last chapter when the *acta* of Adeliza were analyzed. It is significant, however, to note that while Adeliza witnessed only thirteen of her husband's charters between when she became queen in 1121 and the death of Henry I in 1135, she did so consistently throughout her reign. Likewise, after Henry's death, Adeliza is not seen to have witnessed any more charters, but rather began to issue her own.<sup>229</sup> From the period of her marriage to William d'Aubigny, Adeliza issued fourteen of the seventeen found for which she was the 'actor'. Matilda, by contrast, was much more likely to have

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<sup>227</sup> See Appendix 2.1: Matilda of Scotland.

<sup>228</sup> See Appendix 2.2: Adeliza of Louvain.

<sup>229</sup> It is possible, of course, that Adeliza of Louvain did witness charters after the death of Henry I, but none were found in this study.

witnessed Henry's charters between their marriage in 1100 and the year of 1107.<sup>230</sup> Between 1108 and 1115, she witnessed only nineteen, and none remain that appear to have been issued between 1116 and her death in 1118. Despite this clear decline, Matilda of Scotland still witnessed enough charters to be 'among the top ten names appearing in witness lists on Henry's charters.'<sup>231</sup> Matilda of Boulogne presents a picture similar to that of Matilda of Scotland, in that 39% of the total 147 charters found associated with her were ones that she witnessed.<sup>232</sup> Also, more than half of the charters witnessed by Matilda of Boulogne, thirty-one of fifty-eight, were issued in the first five years of her reign, with the remaining twenty-seven charters spread out over the last twelve years of her life. From this, it seems that, like Matilda of Scotland, she was more active in the witnessing of her husband's charters at the beginning of his reign, and more active issuing her own charters after that.

An explanation for the change in witnessing patterns for the two Matildas is a change in the focus of their attention during their reigns. While the queens began their reigns by participating frequently in their husbands' courts, this involvement tapered off as the queens began to concentrate on other pursuits. Lois Huneycutt outlined the abundant travels of Henry I's first wife to Normandy, Winchester, Gloucester, and London, frequently with her own court rather than her husband's, after 1106.<sup>233</sup> For Matilda of Boulogne, the decisive year which marked the change in her witnessing pattern was 1140, just after Empress Matilda began campaigning for the throne in England. When Stephen was captured in February 1141, it became much more difficult both for him to issue charters and for his wife to witness them. At this point, Matilda of Boulogne became more active in issuing her own charters. It was also during this time that she witnessed the one charter issued by someone other than Stephen. This charter was issued in the name of William of Ypres, a Flemish military commander for King Stephen between the years 1137 and 1148.<sup>234</sup> During that time, William of Ypres witnessed 'about fifty-five genuine royal charters', including one issued by Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>235</sup> That the queen would be witnessing charters issued by a military commander, and have him

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230 Forty-three of the charters witnessed by Matilda of Scotland were issued before 1107, making them 70% of the charters she witnessed.

231 Lois Huneycutt. *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 4.

232 See Appendix 2.3: Matilda of Boulogne.

233 Huneycutt. *Matilda of Scotland*, pp 86-93.

234 *Regesta III*, §200.

235 Eales, Richard. 'William of Ypres, styled count of Flanders (d. 1164/5)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

For the charter issued by Matilda of Boulogne witnessed by William of Ypres, see *Regesta III*, §196.

witness hers, rather than solely witnessing her husband's charters, suggests an active involvement in the administration of the kingdom.

The dissimilarity in the witnessing patterns of Matilda of Scotland, Adeliza of Louvain, and Matilda of Boulogne shows a clear difference in the authority held by these three queens. An explanation for the dissimilar levels could be the variation in the approaches each took towards governance. The 'differences' discussed here are particularly blatant when examining the number of charters with which each queen was associated, meaning in all categories, 'actor', witness, and mention. Matilda of Scotland and Matilda of Boulogne were found in 138 and 147 charters, respectively, whereas Adeliza of Louvain was found in only sixty-five. It is likely this was influenced not only by the different character of each woman, but also by the authority each queen reached. All three were chosen with political motivations in mind and all three were expected to produce heirs, for which they would receive a sort of 'boost' to their authority, as outlined in the first chapter.<sup>236</sup> Adeliza, by contrast, was chosen at a time when Henry was in desperate need of an heir, and was thus most likely to keep his wife by his side.<sup>237</sup> In any case, it seems that different roles were prescribed to Matilda of Scotland and Matilda of Boulogne than to Adeliza of Louvain, and as a result, they took on diverse approaches.

Eleanor of Aquitaine presents a completely different picture. In general, it seems she was more active in her native Aquitaine than in England, as is evident from the small number of English charters found associated with Eleanor.<sup>238</sup> Although her reign as queen-consort and then queen-mother was the longest of the five queens addressed here, lasting from 1154 to 1204, she was found in the fewest number of charters, eighteen compared with the Empress Matilda's 165, or even Adeliza's sixty-five.<sup>239</sup> Of these eighteen charters, three were witnessed by Eleanor, and three issued by her.<sup>240</sup> The three charters witnessed by Eleanor were all issued by her second husband, Henry II, and dated from between 1155 and 1160, the first five years of their reign in England. Interestingly enough, given that his mother, Empress Matilda, witnessed five of his charters, compared to his wife Eleanor's three, one can see that Henry II was more likely to have

<sup>236</sup> For the correlation between authority and child-bearing, see Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 194.

<sup>237</sup> This argument was explained in the previous chapter. See 'Queens as 'actor': Issuing charters', pp 33-38.

<sup>238</sup> For the different discussions on Eleanor's insular and continental charters, see Hivergneaux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine', pp. 55-76; Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp 112-114, 132-133, and 286-287; and Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and a "queenly court"?', pp. 423-439.

<sup>239</sup> See Appendices 2.5: Eleanor of Aquitaine, and 2.3: Empress Matilda and 2.2: Adeliza of Louvain.

<sup>240</sup> For the three charters issued by Eleanor, see *Reading cart. I*, §466, 467; *Chichester cart.*, §126. For the three charters witnessed by Eleanor, see *Acta I*, §186, 187, 188.

his mother than his wife witness his charters. Whether this was because his mother was on hand more often, because of Henry's personal preference, or the result of a disparity in the authority held by the two queens is debatable. Although this is not necessarily conclusive, the possible distinction between the two is curious.

As one might expect for a queen-regnant rather than a queen-consort, Empress Matilda witnessed significantly fewer charters than the other queens examined here. Indeed, Empress Matilda was much more likely to issue her own charters than to witness someone else's. Of the 165 charters found with an association with her, only ten (a meager six percent) were witnessed by her.<sup>241</sup> As already mentioned, five of these witnessed charters were those issued by her son, Henry II, four after his coronation as king of England in 1154.<sup>242</sup> At this point in her career, her role had clearly changed. She was no longer attempting to claim the title of queen-regnant, but was now supporting her son as king.<sup>243</sup> While Empress Matilda generally witnessed fewer charters than the other queens, her pattern of witnessing charters was very similar to theirs. For one, she played the role laid out for her as a queen-regnant, just as the other Matildas and Adeliza took on their roles as queens-consort. Like the other three queens, Empress Matilda's tendencies altered over the years as her position did, as she moved from queen-regnant to queen-mother. In this way, her long-range pattern was congruent with the ones followed by the other queens in this study. This demonstrates that the type and level of authority she held as a witness was very similar to those already examined.

Two important points are presented here, namely that the length of a queen's reign did not necessarily have an impact on the number of charters she witnessed, and that witnessing was associated with the supportive roles of queen-consort and queen-mother. The first of these two details is made clear by looking at the overall dissimilarities between the first three queens-consort of this study. Matilda of Scotland and Matilda of Boulogne both reigned for approximately the same length of time and witnessed about the same number of charters, with fifty-eight and sixty-two witnessed respectively. Still, Adeliza of Louvain reigned for much the same period, and yet witnessed significantly less, and Eleanor of Aquitaine reigned much longer and almost no charters she witnessed have survived. This implies that, like the issuing of charters, the witnessing of charters

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241 See Appendix 2.4: Empress Matilda.

242 For Henry's five charters witnessed by Empress Matilda, see *Reading cart. II*, §671; *Acta I*, §242, 243, 284; *Regesta III*, §653.

243 For a detailed discussion of Matilda's support for her son, see Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, Chap. 7: 'Greatest in her offspring', pp 143-176.

not only demonstrated authority, but was influenced by the amount of authority held based on such factors as the preconditions examined in the first chapter. The information presented regarding Empress Matilda supports the second point made in this sub-chapter. The numbers imply that, as a queen-regnant, Empress Matilda witnessed very few charters, but that this changed when her role changed. When she became a queen-mother, she began to witness significantly more charters. When compared to the fact that the queens-consort in general witnessed a substantial number of charters, this suggests that the role of witness was a supportive one, associated with the supportive role of queen.

### ***Beneficiaries: individuals and religious houses***

That witnessing was a supportive role is verified by the fact that the vast majority of the charters witnessed by queens supported religious institutions. Because this was the case for the charters they issued, it is not surprising that it should be the same for those they witnessed. The difference between the patterns that emerged in the last chapter and those that emerge here is that the queens all tended to witness charters with different beneficiaries. In fact, the only beneficiaries commonly supported by more than one of the queens were Reading Abbey, founded by Henry I, and Holy Trinity at Aldgate in London, founded by Matilda of Scotland.<sup>244</sup>

In general, the beneficiaries supported most often in the charters witnessed by Matilda of Scotland were the abbeys of St. Mary's at Abingdon, SS Julian and Botolph at Colchester, and St. Peter's at Gloucester.<sup>245</sup> Matilda of Boulogne did not witness a single charter for these abbeys. Instead, the institutions primarily supported in the charters she witnessed were Chichester Cathedral and See, Lincoln Cathedral and See, Winchester Cathedral and See, Holy Trinity London, and Reading Abbey.<sup>246</sup> Every one of the three charters witnessed by Eleanor of Aquitaine supported Holy Trinity at Aldgate, in London.<sup>247</sup> As was shown in the last chapter, one of the main religious houses supported by Empress Matilda in her charters was Reading Abbey. Because of that emphasis, it is less surprising that this same abbey should be a principle beneficiary of charters she

<sup>244</sup> These two foundation charters can both be found in *Regesta II*, §1427 for Reading Abbey, and §909 for Holy Trinity.

<sup>245</sup> By 'most often', what is meant is the church or abbey was the beneficiary of three or more charters witnessed by each queen, as witnessing more than one to two charters per beneficiary was unusual in the material found. These charters are found solely in *Regesta II*.

<sup>246</sup> These charters are found primarily in *Regesta III*, although they can also be found in *Chichester cart.*, §110 and 113 and *Reading cart. II*, §669.

<sup>247</sup> *Acta I*, §186, 187, and 188.

witnessed, showing up in three of the ten.<sup>248</sup> Finally, Adeliza of Louvain presents another picture entirely, by not witnessing a charter for the same beneficiary twice. Of the thirteen *acta* found witnessed by Adeliza, all supported different churches and abbeys.<sup>249</sup>

When this list is compared with the dower lands held by the queens, it becomes apparent that, while a queen may have witnessed charters for a beneficiary with which she had a clear connection, this was not generally a deciding factor. From the list of common beneficiaries, including Abingdon, Holy Trinity at Aldgate, and the English cathedrals, only Holy Trinity was among the queens' dower lands.<sup>250</sup> Other dower properties held by multiple queens-consort, such as Waltham, Barking, and Wilton, were rarely beneficiaries of charters witnessed by those queens. This suggests that, unlike issuing, when witnessing charters, a queen's focus was significantly broader than her dower lands. The example of Abingdon, however, provides an interesting glimpse into what connection a queen may have with the beneficiaries. Matilda of Scotland witnessed fifty-nine charters found in this study. Of those, seven were for Abingdon, either the monks, the Abbot Faritius, or both, nearly twice as many as the second most common, which were St. Peter's at Gloucester and SS Julian and Botolph at Colchester.<sup>251</sup> A reason for this concentration on Abingdon may have been that Abbot Faritius was 'chief among those physicians ordered to attend' the confinement of Matilda of Scotland during her first pregnancy.<sup>252</sup> He remained her chief medical adviser even beyond the birth of Empress Matilda.<sup>253</sup> This connection may have caused Matilda of Scotland to be more sympathetic to Faritius, making her more likely to witness charters supporting him. Even if Nicholas Vincent's argument that witness lists do not necessarily reflect who was present on the occasion but rather those with 'proprietary interests', a connection can be drawn between Matilda of Scotland and the abbey of Abingdon.<sup>254</sup> Altogether, while there may have been a connection between the beneficiaries of charters witnessed by the queens and the queens themselves, this connection cannot necessarily be seen by looking at the dower lands held by each queen. In most cases, there does not appear to be any direct connection at all.

248 *Acta I*, §242 and 243; *Reading cart. II*, §671.

249 These 13 charters are all in *Regesta II*.

250 See Appendix 4 for a table of dower lands held by the queens, and see the previous section for an outline of common beneficiaries.

251 For the charters for Abingdon, see *Regesta II*, §550, 613, 693, 700, 702, 722, and 742. For the charters for St. Peter's at Gloucester, see *Regesta II*, §602, 646, 706, and 1041. For the charters for SS Julian and Botolph at Colchester, see *Regesta II*, §568, 569, 862, and 863.

252 Peregrine Horden, 'Faricius (d. 1117)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

253 Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp 74 and 82.

254 Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a policy towards the earls?', p. 13.

It is interesting, also, to explore the exceptions to the general rule that charters witnessed by queens benefited religious houses. For this thesis, a charter issued to an abbot or bishop is seen as supporting a religious institution and is therefore included in the previous section, whereas a charter for an individual, such as 'Robert son of Robert count of Meulan', is included here.<sup>255</sup> The only two queens who witnessed *acta* favoring individuals were Matilda of Scotland and Matilda of Boulogne. Those witnessed by Matilda of Scotland were notifications that Henry I granted to the beneficiary land formerly belonging to someone else. In the previously mentioned case of 'Robert son of Robert count of Meulan', the land was merely being passed from father to son and the necessity of having the queen as a main witness is unclear. What is important to note is that Robert, count of Meulan, was among the closest advisers to Henry I, and it may have been in his honor that Matilda was among the witnesses.<sup>256</sup> The reasoning behind the other charter witnessed by Matilda of Scotland is a bit clearer. Around 1103, Henry I issued a charter granting several of William de Mandeville's properties to his father-in-law, Eudo.<sup>257</sup> This was meant as a punishment for William's 'carelessness (or worse)' which led to the escape of a dangerous prisoner he had been guarding at the Tower of London.<sup>258</sup> This was especially bad for Henry since the prisoner, the bishop of Durham, subsequently organized Robert Curthose's invasion against the king.<sup>259</sup> One might assume that the severity of the offense would call for as much authority as possible to enforce the punishment. Because of this, it makes sense that the queen would be listed as the first witness to this charter.

Just as Matilda of Scotland witnessed a charter for a Mandeville, so too did Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>260</sup> This charter was similarly important, as it wooed Geoffrey de Mandeville, son of William, back to Stephen's cause, after he sided with Empress Matilda while Stephen was captured by her military forces.<sup>261</sup> With the same reasoning as was applied to the charter witnessed by Matilda of Scotland, the significance of having the earl of Essex as an ally adds to the importance of this charter, an importance which is then augmented by the authority of the queen.<sup>262</sup> In December 1137, Matilda of Boulogne

255 Matilda of Scotland witnessed a charter by Henry I, supporting 'Robert son of Robert count of Meulan', which can be seen in *Regesta II*, §843.

256 Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 132.

257 *Regesta II*, §661.

258 C. Warren Hollister. 'Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

259 Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 133-136.

260 *Regesta III*, §276.

261 Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 103.

262 Geoffrey de Mandeville's overall importance is a topic of contention between Davis and Crouch.



witnessed a charter granting to the son of Miles of Gloucester the lands formerly held by his father-in-law.<sup>263</sup> This is particularly interesting because Miles of Gloucester was later one of the Empress' staunchest supporters and among her 'triumvirate' against Stephen.<sup>264</sup> What these two cases from each queen demonstrate is that their witnessing of the particularly important charters of the kings seem to add to the momentousness of the charters. This in turn implies that, as witnesses, queens exercised a high degree of authority.

As a whole, the beneficiaries of the charters witnessed by these five queens present an intriguing and almost haphazard image of the queenly role in charters. Still, when looking below the surface of the classification, it is clear that, although the beneficiaries were diverse in that all the queens witnessed charters for different abbeys and churches, they were predominantly the same, being almost solely religious houses. There may not have been a specific abbey or religious house that benefited the most, numerically speaking, from the queens, but the church as a whole was the primary recipient of the queens' support. If the attention, however, is focused on the exceptional cases of charters in favor of individual people, one gets a much clearer view not only of the power held by the queens in this study, but also the lives of the individuals within the court. These charters, specifically because they stand out, demonstrate the schemes and strategies at play within the court.

### ***Changing perspective: referenced queens***

References to queens are an area that require close examination of the individual charters, to see what sort of mention there is of the queens and how frequently each of the different sorts of references take place. This information provides another perspective on a queens position and authority. Beyond this, looking at how a queen is

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Davis emphasizes Geoffrey's role in the conflict, going so far as to write that he was so significant that the Empress was 'prepared to grant him unlimited power in [the county of Essex] if he would win it for her cause'. Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 59. Crouch, by contrast, downplays Geoffrey's involvement in the civil war. He wrote instead that 'when you look past the (admittedly fascinating) evidence of the series of charters which Geoffrey obtained successively from the rivals for the crown, there is very little that was notable so far about his participation in the war'. Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 175. Chibnall follows Davis, writing that the Empress needed Geoffrey's support, because of his 'strength in London and Essex'. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, p. 103.

263 *Ancient charters*, §21; also seen in *Regesta III*, §312.

264 According to David Walker, Miles of Gloucester 'saw himself as the most loyal of Matilda's supporters', a fact for which he was rewarded. Crouch disagrees. He wrote that, although Miles supported Matilda through the whole of her campaign, his 'deepest purpose' was not his loyalty to the Empress but rather control of Herefordshire. See Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles of, earl of Hereford (d. 1143)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 112 and 121. The use of 'triumvirate' comes from Crouch, p. 121.

mentioned in the charters of others affords an opportunity to combine the technical and textual aspects of the charters themselves, more so than the other two main roles addressed.

This section looks at three main ways in which queens were mentioned in the charters of others: in reference to her soul, in reference to a relationship with her, and in reference to a request made by her. The first of these is the most common. While there are a few variations in the phrasing, the offering of land to an abbey for the soul of the king and queen, '*pro salute anime mee et [...] uxoris mee*', is standard.<sup>265</sup> This is seen in charters issued by Henry I regarding his wife Matilda of Scotland (although not his second wife, Adeliza of Louvain),<sup>266</sup> William d'Aubigny regarding his wife, Adeliza of Louvain,<sup>267</sup> Henry II regarding both his mother, Empress Matilda, and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine,<sup>268</sup> and by Stephen regarding his wife, Matilda of Boulogne.<sup>269</sup> This, as a form of mention, is quite routine and seems to be as related to tradition as to the relationship with the queen or her authority itself. In terms of the second form of 'mention', it is most often used when the person issuing the charter has something to gain from emphasizing their relationship to the queen. For instance, Adeliza of Louvain was frequently referenced in the charters of her second husband, William d'Aubigny, and her brother, Jocelin.<sup>270</sup> Both William and Jocelin owed their titles and positions to Adeliza. William, formerly a steward to Henry I, became earl of Chichester (a title he used interchangeably with and in addition to earl of Arundel, Sussex, and Lincoln) as a result of his marriage to Adeliza.<sup>271</sup> His consistent declaration in his charters that he was 'husband to Queen Adeliza' seems to imply that this title was as important to him as his title of earl. Jocelin's title of 'castellan of Arundel' is seen in one of the charters he issued, and was the result of his sister's generosity.<sup>272</sup> As was the case with William, however, it seems that Jocelin's relationship with Adeliza brought him at least as much prestige as the title she gave him.<sup>273</sup> The case of King Henry II is rather different. As the grandson of King

265 As, for example, in this charter by Stephen, seen in *Shaftesbury*, §3.

266 For example, *Bec cart.*, §17.

267 For example, *Chichester cart.*, §294.

268 For example, *Sibton cart.*, §29.

269 For example, *Templars*, §1.

270 William d'Aubigny specifically mentioned his wife in at least nine of his charters, *Boxgrove cart.*, §1, 40, 4; *Chichester cart.*, §94, 294, 296, 297; *Durford cart.*, §51; and *Reading cart.*, §371.

Jocelin mentioned his sister in at least three of his charters, *Durford cart.*, §80; *Pancras cart.*, §22, 24.

271 For an analysis of the documents suggesting the date William was made earl, and the reasons for that, see Davis, *King Stephen*, App. I, nos 16 and 19; Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 86, and note 8.

272 See Crouch, *The reign of King Stephen*, p. 89; Church, 'Queen Adeliza of Louvain', p. 4.

273 Jocelin can be seen using his title of castellan in *Pancras cart.*, §24. He references Adeliza as his sister in that charter, as well as in *Pancras cart.*, §22, and *Durford cart.*, §80.

Henry I and the acknowledged heir of King Stephen, it was less necessary for Henry II to rely upon anyone else to exalt his position. Despite that fact, in his charters Henry II sometimes styled himself 'fitz Empress' and he mentioned his mother more often than his wife, both while count of Anjou and after coronation as king of England.<sup>274</sup> For someone else to refer him as '*regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis*' seems to imply a support of the Empress during her previous struggle with Stephen.<sup>275</sup> For Henry, the intention seems much the same: he mentioned his mother in his charters as much to laud her as to exalt himself, in contrast to Jocelin and William d'Aubigny who seem primarily interested in themselves. Altogether, it seems that a declaration of a direct kinship with a queen was used to both cement and enhance the authority of the person issuing a charter, as well as to praise the queen being mentioned. The final form of mention to be addressed here is seen very rarely, but is significant when looking at the authority of queens as manifested in diplomatic charters. On occasion, a king or bishop would issue a charter stating he did so 'at the request of' the queen.<sup>276</sup> A particular case of this found in the charter of King Henry I, giving the hand of Saint James to Reading Abbey, in September 1126.<sup>277</sup> The placement of this charter and the authority associated therewith is difficult because, although Empress Matilda neither gave the relic herself nor witnessed the charter which did so, she was directly involved with the gift itself. This is a charter that specifically shows the authority of a queen, although in a muted fashion.

All things considered, although it would be easy to disregard charters in which the queens are not actively involved, it is clear that they do present another perspective on both the role of queens and the authority held by them. These *acta* demonstrate that queens were not only regularly referenced, but were also specifically named in an attempt to advance the standing of both parties. While it is difficult to pinpoint an exact way in which one can quantify a queen's authority by looking at these charters, they do reveal additional layers to be examined.

## **Chapter conclusion**

This chapter examined the three main variables that related to a queen's attestation of the charters of others, and how those may have affected her authority. It looked at the

274 For example, *Regesta III*, §653 and 704; and *Yorkshire cart.*, §1449.

275 This reference to Henry as the son of the Empress is quite common, and can be seen in *Yorkshire cart.*, §410, 412, 1308, 1595, 1692, 1697, and 1701; and *Ancient charters*, §50, for example.

276 Examples of this, which are not discussed later in this section, can be seen in *EEA Lincoln*, §219; *Regesta III*, §554.

277 *Reading cart.*, §5; also seen in *Regesta II*, §1174.

number of charters witnessed by each queen, the beneficiaries of these charters, and the charters in which queens were mentioned. What was shown is that there was little congruity between the first five English queens of the twelfth century in these areas. While the queens witnessed primarily *acta* regarding religious houses, this was not always the case. Similarly, the specific churches and abbeys each queen supported, with two minor exceptions, were all different. Also, there is no pattern showing that the charters witnessed by the queens were more or less important than the others not witnessed by them, although there may have been a personal connection between the queen and some of the charters she witnessed. Overall, this demonstrates that the role of 'queens as witnesses' was not clearly defined, but it also brings up the debate on what can be seen in the attestation lists. Both Bates and Vincent suggested that there was a possibility that being placed on a witness list related to an interest in the charter being issued, rather than necessarily being present.<sup>278</sup> Both also put forward, however, that this is less the case in the Plantagenet court, indicating that witnesses were most likely to have been present at the granting ceremony. This interpretation was used as the framework for this chapter, with the queens seen to be present when listed as attesting to a charter. That the number of charters witnessed by each queen was quite varied supports the idea that their role was not defined. It also shows that the role of witness was one associated with some authority. How much authority can be judged in each case by such factors as the number of charters witnessed and their importance, and also also placement in the witness list itself. From this, it can be claimed that the role of 'witness' provided a complex and variegated look into the more general role of queenship, based upon the diplomatic documents analyzed here.

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<sup>278</sup> See Bates, 'Prosopographical study', pp 100-101; and Vincent, 'Did Henry II have a policy towards the earls?', p. 24.

## Conclusion

This thesis has explored the differences in authority exercised by the first five English queens of the twelfth century, as seen through English charters relating to them. It examined the published editions of English *acta*, studying 533 charters from more than fifty 'actors', with approximately one hundred different beneficiaries, including both religious houses and individuals. What was shown from this wealth of information is that these queens held authority from a variety of sources, which they exercised to varying degrees. The sources, which are considered preconditions, addressed here represented the 'means' outlined by Pauline Stafford in her definition of authority. She wrote that authority was the right and ability to act, contingent upon having the means to support any action. The three preconditions investigated were allies brought to the king through his marriage and how that affected both the selection process, land given to the queen in her dower, and wealth a queen acquired through the tax of Queen's Gold. All of these were explored in relation to what affect they may have had on the authority of each queen. What was confirmed was that these queens held a very different basis for their authority, implying that they held different degrees of authority.

As an extension of Queen's Gold and the economic basis for authority, one can look not only at the exchange of money and property, but also the minting of coinage. This was not specifically addressed in the thesis itself, because the minting of coins was unique to Empress Matilda, of these five queens.<sup>279</sup> Instead, during the reigns of most of the queens addressed here, the coins were minted in the name of their husband. Empress Matilda was the only one to mint coins. She did so during her struggle with Stephen, to assert and solidify her authority in the kingdom. While neither William of Malmesbury nor the author of the *Gesta Stephani* mention her coins, examples of them exist in the British Museum and the Fitzmuseum in Cambridge. The Empress's coins were first minted in 1141, the year she declared herself 'Lady of the English' and attempted to be crowned. These coins were based on the style of Stephen's currency, replacing his name and title with her own.<sup>280</sup> Beyond the fact that they simply were minted, where these coins were minted tells us about the political power held by the Empress in this period. Her coins

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279 Although there is the possibility that either Eleanor of Aquitaine or Matilda of Boulogne, or both, minted coins on the continent, that is outside the scope of this study which focuses on authority in England, and therefore has not been explored.

280 [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/normans/chapters/Normans\\_3\\_4.htm#c42](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/normans/chapters/Normans_3_4.htm#c42)  
See images of the coins in Appendix 6.2.

were in at least three different locations: Bristol, Cardiff, and Oxford, seen on the map in green.<sup>281</sup> Edmund King adds Wareham to the list (shown on the map in blue), claiming but that is not verified by later authors or by the museum websites.<sup>282</sup> Altogether, this paints a picture of the extent of the authority controlled by the Empress, namely that her power center was focused in the west, with Oxford changing sides during the civil war. The patterns that emerge paint a picture of the Empress's various amounts of authority throughout her war for the throne, and relate back to the preconditions discussed.

After establishing this basis of authority, the charters themselves were analyzed by date, beneficiary, and political context. The first category examined was that of charters issued by the queens themselves. This overall view of charters did verify the authority of the queens-consort to issue charters. What was made clear in this study was that this authority was used by each of the queens at different points in their reigns. This authority was, however, to a certain extent, qualified and based upon the charters issued by the kings. Regarding the beneficiaries of the charters issued by queens, many of the *acta* pertained to abbeys on their dower lands rather than relating to the kingdom as a whole, and that the beneficiaries were rather consistently supported by multiple queens. Because these grants were issued supporting lands held by the queens, the *acta* did not require confirmation by the king. That being said, the kings did frequently issue their own confirmation of the queens' charters, demonstrating a disparity between his authority and hers. Despite this, that the queens were able to issue their own charters is clear evidence of the areas in which they were able to operate, based on their own character or inclination.

Another area examined in the charters for which the queens were 'actor' was the roles associated with queenship, including mother or child-bearer and intercessor, with a focus on the various ways in which a queen may have been active in the governance of the kingdom. It was argued that the queens, with the exception of Empress Matilda and her attempt to become the first queen-regnant, did not push the boundaries laid out for them in their queenly role. It is possible they could have exercised their authority to a greater extent than they did. For Adeliza of Louvain and Eleanor of Aquitaine, it appeared their attention was not focused on English administration, with the implication that they did

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281 William Stewart Thorburn, *A guide to the coins of Great Britain and Ireland: in gold, silver, and copper, from the earliest period to the present time, with their value* (Charleston. 2009), p. 14.

See map in Appendix 6.1.

282 Edmund King, 'The anarchy of King Stephen's reign', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), p. 150.

not exercise their authority to the full extent they could have. The case of Eleanor suggested that there was not necessarily a correlation between the exercise of authority in England and in continental holdings. The other queens were more difficult to categorize in terms of the amount of authority they exercised. Matilda of Boulogne was involved not only in the issuance of charters, but also in the military conflict against Empress Matilda, and Matilda of Scotland involved herself in many different courtly affairs on top of direct administration of the kingdom. From this, it can be seen that the role of 'queen' was a broad one, as well as being very important.

The examination of witnessing looked at three variables linked with attestation, including the number of charters each queen witnessed during her reign, the beneficiaries of the charters they witnessed, and other charters in which a queen was mentioned. What was first established was that the queens all witnessed remarkably different numbers of charters, with Matilda of Scotland witnessing the most at sixty-two, and, at the other end of the spectrum, the Empress Matilda witnessing ten. The next surprising discovery was that, while there was consistency among the beneficiaries of charters issued by the queens, the same is not true for charters witnessed by them. The main similarity was that the beneficiaries were primarily religious houses, but the five queens supported entirely different churches and abbeys. One point that was raised was the possibility of a personal connection between the queens and the beneficiaries of the charters she witnessed, such as the case of Matilda of Scotland and Abbot Faritius of Abingdon. In general, what was shown was that the role of 'queens as witnesses' was not clearly defined, although it was one associated with authority. The authority exercised by each queen was seen to be in the number of charters witnessed, as well as the placement of the queen's name in the attestation list. This was also different from queen to queen, with Adeliza of Louvain always placing first, and her successor, Matilda of Boulogne, being sometimes first and sometimes third or lower. Altogether, based on the charters examined in this study, it was shown that much information concerning the authority of twelfth-century English queens can be gained from analyzing their role as witness.

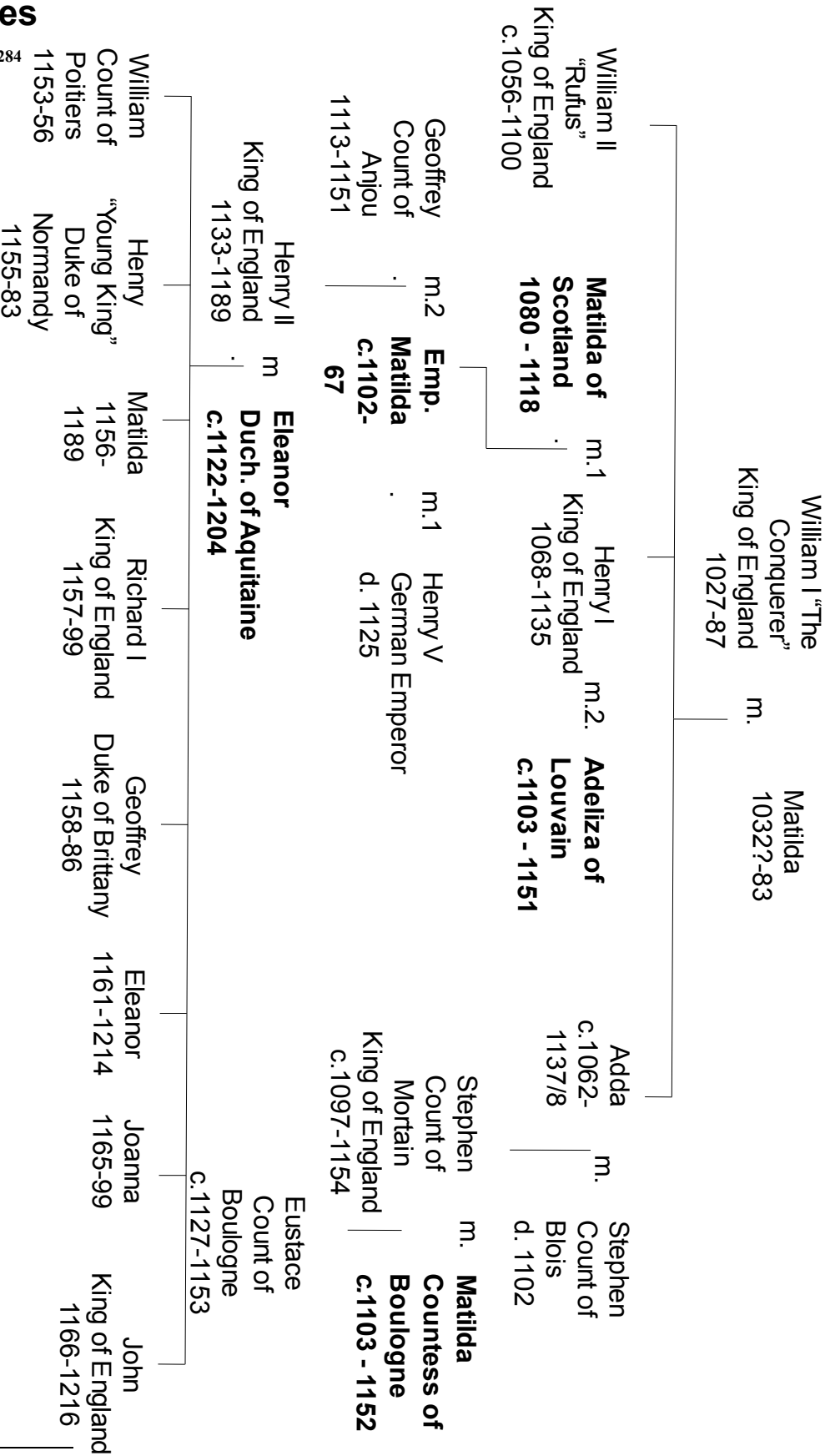
Altogether, this thesis has presented a study of the authority of the first five English queens of the twelfth century, as seen through the English charters of the period. To a certain extent, it seems from the information shown here that the queen with the most authority was Matilda of Scotland, with a possible decline after her reign. This would be supported by Janet Nelson, who claimed that, as times changed and the situation

changed, with the increasing bureaucratization of government, 'power tended to bypass the court, so marginalizing the queen's sphere of personal influence and reducing her scope for action'.<sup>283</sup> This points out an area left blatantly empty by modern scholars, because of a lack of material, namely the personal preferences of the queens themselves. It is simply impossible to know how much of a difference was made by the character of each queen and how much the variations in their charter issuance and witnessing was because of the political situation. In any case, this thesis has examined the right to act, and the extent to which each queen did act, attempting to present as clear a picture of the authority held and exercised by these queens.

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<sup>283</sup> Nelson, 'Medieval queenship', p. 181.





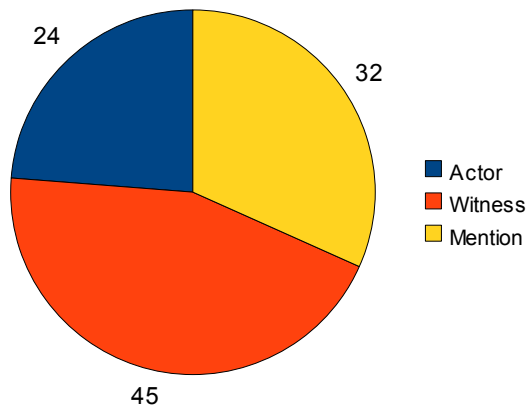
Appendices

1 Genealogy<sup>284</sup>

<sup>284</sup> Genealogy source, adapted from:  
Fraser, *Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, "The Normans and Angevins", 18-19, and Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, By the Wrath of God, Queen of England*, Table 8: The Kings of England

## 2 Charter graphs: Percentage per role

### 2.1 Matilda of Scotland

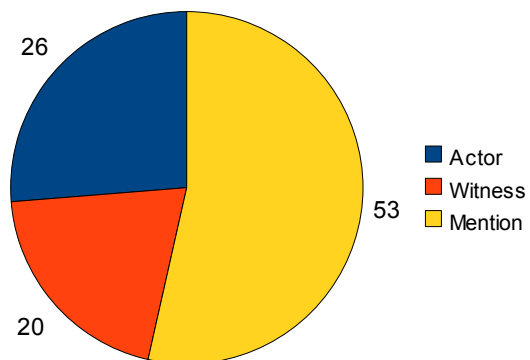


Witnessed: 62 / 138 : 45%

Actor: 33 / 138: 24%

Mentioned: 43 / 138: 32%

### 2.2 Adeliza of Louvain



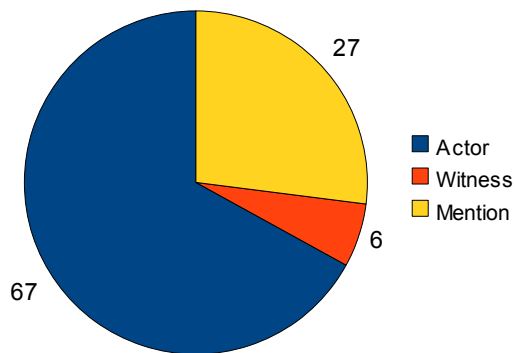
Witnessed: 13 / 65 : 20%

Actor: 17 / 65: 26%

(of which as a widow: at least 14 of 17)

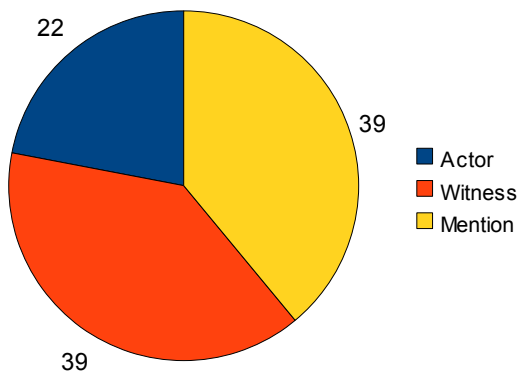
Mentioned: 35 / 65: 53%

### 2.3 Empress Matilda



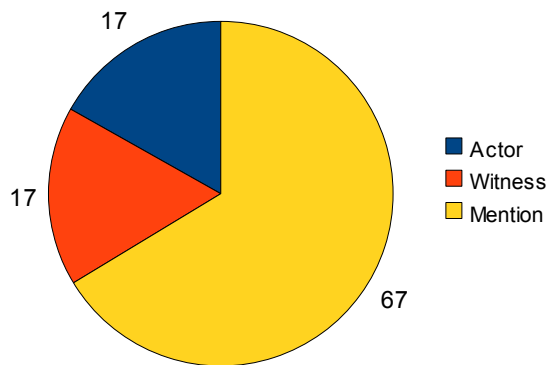
Witnessed: 10 / 165 : 6%  
Actor: 111 / 165: 67%  
Mentioned: 44 / 165: 27%

### 2.4 Matilda of Boulogne



Witnessed: 58 / 147 : 39%  
Actor: 32 / 147: 22%  
Mentioned: 57 / 147: 39%

## 2.5 Eleanor of Aquitaine



Witnessed: 3 / 18 : 17%

Actor: 3 / 18 : 17%

Mentioned: 12 / 18: 67%

### 3 Charters issued by the queens

#### 3.1 Matilda of Scotland

Date	Beneficiary	Source	Notes
1103-04	Sts Martin of Marmoutier & Mary of Mortain, for foundation of Winghall Priory	<i>Regesta II</i> , §680.	Co-actor with Henry I
1100-01, April 21?	Canons of Waltham	<i>Regesta II</i> , §526	
1101, Sept. - 1102, Feb.	Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon	<i>Regesta II</i> , §565.	
1101, Sept. - 1102, Feb.	Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon	<i>Regesta II</i> , §567.	
1108, c.	Holy Cross, Waltham	<i>Regesta II</i> , §902.	
1108, c.	Holy Trinity, London	<i>Regesta II</i> , §909.	
1116-18	Malger the monk	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1198.	
1101, July 31	Robert Bp. Of Lincoln	<i>Regesta II</i> , §535.	confirmed by Henry in §536
1106, Feb.?	Robert, Bp. of Lincoln	<i>Regesta II</i> , §743.	confirmed by Henry in §744
1102?	St. Alban, St. Oswin, and Abbot Richard	<i>Regesta II</i> , §624.	confirmed by Henry in §641
1108-10	St. Aldhelm	<i>Regesta II</i> , §971.	
1107-16, April	St. Cuthbert	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1143.	
1115?	St. Cuthbert, Durham	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1108.	confirmed by Henry in §1009
1107-08, May	St. German of Selby	<i>Regesta II</i> , §887.	
1104, after August 15?	St. Mary of Abingdon	<i>Regesta II</i> , §674.	
1101-18	St. Mary, Salisbury	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1199.	
1103, Jan.?	St. Mary's, Tavastock	<i>Regesta II</i> , §632.	
1102	St. Mary's, York	<i>Regesta II</i> , §571.	
1116-17	St. Peter, Westminster	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1180.	
1104-07, Easter	St. Peter, York	<i>Regesta II</i> , §808.	
1104?	St. Peters, York	<i>Regesta II</i> , §675.	confirmed by Henry, in §676
1108	Christ Church within the walls of London	<i>Regesta II</i> , §906.	
1111, Sept. 30?	Abbot Faritius of Abingdon	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1000.	Acting as justiciar
1111, Sept. 30?	Ranulf Bp of Durham	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1001.	Acting as justiciar
1116 – 1118	Malger the monk	<i>Luffield cart.</i> , §4.	same as RRAN 2, §1198
1101 Sept 3	Norwich Cathedral Priory	<i>EEA Norwich</i> , §12.	“ego Matildis regina concessi, confirmavi et cruce signavi...”
1107 – 1113, probably 1111 – 1113	St. Peter of Eye	<i>Eye Priory cart.</i> , §26.	“carta M Anglie regine”
1100 Nov – 1101 April	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §5.	also: regesta ii, §526
1108 April 5 (about)	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §6.	also: regesta ii, §909
1108 July 26 (after?)	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §7.	
1108 July – 1118 April	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §10.	
1115 – 1118 April	Monks of Durham	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §11.	also regesta ii, §1108
1108 Sept 13 – 1115	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §15.	also: regesta ii, §1090

### 3.2 Adeliza of Louvain

Date	Beneficiary	Source	Notes
1121-1135	Waltham canons, Holy Cross	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1986.	
1147 – 1150	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §268.	
1136 Dec 1	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §730.	confirmed by William d'Aubigny in §371
1136 Dec 1, <i>c.</i>	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §459.	
1136 Dec 1, <i>c.</i>	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §534.	
1139 Dec – 1141	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §535.	
1139 Dec – 1144 ?	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §536.	
1136 – 1144	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §536a.	
1139 – 1151	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §538.	
1147 Feb 2	Holy Trinity, Chichester	<i>Chichester cart.</i> , §95.	
1150	Chichester, church of	<i>Chichester cart.</i> , §295.	Co-issued: “We, William and Adeliza his wife”
1147 – 1151	Chichester, church of	<i>Chichester cart.</i> , §298.	Co-issued: “I and my wife”
1140 – 1151, <i>c.</i>	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. II</i> , §658.	Co-issued: William d'Aubigny
1121 Jan 30 – 1135 Dec 1	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §16.	
probably 1135 dec 1 – 1139 sept	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §17.	
probably 1135 dec 1 – 1139 sept	Waltham canons	<i>Waltham cart.</i> , §18.	
1140, <i>c.</i>	St. Pancras of Lewes	<i>Pancras cart.</i> , §43.	

### 3.3 Empress Matilda

Date	Beneficiary	Source	Notes
1126-35	Robert Loricarius	<i>Regesta III</i> , §567.	
1126-35	Abbey of Tiron	<i>Regesta III</i> , §898.	
1129,	St. Mary of Fontevrault and its nuns	<i>Regesta II</i> , §1581	
1133-39	Abbey of St. Nicholas	<i>Regesta III</i> , §20.	
1135-39	Savigny Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §805.	
1139, ~30 Sept	Miles, Earl of Gloucester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §391.	
1139, 4 Dec. - 25 July 1141	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §698.	
1139, c.	Tinterm Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §419.	
1141 April – Dec 1142	Godstow Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §369.	
1141 c.	Queen Adeliza	<i>Regesta III</i> , §918.	
1141 c. April	Shrewsbury Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §820.	
1141 c. April?	Shrewsbury Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §821.	
1141 c.?	William fitz Robert fitz Walter fitz Other	<i>Regesta III</i> , §959.	
1141 July	Fontevrault Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §328.	
1141 July	Abbey of Tiron	<i>Regesta III</i> , §899.	
1141 march 3 – april 8	Thurstan the clerk	<i>Regesta III</i> , §897.	
1141 March 3 or soon after	Glastonbury Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §343.	
1141 May – June 1142	church of Combe (Oxon.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §296.	
1141 Midsummer	Roger de Valognes	<i>Regesta III</i> , §911.	
1141 Nov. – 1142 Summer	Ralph fitz Picard	<i>Regesta III</i> , §316a.	
1141-42	Cirencester Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §190.	
1141-42	Eynsham	<i>Regesta III</i> , §295.	
1141-42	Oseney Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §630.	
1141-42?, c.	Abbey of St. Peter of Dorchester (Oxon.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §254.	
1141-43	Haughmond Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §378.	
1141-45	Missenden Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §587.	
1141-47	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §702.	
1141-47	Salisbury Cathedral and See	<i>Regesta III</i> , §792.	
1141-47	Salisbury Cathedral and See	<i>Regesta III</i> , §793.	
1141-48	Stoneleigh Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §839.	
1141,	Priory of St. Frideswide in Oxford	<i>Regesta III</i> , §644.	
1141, April – July 1142	St. Frideswide	<i>Regesta III</i> , §645.	
1141, April – Nov. 1142	Oseney Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §631.	
1141, April – Sept.	Priory of St. Frideswide	<i>Regesta III</i> , §646.	
1141, April – Sept.	Priory of St. Frideswide	<i>Regesta III</i> , §648.	
1141, April – Sept.	Devizes	<i>Regesta III</i> , §253.	

## Empress Matilda, continued, page 2 of 3

1141, April – Sept. 1142	Priory of St. Frideswide	<i>Regesta III</i> , §647.	
1141, April 8 - July 25	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §700.	
1141, April 8 - July 25	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §701.	
1141, c.	Ilbert de Lacy	<i>Regesta III</i> , §429.	
1141, c. 30 March	monks of Luffield Priory and their property	<i>Regesta III</i> , §571.	
1141, c. 30 March	canons of Oseney Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §628.	
1141, c. June	Miles, Earl of Gloucester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §392.	
1141, c. May-June	Llanthony Priory	<i>Regesta III</i> , §497.	
1141, Feb 2 – April 7	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §697.	
1141, Feb 2 – July 25	Godstow Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §368.	
1141, Feb 2 – July 25	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §699.	
1141, Feb-June	(?)St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §529.	
1141, July 25	Miles, Earl of Gloucester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §393.	
1141, July 25 - Aug 1	Worcester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §68.	
1141, July 25 – 1142 Dec.	Miles, Earl of Gloucester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §394.	
1141, July 25 – 1142 Dec.	Priory of St. Martin des Champs at Paris	<i>Regesta III</i> , §651.	
1141, July 25 – Sept. 15	Abbey of Bordesley	<i>Regesta III</i> , §115.	
1141, July 25-31	Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex	<i>Regesta III</i> , §275.	
1141, July 25-31	Aubrey de Vere	<i>Regesta III</i> , §634.	
1141, June-July	Haughmond Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §377.	
1141, June-July	Oseney Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §629.	
1141, March 2-3	Thurstin de Montfort	<i>Regesta III</i> , §597.	
1141, March 3-25	St. Benet's Abbey at Holme	<i>Regesta III</i> , §400.	
1141, March-April	Templars	<i>Regesta III</i> , §854.	
1141, May 5-7	William Maunduit	<i>Regesta III</i> , §581.	
1141, Midsummer	Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex	<i>Regesta III</i> , §274.	
1141, Midsummer	William fitz Otho	<i>Regesta III</i> , §316.	
1141, probably	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §518.	
1141, Summer	Salisbury Cathedral and See	<i>Regesta III</i> , §791.	
1142-48	Oseney Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §632.	
1142, July 25 – June 24	Bordesley Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §116.	
1143,	Godstow Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §370.	
1143,	Godstow Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §371.	
1144-47, probably 1144	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §703.	
1144,	Geoffrey Ridel, son of Richard Basset	<i>Regesta III</i> , §43.	
1144,	Humphrey de Bohun	<i>Regesta III</i> , §111.	
1144, Aug. – 1147, Oct.	Geoffrey de Mandeville the younger	<i>Regesta III</i> , §277.	



## Empress Matilda, continued, page 3 of 3

1144, c.	Godstow Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §372.	
1148 June 10	Bishop Jocelin and the church of Salisbury	<i>Regesta III</i> , §794.	
1148-51	Abbey of St. Mary 'de Voto', Cherbourg	<i>Regesta III</i> , §168.	
1148-51, probably June 1148	Lilleshall Abbey and its possessions	<i>Regesta III</i> , §461.	
1148-57	Abbey of St. Mary de Silly	<i>Regesta III</i> , §824.	
1150-51	church of St. Nicholas at Wallingford (Berks.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §88.	
1150-51	Stanley Abbey (Drownfont)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §836.	
1150-Sept. 1151	vicomté of Rouen	<i>Regesta III</i> , §71.	
1151-53	Abbey of S. André-en-Gouffern	<i>Regesta III</i> , §748.	
1151-67	Abbey of Bondeville	<i>Regesta III</i> , §112.	
1151-67	Hospitallers	<i>Regesta III</i> , §409.	
1151, Sept. – 1153, Jan.	vicomté of Rouen	<i>Regesta III</i> , §72.	
1152-60	Abbey of St. Mary de Silly	<i>Regesta III</i> , §826.	
1152-67	Abbey of St. George at Boscherville	<i>Regesta III</i> , §116a.	
1154-59	Abbey of La Valasse	<i>Regesta III</i> , §909.	
1154/63, before?	Lannoy Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §432.	
1155,	Foucarmont Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §334.	
1158-64, probably c. 1158	Abbey of St. Mary de Silly	<i>Regesta III</i> , §825.	
1159-60	Reading Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §711.	
1164-67	Abbey of La Valasse	<i>Regesta III</i> , §910.	
1166-67	Abbey of La Noë	<i>Regesta III</i> , §607.	
??	Abbey of Bondeville	<i>Regesta III</i> , §113.	spurious
1141 feb 2 – july 25	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §17.	
1144 – 1147	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §267.	
1141 April 8 – July 25	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §325.	
1159 – 1160	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §331.	also <i>Regesta III</i> , §711
1141 Feb 2 – 7 April	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §537.	
1141 Feb – April	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §654.	also <i>Regesta III</i> , §700
1144 – 1147	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. II</i> , §667.	also <i>Regesta III</i> , §703
1141	Luffield, monks of	<i>Luffield cart.</i> , §3.	
1141 – 1147	Missenden	<i>Missenden</i> , §63.	
1139 Dec 4 – 1141 April 7	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. II</i> , §1108.	
1141	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Ancient charters</i> , §25.	
1141 July – 1142 December	Miles, Earl of Hereford	<i>Ancient charters</i> , §26.	
1144	Humphrey de Bohun	<i>Ancient charters</i> , §27.	
1141 June-July	Haughmond Abbey	<i>Haughmond cart.</i> , §1250.	
1142 (late) – 1146	Shrewsbury abbey	<i>Shrewsbury cart.</i> , §40.	
1144 c.	Shrewsbury abbey	<i>Shrewsbury cart.</i> , §50.	

### 3.4 Matilda of Boulogne

Date	Beneficiary	Source	Notes
1141 Feb 9	Abbey of Arrouaise	<i>Regesta III</i> , §24.	
1142 June 23	Abbey of Arrouaise	<i>Regesta III</i> , §26.	
1139-46	Abbey of Bec	<i>Regesta III</i> , §76.	
1143-52	Canterbury Cath. and See	<i>Regesta III</i> , §149.	
1135-52, possibly 1151	Canterbury Cath. and See	<i>Regesta III</i> , §157.	
1142,	Clairmaraise Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §195.	
1142-47 c.	Clairmaraise Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §196.	
1143-47	Clairmaraise Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §198.	
1139-41	Coggeshall Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §207.	
1148 Dec – 1152 May	St. John's Abbey, Colchester	<i>Regesta III</i> , §221.	
1136-47	Gervase de Cornhill	<i>Regesta III</i> , §243.	
1148-52	Faversham Abbey	<i>Regesta III</i> , §301.	
1147-1152	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §503.	
1139-46	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §509.	
1147 april – 1148 april	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §512.	
1147 april – 1148 april	Holy Trinity Priory, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §513.	
1141, after 24 June??	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §530.	
1145-47	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §539.	
1145-47	Witham (Ess.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §541.	
1147-52	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §548.	
1143-47	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §550.	
1145-47	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §553.	
1139-47?	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §556.	
1143-47	St. Martin le Grand, London	<i>Regesta III</i> , §557.	
1137 mar 22 – april 10	Templars	<i>Regesta III</i> , §843.	
1147-48	Templars	<i>Regesta III</i> , §845.	
1138 Oct. - 1139 Sept.	Templars	<i>Regesta III</i> , §850.	
1135-52	Canons of Waltham	<i>Regesta III</i> , §917.	
1135 – May 1152	St. John's Colchester (Ess.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §239b.	
1135 – May 1152	St. John's Colchester (Ess.)	<i>Regesta III</i> , §239d.	
1137 March 14 – April 10	Templars	<i>Templars</i> , §2.	witnessed by her chamberlain & chancellor
1146 Dec – 1148/49 Jan	Templars	<i>Templars</i> , §5.	

### 3.5 Eleanor of Aquitaine

Date	Beneficiary	Source	Notes
1156 Jan – 1157 April	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §466.	as regent
1156 Jan – 1157 April	Reading Abbey	<i>Reading cart. I</i> , §467.	as regent
1189 – 1193	Thomas de Cycestr	<i>Chichester cart.</i> , §126.	

#### 4 Dower lands held by queens-consort, in England<sup>285</sup>

Matilda of Scotland	Adeliza of Louvain	Matilda of Boulogne	Eleanor of Aquitaine
Waltham (Essex) <sup>a), c), d), f.)</sup>	Waltham <sup>a), c), d.)</sup>	Waltham <sup>a), c.)</sup>	Waltham <sup>a), c.), e.)</sup> [p. 129]
Area around Aldgate (west London) <sup>a), c.)</sup>		Area around Aldgate <sup>c.)</sup>	
Nunnery of Romsey <sup>c.)</sup>			
Nunnery of Wilton <sup>c.)</sup>	Nunnery of Wilton <sup>c.)</sup>		Nunnery of Wilton <sup>c.)</sup>
Malmesbury Abbey <sup>c.)</sup>			
Barking Abbey <sup>c), d.)</sup>	Barking Abbey <sup>c), d.)</sup>	Barking Abbey <sup>c.)</sup>	
Queenhithe (port in south-east London) <sup>a), c), d.)</sup>	Queenhithe <sup>c), d.)</sup>	Queenhithe <sup>c.)</sup>	Queenhithe <sup>c), e.)</sup> [p. 165]
City of Exeter <sup>a), c.)</sup>			City of Exeter <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 261]
Lifton Hundred <sup>286 c.)</sup>			Lifton Hundred <sup>c),</sup>
Properties in Rutland <sup>c.)</sup>			
	Arundel <sup>b)</sup>		Arundel <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 261]
	Co. Shropshire <sup>a.)</sup>		
			Tickhill <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 165]
			Berkhamstead, (Herts.) <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 165]
			Northampton <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 261]
	City of Chichester <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 261]		City of Chichester <sup>e.)</sup> [p. 261]
	Aston manor (Herts.) <sup>a.)</sup>		
Nettleham manor (Lincolns.) <sup>c),</sup>			

285 This table includes all properties which I have found assigned to the queens. Where I am unsure about whether a queen held specific lands, I have left the area blank.

The Empress Matilda is not listed here as this table is not applicable to her, given that she would have inherited England as a whole rather than have received the 'queen's demesne'.

Sources:

a.) Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin kings*, p. 42.

b.) Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154*, p. 137.

c.) Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a study in medieval queenship*, pp 63-72.

d.) Huneycutt, 'Adeliza (c. 1103-1151)'.

e.) Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England*, pp 129, 165, and 261.

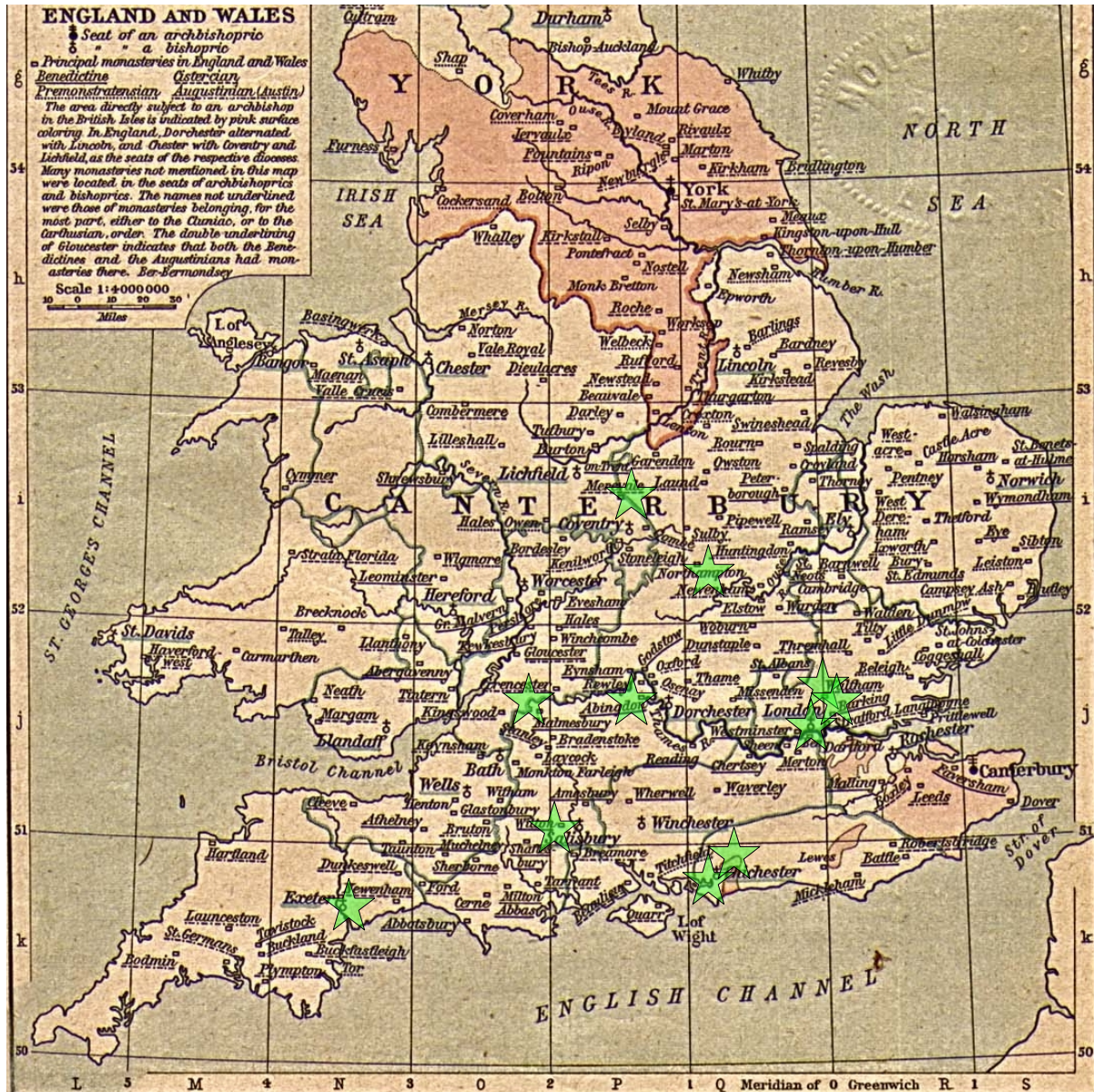
f.) *Regesta II*, §525.

286 Hundred refers here to the administrative division of a county, comprised of several villages, generally surrounding a town. Lifton Hundred is in the county of Devon.



## 5 Ecclesiastical map of the British Isles in the Middle Ages

### 5.1 Known dower lands marked where possible<sup>287</sup>

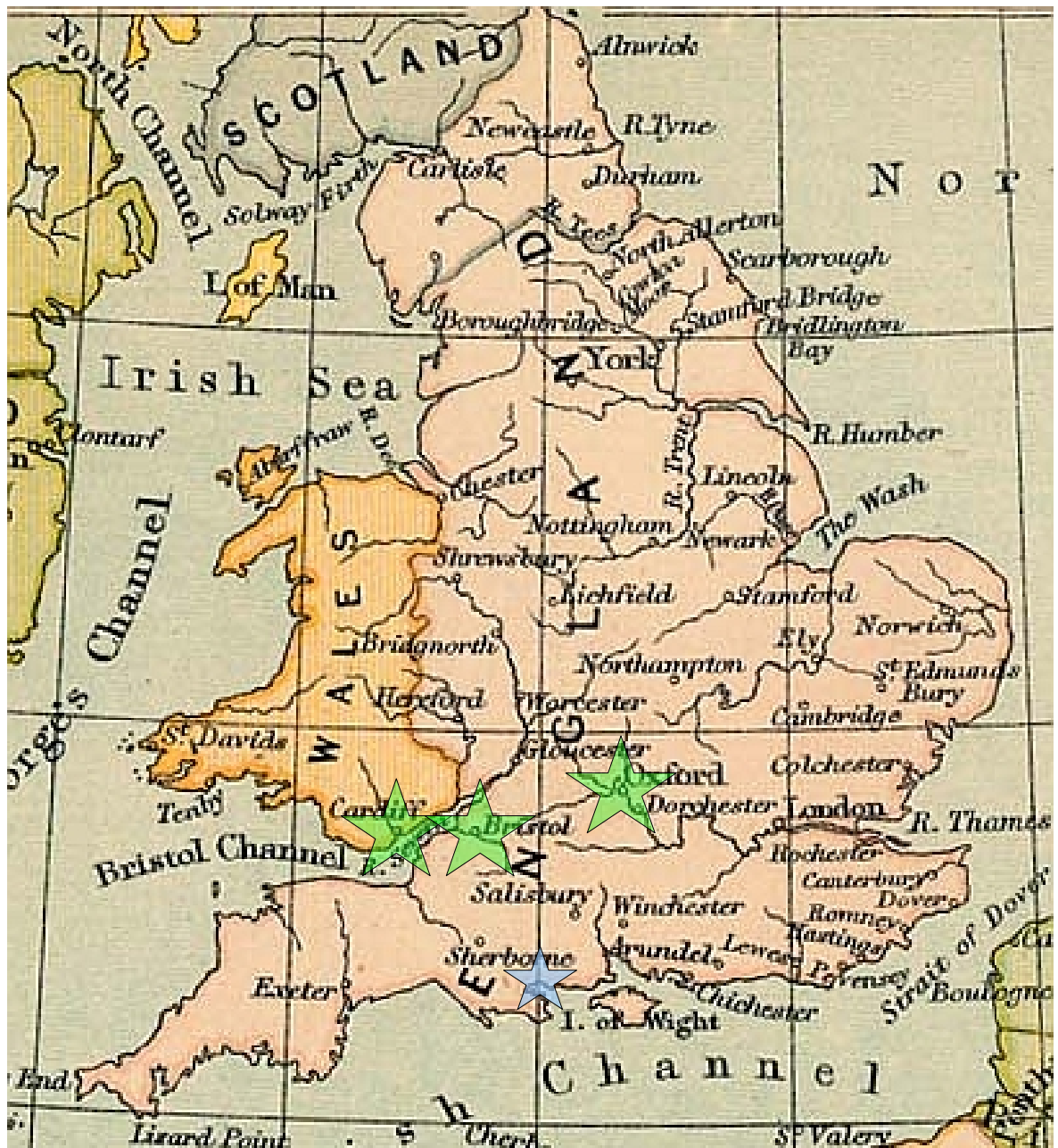


<sup>287</sup> Source of map, cropped from:

[www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepard/ecclesiastical\\_brit\\_isles.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepard/ecclesiastical_brit_isles.jpg)

## 6 Coinage

### 6.1 Map of Empress Matilda's coin minting locations<sup>288</sup>



<sup>288</sup> Map source, cropped from:

[http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/colbeck/england\\_france\\_henry\\_i.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/colbeck/england_france_henry_i.jpg)



## 6.2 Empress Matilda's coins<sup>289</sup>



Left: Empress Matilda coin, Cardiff mint, front



Right: Empress Matilda coin, Cardiff mint, reverse



Left: Empress Matilda coin, Oxford mint, front



Right: Empress Matilda coin, Oxford mint, reverse

<sup>289</sup> Source of coin images:

[http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/normans/chapters/Normans\\_3\\_4.htm#c42](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/normans/chapters/Normans_3_4.htm#c42)

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