


The Dowers of the Angevin Queens: A Comparative Study

Gabrielle Storey

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ENG Abstract: This article is a comparative study of the dower lands of the Angevin queens of England (1154–1216) Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, and Isabella of Angoulême. It outlines the background of the queenly demesne in the twelfth century and the lands granted to the three queens. It also discusses their access to these lands and how their power and exercise thereof was hindered by a lack of financial revenues, examining each queen as a case study. It then concludes with an overall summary of the importance of comparative studies in opening up new understandings of queenly power and authority in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within the context of the conflict and political upheaval in the Angevin Union at the end of the twelfth century, it is evident that conquest as much as competition played a defining role in the access of the queens of England to lands.

Keywords: Queenship, Angevins, Plantagenets, Dower, Resources, Finances.

ES Las dotes de las reinas angevinas: un estudio comparativo

Resumen: Este artículo es un estudio comparativo de las tierras dotalas de las reinas angevinas de Inglaterra (1154–1216) Leonor de Aquitania, Berenguela de Navarra e Isabel de Angulema. Se describen los antecedentes de la heredad real en el siglo XII y las tierras concedidas a las tres reinas. También se analiza su acceso a estas tierras y cómo su poder y ejercicio del mismo se vieron obstaculizados por la falta de ingresos financieros, examinando a cada reina como estudio de caso. A continuación, se concluye con un resumen general de la importancia de los estudios comparativos para abrir nuevos entendimientos del poder y la autoridad real en los siglos XII y XIII. En el contexto del conflicto y la agitación política en la Unión Angevina a finales del siglo XII, es evidente que la conquista, tanto como la competencia, desempeñaron un papel determinante en el acceso de una reina a las tierras.

Palabras clave: Reinado, angevinos, Plantagenet, dote, recursos, finanzas.

Summary: 1. Introduction. 2. Queenly demesne. 3. The dower lands of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her longevity. 4. Berengaria of Navarre: granted but not gained. 5. The complexities of three queens: Isabella of Angoulême. 6. Changing Lands and Competition 7. Conclusion. 8. Appendix. 9. References.

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1. Introduction

The dowers of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century queens of England have received small, but growing attention since the early 2000s. The dower lands and financial revenues of queens were an essential component of not only the office of queenship but also of the queen's ability to effect patronage, create networks, conduct administration, and manage her own household, and access to it was pivotal for the queenly exercise of power. As Storey has argued, this access was affected by the co-ruling partnership each queen held with their partner.¹ However, competition with queenly predecessors and successors as well as the limitations on land available – sometimes due to resources being granted away by the monarchy in order to obtain funds and alliances, sometimes due to conquest of land – also affected a seamless transition of dower bequests. Access to financial revenues was an important part of queenly authority, and clear links can be deduced between queenly income and the extent of royal women's power and ability to make decisions regarding patronage and network building.² Queenly income did not come only from dower, but also from queen's gold, which emerged more regularly as a source of revenue during the twelfth-century, as well as from sporadic grants of money, gifts, and wardships from the king.

More broadly, work on royal and noble dower in the medieval period and the surrounding revenues have been the subject of much interrogation. The most recent useful overview has been provided by Katia Wright, however other studies have been undertaken by Marc A. Meyer, Lois L. Huneycutt, Regine LeJan, Ana Maria Seabra Almeida de Rodrigues, Lledó Ruiz Domingo, and Elena Woodacre: thus this is a continually expanding field.³ Part of the complexity of examining dower prior to the thirteenth century is because of the transition in meaning that takes place

in this period: for the women in this study – Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1124-1204), Berengaria of Navarre (c. 1165-1230), and Isabella of Angoulême (c. 1188-1246) – dower was granted for usage in their own lifetime and therefore included usage as consorts as well as for their subsistence in widowhood. Queens typically expected access to the dower upon its granting in the context of this study. However, as this article will show, this was not always the case. By the time of Eleanor of Provence (c. 1223-91), queen of Henry III (r. 1216-72) and Isabella's daughter-in-law, dower took upon a different meaning with an ever-increasing terminology. Dower could be granted for a queen's lifetime (the case for the Angevin queens here), «during pleasure», that is temporarily, and «in dower».⁴ Dower was granted to all medieval queens from the eleventh century onwards, and had its precedents in the early medieval period in England, but a grant did not necessarily mean access, or that the customs, dues, wardships, lands, and gold that a predecessor had would be granted to their successor with the same rights and access.⁵

As Wright has noted, the granting of queenly dower was rather sporadic after 1200, and «predominantly based on availability of property», and not always «at the church door» or at the time of the wedding as was the custom for noble and lower class wives.⁶ Access to dower as a consort thus was not always a given: some queens struggled to gain access to their allotted lands whilst consort even if they theoretically held them at that moment in time, as was the case for Berengaria of Navarre and Isabella of Angoulême. Some of their later thirteenth-century successors such as Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile were assigned lands as consort but faced similar issues: Eleanor of Provence only received her lands as a dowager queen, and Eleanor of Castile not at all.⁷ With such variability, tracking the history of medieval queenly dower tells us much about the wider political and societal pressures of the time, as well as the personal relationships of the king with royal women who were owed dower.

This article explores the dower of the Angevin queens: that is, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, and Isabella of Angoulême, wives of Henry II (r. 1152-89), Richard I (r. 1189-99), and John (r. 1199-1216), kings of England, respectively. It does so to provide a comparative overview of the lands the three women possessed as dower and the complications that arose in their attempts to possess and administrate the lands. Outside of this study, individual analyses of the dower lands these three women possessed have been undertaken, with reference to

¹ Gabrielle Storey, «Co-Rulership, Co-operation, and Competition: Queenship in the Emerging Angevin Domains, 1135-1230» (University of Winchester, PhD Thesis, 2020), ch. 6.

² Amalie Föbel, «The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages» *Maiestas* 13 (2005): 23-45; Attila Bărâny, «Medieval Queens and Queenship: A Retrospective on Income and Power» *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 19 (2013): 149-200.

³ Marc Anthony Meyer, «The Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England» in *The Culture of Christendom: essays in medieval history in commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. Marc A. Meyer (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), 105-13; Lois L. Huneycutt, «Alianora Regina Anglorum: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Anglo-Norman Predecessors as Queens of England» in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115-132; Regine LeJan, «Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en France et en Germanie (Vie et Xe siècle)» in *Dots et Douaires dans le Haut Moyen Âge*, eds. François Bougard, Laurent Feller, and Regine Le Jan (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2002), 457-497; Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, «For the honor of her lineage and body: the dowers and dowries of some late medieval queens of Portugal» *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1-13; Lledó Ruiz Domingo, *El Tesoro de la Reina: recursos i gestió econòmica de les reines consorts a la Corona d'Aragó (segles XIV-XV)* (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2022); Elena Woodacre, «Preserving the queen's resources, pressing ancient privileges: Joan of Navarre and the management of forest and park lands» in *Queenship and Natural Resource Management in Premodern Europe, 1400-1800*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Clare Davidson (London: Routledge, 2025).

⁴ Katia Wright, «A Dower for Life: Understanding the Dowers of England's Medieval Queens» in *Later Plantagenet and the Wars of the Roses Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*, eds. Aidan Norrie, Carolyn Harris, J. L. Laynesmith, Danna R. Messer, and Elena Woodacre (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 146.

⁵ Meyer, «The Queen's "Demesne"» 75-113.

⁶ Wright, «A Dower for Life» 147.

⁷ Wright, «A Dower for Life» 149; Margaret Howell, «The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort» *English Historical Review* 102, no. 403 (1987): 380-384; John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), 122.

their predecessors or successors. However, a fuller list of the lands and examination has not been made available more publicly outside of Storey's thesis and recent monograph on Berengaria of Navarre. The below discussion takes a case study approach, after outlining the foundations of the queenly demesne in the twelfth century. It demonstrates how the changing nature of the dower and competition between mothers and daughters-in-law – an effect evident across several dynasties – impacted royal women's access to revenues and power, and therefore how competition disrupted the abilities of Eleanor, Berengaria, and Isabella to exercise power over these lands. Finally, it will draw together this analysis with a discussion of the importance of comparative studies to better understand royal women's access to revenues, including dower lands, and the associated exercise of royal power.

Establishing the pattern of dower in the twelfth century is also complicated by the transition from Adeliza of Louvain (c. 1103-51), second wife to Henry I of England (r. 1100-35), to a new dynasty under her nephew, King Stephen (r. 1135-54), who then allotted new lands to his wife, Matilda of Boulogne (c. 1105-52). The presence of Empress Matilda, heir to the throne, and her exercise of power during the civil war of the 1130s and 1140s, also impacted the available dower to grant to Matilda of Boulogne. As Heather Tanner has shown, Matilda of Boulogne's extensive inheritance combined with the civil war meant that Adeliza of Louvain was allowed to hold onto her dower to ensure her loyalty to Stephen during Matilda of Boulogne's reign.⁸ Matilda of Boulogne certainly had access to the land associated with the abbeys of Barking, Waltham, and Queenhithe.⁹ Adeliza died in March/April 1151, and Matilda of Boulogne in May 1152. With their deaths it is likely that the associated dower lands of both women were reabsorbed into the Crown's estates, and as will be discussed below, some were later to be allotted to their queenly successor in the form of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

2. Queenly Demesne

What constituted the «queenly demesne», that is, the landed estate of the queens of England, has been complex to pinpoint. Much attention has been paid to that of the larger royal demesne, which has often focused more simply on all the land in England which the king held in his own hand, not held of the king by someone else.¹⁰ Meyer's study was focused on the queenly demesne – part of a wider royal demesne, and in itself significantly separate as the lands were held by the queen and thus not directly in the «hand of the king» – in the latter half of the early English period. Similarities can be drawn across the tenth to thirteenth centuries with regards to the fact that queens

struggled to continually access their lands both as consort and as dowager, where the allotment was for life. In post-Conquest England, Matilda of Flanders had estates valued approximately £600.¹¹ As is often a vexing issue, William I (r. 1066-86) needed to endow his wife whilst still maintaining some provision for Ealdgyth (fl. 1057-66), the second wife of William's predecessor Harold Godwinson (r. January-October 1066). However, the composition of Matilda's lands differed significantly from that of Ealdgyth's and many of her royal predecessors. Matilda's daughter-in-law, Matilda of Scotland (1080-1118), received several of the same lands, which in turn were granted to Adeliza of Louvain, Henry I's second wife, after Matilda died. Adeliza also received an enhancement in allotted land.¹² Adeliza's survival well into the reign of Stephen's wife, Matilda of Boulogne, certainly caused contradictory charters to be issued by both women who believed they had the ultimate prerogative over certain areas of lands, such as Barking and Waltham Abbey, which had belonged to Matilda of Scotland.¹³

Discontinuity regarding the value and allocation of properties seemed to be the mainstay of the late eleventh and early twelfth century holdings of English queens. In this period, although some properties, or at least properties within the same region i.e. London, continued to be granted from one queen to the next, this was not often the case. However, we know that the most aptly named of royal dower lands – Queenhithe, translated as Queen's Quay or Dock, on the banks of the River Thames – was thus named after it was granted to Matilda of Scotland (wife of Henry I), from the previous name of Aedershyð, later called Ethelred's Hythe. From this point onwards Queenhithe was part of the general queenly demesne in the medieval period. It had previously featured in the estates of several early English queens. Territories granted around Winchester and in London were also commonplace, even more so in the latter case as the kingdom's capital transitioned to London.

The union of Normandy with England after the 1066 conquest opened up the possibilities of lands which could form part of the queenly demesne: although as queen of England one may assume that her land would come from the royal, that is, English, lands, the reality was that male monarchs often found a need to draw upon their ducal and comital possessions to provide for their family or to generate land for alliances with the nobility. By the time of Eleanor of Aquitaine, her dower possessions came from a variety of regions. As explored below, Capetian conquest significantly limited the territories that could be possessed by Berengaria of Navarre and Isabella of Angoulême. For all three women, lands were granted from territories in what now constitutes modern-day France, namely Anjou, Normandy, Poitou, and Touraine (though technically in Eleanor's possession as countess of Poitou), as well as properties from the medieval English counties of Devonshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland,

⁸ Meyer, «Queenly Demesne»; Lois L. Huneycutt, «"Another Esther in our times": Matilda II and the formation of a queenly ideal in Anglo-Norman England» (University of California, Santa Barbara, PhD Thesis, 1992), ch.2, quoted in Heather Tanner, «Queenship: Office, Custom, or Ad Hoc? The Case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)» in Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 136.

⁹ Tanner, «Queenship» 136.

¹⁰ Meyer, «Queenly Demesne» 75.

¹¹ Meyer, «Queen's Demesne» 82.

¹² Huneycutt, «Alianora» 126.

¹³ Huneycutt, «Another Esther» ch. 3.

Somerset, Sussex, and Wiltshire.¹⁴ The granting of Poitevin lands to Berengaria and Isabella whilst they were part of Eleanor's inherited landholdings, not part of the royal demesne, demonstrates how far the Angevin kings extended their remit when considering where to grant lands from for the queen's dower, viewing Aquitaine and Poitou as part of their royal landholdings, and not solely Eleanor's ducal or comital possessions.

3. The dower lands of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her longevity

The transition of lands from Matilda of Boulogne, queen of England and wife of Stephen, to Eleanor of Aquitaine was somewhat simplified by the virtue of Matilda's death on 3 May 1152, before Henry and Eleanor became king and queen of England. Though the territories were typically reabsorbed into the royal demesne, and the queenly demesne was not yet stabilised in the twelfth century, the possession of lands by Matilda allows us some insight into the holdings of royal women in England. Eleanor's need for land not only as a queen, but also as a ruler of a new duchy and counties, meant that her dower lands – apportioned to a wife, not only a queen – came from across the Angevin realms, not solely England and Normandy.

With Eleanor's extensive holdings as duchess of Aquitaine and countess of Poitou, Henry II may have well thought the same as Stephen, whose wife was also a significant heiress, and not seen the need to allot his wife an extensive dower from the royal demesne. The information regarding Eleanor's dower comes from the copy of her daughter-in-law Berengaria's, granted in 1191. Charters from Eleanor's reign and beyond contribute to our wider knowledge of the lands she was most active in, including Queenhithe, but also other properties with royal associations in England. One of the most significant effects of a dower grant was that it allowed queens to conduct patronage both of the nobility and other potential allies, but also in the form of religious patronage. Eleanor was particularly benevolent in this area.¹⁵ We know of her cross-Channel connections with regards to religious patronage, patronising institutions outside of her native Aquitaine including Fontevraud Abbey, where she would later be buried. Eleanor's patronage extended also to other religious houses in England such as Waltham Abbey, Reading Abbey, and Malmesbury Abbey, to name a few.¹⁶

Ivan Cloulas, writing on the dower of Berengaria, argued the dower lands in England which were assigned

to Berengaria were the same as those apportioned to Eleanor, and consisted of lands from Berkshire, Devonshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, London, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Somerset, Southampton, Sussex, and Wiltshire.¹⁷ The basis for this argument is a copy of Berengaria's dower charter which was granted on 12 May 1191, the day of Berengaria and Richard's wedding.¹⁸ The charter listed the Norman lands as Domfront, Falaise, and Bonneville-sur-Tocques, in addition to lands in Maine, Poitou, and Touraine. Though far more charters survive for Eleanor than Berengaria or Isabella, there is little surviving evidence which completely records Eleanor's revenues from each land, her involvement in the governance and administration of these lands, and which revenues were spent where, particularly as consort. For the first two decades of her marriage to Henry II, preceding the 1173-4 rebellion which led to her imprisonment, Henry and Eleanor had a successful co-ruling partnership. There was also no competition from other queens, and no direct threat of conquest in the Angevin Union. There was thus little reason for Eleanor to be restricted from administering and operating within her dower lands whilst consort and in the early years of her widowhood (1189-91).

What is clear is that Eleanor continued to be involved with and collect the revenues from the queenly demesne from Henry II's death on 6 July 1189 until her death on 1 April 1204. There is little evidence for Berengaria or Isabella administering the lands prior to Eleanor's death, although both Berengaria and Isabella received dower grants stating that they would receive the dower lands after Eleanor's death, with Berengaria receiving an interim arrangement of other lands. Eleanor's holding of the dower lands after Richard and Berengaria's marriage indicates that she held the lands from at least 1191 onwards, and most likely prior to this date as well.¹⁹

Eleanor was particularly close to her son Richard, but also had a good partnership with her youngest son John, and it is unlikely that they would have removed the dower lands from Eleanor's control without recompense.²⁰ Such recompense ought to have been recorded in the financial accounts of the time, and there is no evidence for this. Records in the Norman Pipe Rolls show Eleanor was paid rents from Domfront, Falaise, and Bonneville-sur-Tocques during Richard's reign, which was all the more

¹⁴ See appendix for full list. The boundaries of all named counties in what we would now call England and France are listed according to their boundaries in the twelfth century.

¹⁵ For a fuller exploration of Eleanor's patronage, see Nicholas Vincent, «Patronage, Politics and Piety in the Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine» in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages*, eds. Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 56-60.

¹⁶ Rosalind Ransford, ed., *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex 1062-1230* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), nos. 36, 297-298; B. R. Kemp, ed., *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 2 vols. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986-7), i, nos. 466-467; J. S. Brewer and Charles Trice Martin, eds., *Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey; preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1879-80), i, 335.

¹⁷ Ivan Cloulas, «Le douaire de Bérengère de Navarre, veuve de Richard Cœur de Lion, et sa retraite au Mans» in *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154-1204). Actes du Colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999*, ed. Martin Aurell (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2000), 90-91.

¹⁸ Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum, Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moraliū Amplissima Collectio*, 9 vols. (Paris: 1724-33), accessed 28 August 2024, https://archive.org/veterum_scriptorum, i, cols. 995-997.

¹⁹ Tanner notes Anglo-Norman queens were expected to call upon revenues from their lands, and it is unlikely this would have stopped with Eleanor. Matilda III was not apportioned large quantities of lands from the royal demesne in part to her own inheritance and due to Adeliza of Louvain continuing to hold dower lands. Tanner, «Queenship» 136-138. Eleanor appears to have exercised control over the Malmesbury estates before Henry II's death: *Registrum Malmesburiense*, i, 335.

²⁰ Jane Martindale, «Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Last Years» in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. Stephen D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 146-147.

impressive given the destabilisation of Normandy due to Capetian campaigns in the 1190s.²¹

Eleanor's activities in her homelands of Aquitaine and Poitou are documented through surviving financial records and charters, indicating her continued exercise of power during Richard and John's reigns, and how Eleanor politically intervened on several occasions to preserve her inherited lands to pass to her children whilst retaining power as duchess – it was to her that the barons were loyal and her that they trusted, rather than her husbands or sons. Eleanor's political interventions in her homelands were conducted outside of her power from dower, however she was also able to leverage her combined powers as queen, duchess, countess, and landowner in other territories as a result of her ownership of dower properties. Martindale has shown that Eleanor's granting of dower lands to other nobles as a form of patronage benefitted her sons and maintained loyalties at times of great precarity.²² Eleanor collected her dues from her dower lands, plausibly as consort but definitively as dowager, and continued to work in the interests of her family through grants from both her inherited and dower lands. Whilst power-sharing and resource-sharing with her daughters-in-law may have enabled a female co-ruling triarchy – and indeed Eleanor and her mother-in-law the Empress Matilda worked co-operatively for the betterment of the Plantagenet dynasty – there does not appear to have been any such model after Empress Matilda's death. Eleanor did not share her revenues with her daughters-in-law, and any power-sharing arrangements were informal and undocumented.

4. Berengaria: Granted but not Gained

Berengaria's access to her dower lands were far more restrictive than Eleanor's for a variety of reasons. The notion that Berengaria's lands were partially restricted was argued to be initially due to the need to provide a dowry grant for her future sister-in-law, Leonor, who had married Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, in 1170. The composition of Leonor's dowry grant has been much disputed (not least by historians confusing dower and dowry). Cloulas' argument that Berengaria was granted a temporary dower of the revenues of Gascony, but not its lordship, which was part of Leonor's dowry, has been commonly accepted.²³ The dower charter of 1191 specifies that Berengaria is entitled to all that we have in Gascony during the lifetime of Eleanor but does not specifically exclude the lordship: «...ea omnia quae habemus in Gasconia ultra Guaronam, civitates, castra, villas ut omnia domina nostra, ut ea habeat ut possideat in vita matris nostrae, sicut ea modo tenemus in manu nostra»/ «...all that we have in Gascony beyond Guaron [Guyenne], cities, the forts, and villages, as all our possessions, that she may have them to possess during our mother's life, as we hold them of our own hands.»²⁴

Aside from a reference in the thirteenth-century Castilian chronicle *Crónica Latina de los Reyes Castillos*, no contemporary documentary evidence indicates that Leonor was due to receive Gascony or any of its rights as dowry. The chronicler reported that Gascony was promised to Alfonso by Henry II, which Alfonso believed was his by right.²⁵ Though landed possessions and control of them was incredibly valuable, it is also possible that Henry provided a cash dowry, although there is no evidence from the Pipe Rolls for such an expense. Despite the competing claims to Gascony, no documentation supports Berengaria's administration of the region, or indeed any of the other dower lands that formed part of the queenly demesne, supporting the notion that they remained in Eleanor's hands. Thus, the major obstacle to Berengaria's initial access to her dower grant, given on the same date as her marriage to Richard I on 12 May 1191 in Limassol, Cyprus, was her mother-in-law, Eleanor.

Eleanor as noted above had access to her own lands as duchess of Aquitaine, alongside the queenly dower. However, just because she was not queen consort anymore did not mean that Eleanor was willing to cede any power, territories, or revenues. She remained an active queen dowager, operating as one of Richard's co-rulers and continued this role beyond Richard's death and into John's reign as well. Eleanor's influence was felt across the Angevin realms with her bequests to religious institutions, however she also employed revenues to facilitate noble allegiances which were crucial in Richard and John's reigns in the face of decreasing royal authority due to land loss and poor kingship. Eleanor's continued control of the dower lands alongside Richard and John's unwillingness to properly recompense Berengaria meant she was left with little revenues and thus struggled to exercise genuine power as queen consort or dowager.²⁶

After Richard's death on 6 April 1199, Berengaria petitioned both his successor John and Pope Honorius III for her dower lands and revenues to be granted to her. She had not received any revenues from Gascony whilst consort, and even if there had been a secondary provision for Berengaria to only receive dower after Richard's death this was not immediately forthcoming. This did not have much success. Although the papacy continually showed an interest in supporting Berengaria's cause, both responding to her requests and applying diplomatic pressure to John and Henry III, there were also other political issues to contend with. After five years of little improvement, Berengaria exchanged her Norman dower lands for Le Mans and its lordship with Philip Augustus of France across three charters in August–September 1204.²⁷ The lands Berengaria exchanged

²¹ Thomas Stapleton, ed., *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, 2 vols. (London: London Antiquarian Society, 1840-1844), i, clix, membrane 6; clxiv-xv, membrane 7; ii, lix, membrane 5; xviii-cix, membrane 9.

²² Martindale, «Eleanor of Aquitaine» 137-164.

²³ Cloulas, «Le douaire» 90.

²⁴ *Veterum et Scriptorum*, i, col. 996.

²⁵ Luis Charlo Brea, ed., *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla*. Introducción, texto crítico, traducción, notas e índices de Luis Charlo Brea (Cadiz: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Cadiz, 1984), 20.

²⁶ Gabrielle Storey, *Berengaria of Navarre. Queen of England, Lord of Le Mans* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2024), 45-82.

²⁷ John W. Baldwin, François Gasparri, Michel Nortier and Elisabeth Lalou, eds., *Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers et administratifs. Tome VII. Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, publiés par John W. Baldwin avec le concours de François Gasparri, Michel Nortier et Elisabeth La-

are listed as the castle of Falaise and its appurtenances, the castle of Domfront and its appurtenances, and the castle and town of Bonneville-sur-Tocques and its appurtenances. The first charter also noted that Eleanor had held these Norman lands during Richard's reign, highlighting the competition between the two women for access to the queenly demesne.²⁸

Berengaria's exchange with Philip Augustus led to her acquisition of the city of Le Mans, including the lordship, castle, and appurtenances except for the bishopric. Berengaria had a far more successful career as lord of Le Mans than she did as queen consort, receiving regular revenues from Le Mans in order to do so. However, she did not desist in her claims to receive her English dower, regularly sending letters to John, Henry III, and the papacy regarding compensation. The papacy regularly wrote to leading English ecclesiastics such as the bishops of Ely and Worcester to intervene on Berengaria's behalf. Berengaria eventually had some success with John, as in 1215 John agreed to a new settlement in which he outlined paying Berengaria an upfront payment of 2000 marks (£1333 6 s. 8 d.) to constitute the arrears for all the years she had not received payment, as well as a payment of 1000 marks (£666 13 s. 4 d.) annually.²⁹ John's promise came on the cusp of a political crisis in England and in 1216 he asked to postpone the payment due to the outbreak of rebellion there.³⁰ Berengaria was never to successfully resolve issues with John and after his death in October 1216 she took up the mantle with her nephew, the new king Henry III.

After several letters between Henry and Berengaria, in 1220 Henry agreed to make arrangements for the payment of the dower settlement, with additional payments to be included due to the decades of arrears, honouring John's promise.³¹ The Patent Rolls document minor payments for Berengaria's expenses between 1219 and 1221, with a larger payment of 500

pounds (750 marks) owed in debt to be paid in 1221.³² Henry agreed to pay Berengaria 1000 pounds (1500 marks) immediately to clear the arrears, with 500 pounds to be paid annually to clear the arrears of the remaining 3500 pounds (5250 marks). Berengaria remitted 500 pounds, and the charter attests that she would receive 2000 pounds (3000 marks) annually in total to compensate her arrears and the original settlement. Additionally, Berengaria would receive the 1000 marks originally agreed with John from tin mine revenues in Devon and Cornwall, to be supplemented from the London treasury if the mine income was not sufficient.³³ These financial arrangements did not last. This 1220 agreement also failed to materialise in full, with a letter from Berengaria in 1225 requesting the payment of 1000 marks to be made.³⁴ The Close Rolls document a first payment of 1000 marks in March 1225, with a second payment of 1000 marks following in December 1225, and a payment of 30 solidi the same month.³⁵ A final payment of 1000 marks was made in March 1226.³⁶

Berengaria's petitions on Richard, Eleanor, and John's deaths make it clear that these moments were critical junctures for her to reassert her requests at a time of political change when a potential obstacle to her receiving her dower revenues had been removed. Her continued petitioning throughout her time as dowager queen was successful to a point as she received a payment of 2000 marks, though little in the way of arrears. Berengaria's case, much like Isabella's below, highlights the element of competition for resources and revenues amongst the Angevin queens. It also highlights the financial struggles facing the Angevin kings during the early thirteenth century as both John and Henry III deferred payments on several occasions. Had Berengaria received revenues as either consort or dowager she may have appeared in the financial and historical record more often with regards to payments or patronage, and to provide evidence of her authority if she had been able to administer the dower lands.

5. The complexities of three queens: Isabella of Angoulême

The marriage of John and Isabella of Angoulême on 24 August 1200 came at a time of conflict, only a year into John's reign. Their marriage now meant John

lou sous la direction de Robert-Henri Bautier. Volume I: Texte (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), 493-4; Henri-François Delaborde, Charles Petit-Dutaillis and J. Monicat, eds., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France* publié sous la direction de M. Clovis Brunel par H. Fr-Delaborde et Ch. Petit-Dutaillis et J. Monicat. Tome II Années du Règne XVI à XXVII (1 Novembre 1194-31 Octobre 1206) (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1943), 416, 419-420.

²⁸ *Registres de Philippe-Auguste*, 493-494.

²⁹ Berengaria of Navarre, «Letter from Berengaria of Navarre to Public (1215)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/764.html; Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, Tomus I, (London: J. Tonson, 1727), 208-209.

³⁰ John, «Letter from John, king of England to Berengaria of Navarre (1216)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/770.html; *Foedera*, 213.

³¹ Henry III, «Letter from Henry III, king of England to Berengaria of Navarre (1218)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/777.html; Berengaria of Navarre, «Letter from Berengaria of Navarre to Peter, bishop of Winchester (1220)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/765.html; Henry III, «Letter from Henry III, king of England to Berengaria of Navarre (July 1220)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/781.html; *Foedera*, 241-242.

³² Thomas Duffy Hardy, ed., *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum in Turri Londiniensi asservati*, 2 vols. (London: Public Record Office, 1833-44), i, 462.

³³ Gabrielle Storey, *Berengaria of Navarre. Queen of England, Lord of Le Mans* (London: Routledge, 2024), ch. 6.

³⁴ Berengaria of Navarre, «Letter from Berengaria of Navarre to Henry III, king of England (26 October 1225)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/766.html.

³⁵ «Liberate de thesauro nostro fratri Waltero Capello Regine Berengarie ut Martino servienti ipsius Regine mille marcas ad opus ipsius Regine quas ei debemus de hoc ad Ascensi Domini anno regni nostri nono.» *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, ii, 38; «Liberate de thesauro nostro fratri Waltero Capellano Regine Berengarie mille marcas ad opus ipsius Regine qua sei debemus de hoc termino Omnium Sanctorum anno tunc x°.» *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, ii, 85; «Liberate de thesauro nostro fratri Waltero Capellano nuncio Regine Berengarie xxx. solidi ad expensas suas versus pertinentes suas de dono nostro.» *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, ii, 88.

³⁶ *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, ii, 115.

had three queens to provide for, his mother, sister-in-law and wife, at a moment when he faced rebellious barons on the continent who had supported his nephew Arthur of Brittany's claim to the throne and continued Capetian success in the shape of Philip Augustus. As with Eleanor and Berengaria, Isabella was granted dower upon marriage. The copy of the dower charter stated that Isabella's dower lands consisted of the cities of Baugé, Beaufort-en-Vallée, Château-du-Loir, La Flèche, Niort, Saintes, Saumur, and Trou, with all their appurtenances and liberties.³⁷ Of these, only Château-du-Loir in Anjou had formed a consistent part of the grants to Eleanor and Berengaria. Nicholas Vincent has argued that the two rich Poitevin lordships of Niort and Saintes were granted to Isabella in part to spite the Lusignans, the family of whom Isabella had been due to marry into prior to John's decision to marry her instead.³⁸

The loss of lands in Anjou to the Capetians and the death of Eleanor led to a second dower assignment being granted to Isabella in 1204.³⁹ This second grant was markedly different from the first as it contained several of the English and Norman territories that had been previously assigned to Eleanor and Berengaria – John evidently ignoring the fact that Berengaria was now due to receive the lands that had belonged to Eleanor as dower – but not all territories were granted, including the towns of Grantham, Northampton, and Stamford, alongside some of the other honours and manors.⁴⁰ Though Isabella was likely aged 12 when she married John, she was not excluded from political life, often travelling with John and financial records detail her activity and expenditure.⁴¹ Much like Eleanor, Isabella had a political role to play in her inherited lands of Angoulême as its countess. Itinerant though Isabella may have been, she does not appear to have spent significant time in her dower properties, and it is unlikely that she administered them.

The lands that had been granted to Isabella in France were rapidly captured by the Capetians, and her English lands were regularly granted away by John, who was more focused on balancing baronial allegiances and income for the Crown rather than his wife and queen receiving financial provisions.⁴² This can be seen, for example, with the manors from Rutland which John granted to Ralph de Normanville and his heirs in 1205.⁴³ Though Eleanor had granted away some of the queenly demesne to secure allies during Berengaria's reign, the granting of the queenly demesne by the king with no reassigned income to Isabella leads to the conclusion that Isabella did

not have control or influence over her dower lands. Though Isabella certainly enjoyed more influence and personal power over John than Berengaria did with Richard, when it came to dower provisions both women were sorely lacking. Even though Berengaria and Isabella were in direct competition with one another for access to dower lands or compensatory revenues, there is no evidence of communication between them or a resultant direct conflict because of this.

When Isabella returned to Angoulême after John's death, she began to forcefully campaign for her dower lands and compensation. It is evident that Isabella did not view the 1204 grant as a replacement for the 1200 grant, arguing that Saintes, granted to her in 1200, should be given to her. In 1214 John had assigned Saintes as part of the dowry of their daughter Joan, when Joan's marriage was arranged to Hugh X de Lusignan. Isabella married Hugh in the spring of 1220. Isabella used Joan, then residing at the Lusignan court, as a bargaining chip for the restitution of her dower lands. The regency council of Henry III responded by seizing Isabella's English dower lands and demanded that Joan and Saintes were to be returned to the English court.⁴⁴ The tensions continued for two years, when in 1222 the regency council agreed to restore Isabella's English dower to her.⁴⁵ In 1224, Henry III sent a letter to Isabella, exchanging the tin mines of Devon and the revenues of Aylesbury for Isabella's Norman dower lands and Niort.⁴⁶ For Niort, Isabella would be recompensed 200 marks (£133 6 s. 8 d.) annually, however it is worth bearing in mind that at this point Normandy was still very much in the control of the Capetians. If Isabella or Hugh died, their lands and income would pass to the other, including the dower settlement.⁴⁷ Further exchanges in 1224 and 1226 between Henry III and Isabella saw Henry attempting to recompense Isabella for her dower lands in Normandy, Anjou, and England. The last communication regarding Isabella's English dower lands occurred when Henry granted them to his brother Richard of Cornwall in 1227.⁴⁸ Isabella's relationship with Henry III was arguably more fractious than Berengaria's was: both had very different means to achieve the same end, and although Isabella also received financial recompense this came at the cost of harming her familial relationships. Isabella was a politician: she knew how to manipulate the Plantagenets and the Capetians to aid her cause when she wanted it, making the dower disputes more widespread. Consequently, she also alienated herself politically and personally.

Isabella's access to her dower as dowager queen was also complicated not only by the existence of a

³⁷ *Veterum Scriptorum*, i, col. 1032; Thomas Duffy Hardy, ed. *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londoniensi asservati*, 2 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1837-44), i, 74-75.

³⁸ Nicholas Vincent, «Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel» in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. Stephen D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 185.

³⁹ Vincent, «Isabella» 186.

⁴⁰ *Rotuli Chartarum*, i, 128; Vincent, «Isabella» 187; see appendix for full list of dower lands.

⁴¹ Sally Spong, «Isabella of Angoulême: The Vanished Queen?» in *Norman to Early Plantagenet Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*, eds. Aidan Norrie, Carolyn Harris, J. L. Laynesmith, Danna R. Messer, and Elena Woodacre (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 205.

⁴² Vincent, «Isabella» 187-189.

⁴³ Vincent, «Isabella» 189; *Rotuli Chartarum*, i, 149.

⁴⁴ Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. A.D. 1216-25* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901), 302, 318.

⁴⁵ *Patent Rolls*. 1216-25, 329-330; Vincent, «Isabella» 208.

⁴⁶ Henry III, «Letter from Henry III to Isabel of Angoulême (27th March 1224)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letsster/466.html.

⁴⁷ Henry III, «Letter from Henry III to Isabel of Angoulême (27th March 1224)» *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, accessed 1 September 2024, epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letsster/466.html.

⁴⁸ *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, ii, 197-198.

rival queen, her daughter-in-law Eleanor of Provence who married Isabella's son Henry III in 1236, but also by Isabella's conflict with her son against the background of continued warfare in France. Isabella's dower had already been negatively impacted by the Capetians, however Isabella's decision to marry Hugh X de Lusignan in 1220, her hostage-taking of her daughter Joan, and familial disharmony with Henry placed her in a poor political position to negotiate for the restitution of her dower, or at least the revenues associated with it.

6. Changing Land and Competition

As explored above, survival, competition, and conquest, were all key factors as to why the Angevin queens struggled to access and continually hold their dower lands. Though the competition aspect has been considered above, it is important to outline how the timeline of Capetian conquest impacted the dower of the Angevin queens.

The coronation of Philip Augustus (II) in 1180 heralded a marked change in the capabilities of the French monarchy to achieve their political and territorial gains. Philip was an expert meddler, often manipulating the Angevins against one another. In the 1180s Philip had made several successful incursions into territories belonging to his vassals, including the county of Amiens and part of the county of Vermandois. Disputes between Philip and Henry II arose in part due to conflict over the return of the dowry of Philip's widowed sister Margaret, who had been married to Henry's eldest son Henry the Young King. Henry II's intervention in Brittany after the death of his fourth son, Geoffrey II, duke of Brittany, also led to further combat. By his death, Henry had ceded Issoudun and the Auvergne to Philip, as well as losing control of Tours to Richard, lessening the territories which he could grant as part of dowry or dower arrangements.

During Richard's reign, Philip made several inroads into Normandy whilst Richard was held captive upon his return journey from the Third Crusade. On 9 July 1193 Philip and Richard's ministers agreed that Philip could keep his conquests and granted further territories provided Philip ceased further aggression in Normandy, and that Philip would hand back the captured territory if Richard performed homage to Philip and paid 20,000 marks (£13,333 6 s. 8 d.) over the course of two years.⁴⁹ Across 1195-8 there were several outbreaks of warfare across Normandy and Auvergne, interspersed with temporary truces. Much of the warfare was concentrated around the Vexin, a contentious boundary region between Normandy and the kingdom of France. By 1198, Richard had regained most of what had been lost in 1193 and in mid-January 1199 the two kings agreed to a five-year truce. Richard died whilst on campaign in April 1199. The Capetian successes during Richard's reign, combined with the Third Crusade, placed immense strain on the royal treasury which in turn impacted the ability to compensate the Angevin queens for any dower lands lost through conquest.

Richard's successor John signed the Treaty of Le Goulet in May 1200 with Philip, settling the issue of Normandy's reduced boundaries and the terms of John's vassalage for Normandy and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. John also agreed to abandon the English possessions in Berry, Auvergne, and pay 20,000 silver marks. Philip agreed to recognise John's overlordship of Brittany. However, this did not quell conflict for long with Aquitanian rebellion later the same year and Philip's continued interference in Brittany. The death of Arthur, duke of Brittany, and John's nephew, in 1203, supposedly at John's instigation, led to outcry and Philip restarted his conquests, sweeping through Normandy, the central counties including Maine, and further south into Aquitaine. Eleanor's death in April 1204 was a heavy blow to John's rule of the Plantagenet territories on the continent, and his incapacities as a military leader only increased Philip's success.

John spent much of his reign mustering campaigns for France and hoping to restore the territories to Plantagenet rule. Not only was it a discredit to his political authority and judgement – and this would also be manifested in the First Barons' War towards the end of his reign – but the loss of so many territories in less than a decade significantly impacted John's ability to provide for his wife Isabella and his sister-in-law Berengaria, as well as his own ability to patronise individuals and institutions, and to create further alliances and networks with the nobility. The continued blows to the Angevin Union were one of the main reasons why Berengaria waited for several decades before receiving any financial restitution for her dower. As with many medieval queens, a lack of surviving evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct a full picture. All three women may have exercised more control over their dower lands than thought, but both Berengaria and Isabella's access to what land remained in John's control appears very limited.

Conquest and competition were two of the main obstacles to Eleanor, Berengaria, and Isabella. The third was their co-ruling partnerships with their husbands, and in the case of Eleanor and Isabella, their sons, as Storey has demonstrated. The inability of the kings to provide for their queens was a major restriction on queenly power and authority and affected their ability to patronise and network. Although queenly influence could be manifested in other ways such as counsel and advice, or diplomacy and intercession, having land and revenues was a major asset. It is also difficult to discern the true nature of the relationships between the three women: they were undoubtedly in competition for access to the lands within the queenly demesne, or other lands from the royal demesne that the king could apportion to them, but such competition was borne out of circumstance and not necessarily ill will. Eleanor's reluctance to surrender her dower lands as dowager in order for Berengaria to receive them was not definitively malicious, as Eleanor had been granted the lands for subsistence until her death. However, with the wealth of Aquitaine behind her, it is plausible she could have comfortably afforded to have lived off the revenues she held as duchess, though much of these were absorbed into the revenues of Richard and John as co-rulers.

⁴⁹ Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus. King of France 1180-1223* (London: Longman, 1998), 113.

7. Conclusion

What this study has revealed is that using comparative studies as a methodology to understand women's access to revenue and power – royal or otherwise – is inherently useful. Through analysing the relationships between Eleanor, Berengaria, and Isabella, alongside their relationships with their male family members, we can better ascertain the external pressures that developed over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and impacted royal women's access to revenues and power. This was not simply a case of a decline in power or of the office of queenship, but rather proof that queenly power could wax and wane depending on the strength of one's relationship to the king and the financial and political stability of the realm and its neighbours. Looking at either Berengaria or Isabella's dower campaigns in isolation, it is plausible to reach the conclusion that their lack of access was due to either Eleanor's dominance or poor co-ruling partnerships with their husbands. Whilst these factors certainly contributed, they also gloss over some of the context and the issues faced with three women vying for the same parcel of lands. Whilst these women were in competition with one another for the land, they were not warring and in conflict – poor provisions made by Richard and John, and the failure to readjust to new circumstances with the Angevin realms ever-shrinking meant that provisions had to be regularly adapted or deferred. The granting of land outside of England as royal dower – undoubtedly seen as a boon for Henry II – came to haunt his sons. Examining the changing nature of the queenly demesne and dower grants and access to lands from 1152-1230, though inevitably marred by missing documentation, better informs the historian of the reasons why queenly power decreased at certain points in the twelfth and thirteenth century.

This examination of the dower of the Angevin queens has demonstrated that several factors affected access by royal women to their dower lands, even when granted and confirmed on their wedding day. Competition between the three women, as both Eleanor and Berengaria outlived their successor as queen of England, was a major issue. However, the ever-shrinking Angevin realms from 1193 onwards caused Richard, John, and Henry III political headaches as they sought to provide adequate provisions for their wives, with the added complexity of having sisters-in-law, mothers, and/or aunts to grant

recompense to as well. The speed and success of the Capetian conquests was a far more important factor than has perhaps been previously recognised, as the absorption of the lands that formed part of the queenly demesne into Capetian territories weakened Plantagenet queenly power and authority. The Angevin period marked part of the transitional development of queenly dower in the medieval period, with a stronger establishment of the queenly demesne in England than had been seen in the previous two centuries, however as the thirteenth century progressed it became apparent that kings were more flexible with how they granted dower, and that the lands could be bartered and recompensed as suited the king's needs. Berengaria and Isabella both struggled to access their dower as consorts and dowagers, in part due to the difficulties of the Angevin kings to apportion suitable properties and revenues with an ever-shrinking group of territories, a situation that was amplified by the longevity and power of Eleanor of Aquitaine as a competitor. By the time of Eleanor of Provence's marriage in 1236, the competition for dower had waned significantly owing to Berengaria's death in 1230 and Isabella's focus on life in France. Eleanor of Provence's 1236 dower charter stated that Eleanor was dowered with the cities, lands, and tenements which had been assigned to her predecessor queens, with provisions made of new territories if Henry died before Isabella and Eleanor of Provence, a provision intent on reducing competition for dower.⁵⁰ Eleanor was granted a further enhanced dower allocation in 1253, which increased her revenues from £1,000 to £4,000, an increase of £3,000.⁵¹ This additional money was to come from the king's broader possessions including Gascony and Ireland.⁵² By comparison, the time of the Angevin queens demonstrated a heightened period of competition for dower which was exacerbated by disparities in the ability to exercise power by queens of England and prolonged, intensive conflict surrounding the mainland territories of the Angevins.

8. Appendix

The table below lists the dower holdings of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, and Isabella of Angoulême, as documented in their dower charters or copies thereof. A indicates properties issued in Isabella's 1200 dower charter; B indicates properties granted in her 1204 charter.

⁵⁰ Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1998), 13.

⁵¹ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 190.

⁵² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 190.

Tab. 1. Table documenting the dower lands granted to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, and Isabella of Angoulême.

Eleanor of Aquitaine⁵²	Berengaria of Navarre⁵³	Isabella of Angoulême
Lillebonne (Normandy) ⁵⁴		
Falaise (Normandy)	Falaise (Normandy)	Falaise (Normandy) ^{b55}
Domfront (Normandy)	Domfront (Normandy)	Domfront (Normandy) ^b
Bonneville-sur-Tocques (Normandy)	Bonneville-sur-Tocques (Normandy)	Bonneville-sur-Tocques (Normandy) ^b
		Saintes (Poitou) ^{a56}
		Niort (Poitou) ^a
Loches (Touraine)	Loches (Touraine)	
		Saumur (Anjou) ^a
Montbazou (Touraine)	Montbazou (Touraine)	
		La Flèche (Anjou) ^a
Mervent (Poitou)	Mervent (Poitou)	
		Beaufort-en-Vallée (Anjou) ^a
Jaunay (Poitou)	Jaunay (Poitou)	
		Bauge (Anjou) ^a
Château-du-Loir (Anjou)	Château-du-Loir (Anjou)	Château-du-Loir (Anjou) ^a
Oléron (Poitou)	Oléron (Poitou)	
Ilchester (Somerset)	Ilchester (Somerset)	Ilchester (Somerset) ^b
Monkton (Somerset)	Monkton (Somerset)	
Recene (Rutland)	Recene (Rutland)	Recene (Rutland) ^b
Bradecost (Rutland)	Bradecost (Rutland)	Bradecost (Rutland) ^b
North Luffenham (Rutland)	North Luffenham (Rutland)	North Luffenham (Rutland) ^b
Lambourne (Berkshire)	Lambourne (Berkshire)	
Wilton (Wiltshire)	Wilton (Wiltshire)	Wilton (Wiltshire) ^b
Malmesbury (Wiltshire)	Malmesbury (Wiltshire)	Malmesbury (Wiltshire) ^b
		Biddesden (Wiltshire) ^b
Arundel (Sussex)	Arundel (Sussex)	
Chichester (Sussex)	Chichester (Sussex)	Chichester (Sussex) ^b
Stanton (Oxfordshire)	Stanton (Oxfordshire)	
Rockingham (Northamptonshire)	Rockingham (Northamptonshire)	Rockingham (Northamptonshire) ^b
Northampton (Northamptonshire)	Northampton (Northamptonshire)	
Kenton (Devonshire)	Kenton (Devonshire)	Kenton (Devonshire) ^b
Linton (Devonshire)	Linton (Devonshire)	Linton (Devonshire) ^b
Addiscott (Devonshire)	Addiscott (Devonshire)	Addiscott (Devonshire) ^b

⁵² Lands listed based on Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum, Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moraliū Amplissima Collectio*, 9 vols. (Paris: 1724-33), cols. 995-7, accessed 1 September 2024, https://archive.org/veterum_scriptorum, wherein Berengaria was to hold all the lands listed, that belonged to Eleanor.

⁵³ *Veterum Scriptorum*, cols. 995-7: note that all lands granted to Eleanor by Henry II are to pass to Berengaria.

⁵⁴ AD Seine Maritime, FRAD076_018HP0007_10 (1189-91).

⁵⁵ Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. Volume I Part I* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1837), 128; Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones, Literæ, Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosuis(?) imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte sæculo duodecimo, viz ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque Tempora, Habita aut Tractata ex autographis, infra secretiores archivorum thesaurarias, per multa sæcula reconditis, fideliter exscripta*, Tomus I (London: J. Tonson, 1727), 132-5.

⁵⁶ Hardy, *Rotuli Chartarum*, 74b-75; *Veterum Scriptorum*, col. 1032; John W. Baldwin, François Gasparri, Michel Nortier and Elisabeth Lalou, eds., *Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents financiers et administratifs. Tome VII. Les Registres de Philippe Auguste. Volume I: Texte* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), no. 39.

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