

# **A Queen in the Shadows: Sanchia of Provence, Richard of Cornwall and a Royal Life Unveiled**

Adrian Jobson

University of Bristol

On Thursday 17 May 1257, Sanchia of Provence was crowned as *Regina Romanorum* (Queen of the Romans) by Konrad von Hochstaden, the Archbishop of Köln, in a glittering coronation ceremony performed in the cathedral of Aachen in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Seated on Charlemagne's throne alongside her was Richard of Cornwall, her English husband, the newly anointed *Rex Romanorum*,<sup>2</sup> whose contested election to the German kingship had been conducted at Frankfurt am Main the previous January.<sup>3</sup> For more than four years Sanchia reigned over her kingdom before her death, aged no more than thirty-three years, at her dower castle of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire on Wednesday 9 November 1261.<sup>4</sup> Countess of Cornwall too for almost eighteen years, her wedding at Westminster Abbey on 23 November 1243 had been a sumptuous affair that excited widespread comment in the works of contemporary chroniclers.<sup>5</sup> Through Richard's royal birth, enormous wealth, and preeminent position at the English court, she was immediately positioned at the very centre of contemporary society.<sup>6</sup> Sanchia herself though was no mere arriviste and through her own excellent family ties she drew her new English husband into a trans-European kinship network whose extensive diplomatic connections were in time fully mobilised by her in support of her spouse's regal ambitions.<sup>7</sup> Raymond-Bérengar V, her father, was Count of Provence and a grandson of King Alfonso II of Aragon. Catalan by birth, he was likewise descended from the Counts of Barcelona.<sup>8</sup> Just as illustrious was the lineage of her mother Béatrix of Savoy. The only daughter of Count Thomas of Savoy, her maternal ancestry included

the Counts of Geneva.<sup>9</sup> Through Sanchia's two elder sisters, Marguerite and Eleanor, she was also respectively the sister-in-law of King Louis IX of France and King Henry III of England.<sup>10</sup>

Yet very little is known of her life as either Countess of Cornwall or *Regina Romanorum*. Sanchia's appearances in the historical record are rare and fleeting: in the patent and close rolls of the chancery, for example, she occurs just ten and four times respectively.<sup>11</sup> There is no extant copy of her will, although it is known that she had bequeathed £100 to Cirencester Abbey.<sup>12</sup> Even Sanchia's marriage in 1243, which was probably the most widely recorded event of her life, has only been considered both by contemporary commentators and modern scholars in terms of how it affected the lives of others, especially her husband and her sister, rather than focusing on its significance for Sanchia herself.<sup>13</sup> But there is still enough fragmentary evidence surviving which, if treated carefully, can help draw the veil from this queen in the shadows, enabling at the very least a partial scholarly assessment of how she interpreted the formal role expected of her and personally performed it in practice. This article, which constitutes the first academic examination of her life, will therefore reconstruct Sanchia's experiences and actions as both countess and queen through an analysis of the structures that shaped her life and her role therein. Adopting such an approach for a biographical study, as advocated most notably by Pauline Stafford, amplifies the ways in which the 'limited sources available' to a historian of the Middle Ages can be read and interpreted.<sup>14</sup> Only through a detailed consideration of the biblically inspired imagery associated with medieval queens and noblewomen, such as Mary Queen of Heaven, together with the models of behaviour with which these high status women were expected to conform, like the mistress of the household and as agents of diplomacy, can Sanchia's life and the choices that she made be understood in their entirety.<sup>15</sup>

The sources upon which this study is based encompass an assortment of surviving administrative, chronicle, and epistolary material. Governmental records, most notably the patent and close rolls, contain occasional enrolments either addressed to Sanchia directly or make passing reference to her within their overall content. She also features in the formal proceedings of the royal law courts, as both a litigant and incidentally as a third party.<sup>16</sup> Contemporary chronicles similarly contain numerous direct references to Sanchia herself or to specific events in which she was personally involved. Several English annals, such as those compiled at Dunstable and Waverley, offer brief descriptions of her marriage, coronation, death, and/or burial.<sup>17</sup> Others composed on the Continent, most especially in Germany, also contain minimalist accounts of the coronation ceremony.<sup>18</sup> But the most detailed narratives are those found in the famous St Alban's chronicler Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* and in the history written by Thomas Wykes at Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire.<sup>19</sup> Paris sourced his information directly from Richard of Cornwall and perhaps Sanchia herself, both of whom he knew personally, while Wykes's informants probably included Richard's long-serving treasurer Philip of Eye.<sup>20</sup> Sanchia's own correspondence also offers scholars a tantalising insight into both her public life and her own personal networks. Just one personal letter addressed to her, namely that composed by the Franciscan theologian Adam Marsh, is known to have survived.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, only one of her epistles, that written from Germany following her coronation in 1257 to the Prior of Wallingford, has currently been identified.<sup>22</sup>

### **Wife and Mother**

In thirteenth-century England, the higher nobility largely derived its power, influence, and wealth from its landed estates. Male members of this elite group were thus accorded

a prominent position in the king's council and governance of his realm, leadership in his military campaigns and representing the monarch on diplomatic missions. For their womenfolk, however, alongside the primary role to provide the proverbial heir and a spare to ensure the continuity of the husband's bloodline was also an obligation to promote the 'well-being and prestige' of the marital family.<sup>23</sup> Active participation in rituals, ceremonies, gift-giving, and conspicuous consumption was expected of royal and noble wives, whose knowledge of courtly manners and household management had been instilled in them from an early age.<sup>24</sup> High status women, empowered by the cult of the Virgin Mary and its attendant symbolism, embraced the role of female intercessor, softening the hearts of their husbands, fathers, and brothers through a ritualistic display of humility and appeals for mercy.<sup>25</sup> Noblewomen often mediated in family feuds and legal disputes, another form of female intercession that utilised informal diplomacy to resolve conflict and promote reconciliation.<sup>26</sup> Offering patronage, whether ecclesiastical or cultural in nature, was also viewed as an important facet of a lady's prestige that would in turn help enhance her family's overall reputation.<sup>27</sup> A noblewoman's duties would even extend in the husband's absence to running the family's estates and the exercising of seignorial power over its tenants.<sup>28</sup>

Sanchia herself would have understood what was expected of her as Richard's wife. From her very earliest years she had been prepared for just such a role, her upbringing and education endowing her with the requisite social and practical skills that would later serve her well in married life.<sup>29</sup> Successfully providing her husband with a living male heir was viewed as the new wife's first and most important marital obligation, a task that Sanchia accomplished within a few years of her marriage.<sup>30</sup> In 1246, she had given birth to her first child. This son, who was named Richard after his father, tragically died just a short time later.<sup>31</sup> Edmund of Cornwall, who would

eventually succeed his father to the earldom, was delivered immediately after Christmas in 1249.<sup>32</sup> Other children may also have been born to their union but unfortunately no confirmatory evidence has survived. That there were triennial intervals between each pregnancy may corroborate such an assumption, but Earl Richard himself already had a healthy legitimate male heir, Henry of Almain, by his previous marriage to Isabella Marshal,<sup>33</sup> so perhaps the pressure on his teenage bride to conceive quickly may have been less intense than otherwise might have been the case. If this latter interpretation is indeed correct, then it constitutes the only evidence that Sanchia's status as Richard's second wife did impact upon her own position as countess.

### **The Great Lady**

Ceremony was an integral component of thirteenth-century courtly life, the centre around which its celebratory feasts, religious rituals, and even normal daily routines were constructed. Annual events such as Christmas and Edward the Confessor's feast day, for instance, were celebrated at Henry III's court with elaborate ceremonies, ritualistic processions, and spectacular entertainments. At Christmas 1238, for instance, Henry III 'held his court, abounding with all proper honour and sumptuousness, at Winchester. For the church of that place still procured and supplied the king with a sufficiency, nay, even with abundance of necessaries for all these convivial expenses'.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in 1255, the king again spent Christmas at Winchester where his uterine brother, Aymer de Valence, 'supplied him with all necessaries, besides making him rich presents, and entertained him at his table'.<sup>35</sup> Other extravagant occasions occurred regularly in the courtly calendar, but even more mundane days usually witnessed some degree of ceremony. In all these proceedings, royal and noblewomen were accorded specific roles, the nature of which depended in part on the lady's own status but also on

the actual event that was being marked. Court life likewise afforded these women ample opportunity to flaunt publicly their wealth and position, thereby enhancing their own prestige along with that of their husbands.<sup>36</sup>

Sanchia's own experience of life at the English court began immediately upon her arrival in England. On landing at Dover in 'great state, and with very pompous pageantry', she was welcomed alongside her mother Béatrix by a 'great number of English nobles' who escorted them both to London, where elaborate decorations including 'hangings, curtains and divers other ornaments' had been hung in their honour.<sup>37</sup> Sanchia's wedding to Richard at Westminster was itself a courtly spectacle, a public event that encompassed elaborate ceremonial and ritualistic elements alongside the 'nuptial conviviality' and splendid entertainments described by the chroniclers.<sup>38</sup> Through her own bridal trousseau she probably emphasised her own wealth, status, and prestige to the attendant nobility, while the symbolism exhibited in the marriage decorations similarly highlighted the international nature of the union and lauded the strengthening of the existing Anglo-Savoyard alliance.<sup>39</sup>

The newly married countess soon became a regular attendee at Henry III's court, participating fully in all its myriad ceremonies and entertainments. Often these visits occurred at Christmas; in 1245, for example, when 'the festivities' were celebrated in London 'with much rejoicing', her presence at court was noted by the chronicler Matthew Paris.<sup>40</sup> Other annual celebrations that she would have often attended included Easter and the feast of St. Edward the Confessor. Sanchia fully participated in the ritualised gift-giving associated with many of these events, receiving from her sister Eleanor an expensive belt at New Year 1253 and on another occasion a cloak with a silver chain.<sup>41</sup> Two years earlier she had likewise received a belt from her brother-in-law Henry.<sup>42</sup> Sanchia too would have performed a diplomatic role as a representative of

her Savoyard relatives; in quietly reinforcing Eleanor's queenship and advancing the interests of their natal family and compatriots, she exploited her own prominent position at the English court to act as an intermediary and utilised her personal connections to influence the views of both her husband and the king himself.<sup>43</sup> Sanchia moreover probably played a prominent role in Eleanor's three churching ceremonies and their attendant celebrations following her arrival in England in 1243.<sup>44</sup> Though the countess's own presence at such occasions usually went unrecorded in the chronicles, her husband Richard is known to have spent considerable time at court in most years and she would frequently have been in attendance alongside him.<sup>45</sup> Every time that Sanchia attended court, she was an advertisement for the wealth, power, and prestige of her marital family. Through the expensive attire that she wore, the sparkling jewels with which she arrayed herself, and the social graces that she exhibited, all helped construct a public image for her that embodied idealised concepts of virtuous noble womanhood.<sup>46</sup>

Away from the English royal court Sanchia can also be seen promoting this same carefully constructed public persona. Great magnates like Richard presided over their own model courts, the life of which were governed by their own set of ceremonies and rituals.<sup>47</sup> Noble wives were consequently accorded a prominent role in their proceedings, whether these happened to be a spectacular banquet to celebrate a favoured saint's feast day, for example, or were merely part and parcel of the household's ordinary daily routine.<sup>48</sup> This active female participation could of course take many different forms: acting as hostess, for instance; presiding at the banquet table in the great hall; participating in courtly or chivalric entertainments; conspicuous displays of wealth and the adoption of the latest fashions (both sartorial and cultural) were all widely recognised as wifely responsibilities that would positively emphasise a family's collective good taste, prestige, and power.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, after her marriage, Sanchia immersed herself fully in the idealised persona of a great lady as was expected of her, first as countess but later as queen. In December 1244, for instance, she acted as hostess when the royal court decamped from Westminster to Wallingford for Christmas, welcoming Henry and Eleanor alongside her husband to their eponymous Thames-side castle.<sup>50</sup> Four years later, Sanchia once again entertained as hostess ‘a great number of nobles’, celebrating together at Wallingford the Nativity of the Lord in a great display of worldly magnificence.<sup>51</sup> Churching ceremonies, the ritualised purification and blessing of a mother following childbirth, were grand events where royal and noblewomen celebrated their role as mothers and formally marked their return to public life.<sup>52</sup> The new mother, finely attired in new luxurious gowns, was at the heart of the occasion, presiding over the lavish celebratory feast and often distributing presents to her guests.<sup>53</sup> Sanchia was no exception. When celebrating her purification following the birth of her first son in 1246, the ‘solemn festival’ at Wallingford was attended by Henry and Eleanor together with ‘many nobles of England’.<sup>54</sup>

On family or neighbourly visits too, Sanchia consciously fostered her persona as a great lady through a mixture of sartorial splendour and courtly manners. Style and presentation mattered, so fine clothes, expensive jewels, and a sizeable entourage all helped to leave a highly favourable impression on both her hosts and fellow guests.<sup>55</sup> Even while travelling Sanchia continued nurturing her public image and consciously created a sense of spectacle as her party passed slowly through the countryside. In 1250, for instance, Richard and Sanchia journeyed to France for meetings with Blanche of Castile, the Regent of France, and Pope Innocent IV. Escorting them was an impressive retinue consisting of:

Forty knights, equipped in new accoutrements, all alike, and mounted on beautiful horses, bearing new harnesses, glittering with gold, and with five wagons and fifty sumpter-horses in magnificent robes and many of his household; so that he presented a wonderful and honourable show to the sight of the astonished French beholders.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, in 1254, when Sanchia travelled without her husband to Paris for a family reunion, accompanying her was 'a numerous and illustrious retinue'.<sup>57</sup> Since the intention was that 'they might appear worthy of admiration in sight of the French', as Matthew Paris noted approvingly, the 'illustrious knights' who escorted her were 'mounted on the best horses, with handsome trappings, clad in rich clothes, and numerous attended'.<sup>58</sup> Such magnificent displays enhanced considerably both the image and reputation of Sanchia in the eyes of her contemporaries.

Once Richard of Cornwall had been elected as *Rex Romanorum* in 1257, Sanchia quickly eased herself into her new expanded role as a model queen. Stepping ashore at Dordrecht, her courtliness and sartorial elegance were at the fore during the royal couple's first meeting with their new subjects.<sup>59</sup> Sanchia went on to co-host several extravagant feasts in Germany that were intended to bolster her husband's nascent kingship. Of these, the most notable were the two celebrating the coronation ceremony itself at Aachen and Richard's knighting of his eldest son, Henry of Almain, the following day.<sup>60</sup> The attendant guests, it was reported, included some twelve prelates, thirty dukes and counts, as well as more than three thousand knights.<sup>61</sup> Such indeed was the scale of the feasting, with its extensive menu and impressively attired royal entourage, that its magnificence 'excited the amazement of the Germans'.<sup>62</sup> Sanchia of course performed a leading role throughout these proceedings, skillfully projecting with aplomb an image of secular queenship to her new subjects that was greeted with widespread approval. Richard soon embarked upon a campaign in the

Rhineland aimed at reducing the remaining centres of opposition to his rule, although Sanchia herself seems to have stayed behind at Köln presiding over the newly established royal court as its queen. For the next fifteen months, ceremonial displays were central to her husband's strategy for consolidating his contested kingship and she successfully continued to play her part in these ritualistic spectacles.<sup>63</sup> But perhaps her most effective public performance as queen was during the coronation itself, when her conduct and demeanour as Richard's 'most dear consort' impressed observers and her 'inestimable beauty', according to the chronicler Thomas Wykes, 'illuminated in no small way the solemnity of the occasion'.<sup>64</sup>

### **The Queen of Heaven**

Secular queenship in the Middle Ages also embraced Marian concepts like the image of the Virgin Mary as intercessor.<sup>65</sup> As the supreme mediator, the Queen of Heaven's role was to intercede with her divine son as the 'Mother of Mercy', unlocking Christ's pre-existing 'springs of mercy' on behalf of all Christians.<sup>66</sup> Earthly queens were similarly expected to intercede with their husbands for all their subjects, softening a king's severity so that he may be forbearing to his people and encourage him to compassion through 'merciful love'.<sup>67</sup> Sanchia's regal contemporaries, such as her own sisters Eleanor and Marguerite, are known to have frequently interceded with their husbands at the request of a petitioner.<sup>68</sup> Usually these were public acts, the queen deploying ritualistic submissiveness, entreaty rather than demand, and tears while making her appeal to the king for mercy.<sup>69</sup>

Yet Sanchia herself does not seem to have ever performed such an intercessory role on behalf of her German subjects. Of course, this absence could simply reflect the paucity of surviving evidence for her life in general and thus the details of any

intercessions that she may have made as queen are now lost. What is known, however, is that Sanchia did intercede with Henry III on the behalf of several individuals while still a countess in the years before her coronation. In January 1256, for instance, she secured a pardon for a Stephen son of Baldwin of Smithcot, who had been found guilty of receiving an outlaw who was subsequently murdered in Stephen's own house.<sup>70</sup> Eight months later she secured a respite of knighthood for Robert de Muscegros,<sup>71</sup> while a Hugh of Boningale benefitted from generous new terms for repaying a debt that he owed at the exchequer.<sup>72</sup> Sanchia had also interceded with the king on behalf of a hermit named John of Apulia, who through her efforts received a life grant of a hermitage adjacent to the church at the Tower of London.<sup>73</sup> Apart from her testamentary bequest to Cirencester Abbey and a sale by her executors of the wardships of two manors for the benefit of her soul,<sup>74</sup> this is the only other direct evidence of her providing any form of religious patronage, although her known connections with leading Franciscans and the monks at her husband's foundation at Hailes may tentatively suggest that she patronised them as well.<sup>75</sup> That Sanchia had regularly exercised her right of intercession even though she was only a countess at the time is not surprising; intercession was not exclusively a queenly prerogative and noble women like her who had extensive royal connections were able to use the privilege too.<sup>76</sup>

For thirteenth-century queens, the physical symbols of their secular authority similarly exhibited Marian associations. In contemporary representations of the Virgin Mary, the attributes that were concomitant with authority were 'borrowed straight from the regalia of secular queens'.<sup>77</sup> Sculptures of the Triumph of the Virgin, for instance, frequently depicted the Queen of Heaven 'crowned and enthroned', wearing 'elaborate royal draperies and jewels', and bearing in her right hand a floriated sceptre.<sup>78</sup> This portrayal of the floriated sceptre, usually in the form of a fleur-de-lys, was reminiscent

of the flowering rods of the Biblical figures Aaron and Jesse. Commonly associated with Marian imagery, the rod itself symbolises the Virgin Mary.<sup>79</sup> Such associations with the Queen of Heaven consequently strengthened the regal imagery of secular queenly authority. On seals, for instance, medieval queens often portrayed themselves as full length figures in a standing pose, crowned, dressed in elaborate gowns, and holding a sceptre in the right hand and a virge (a staff symbolising authority) in their left.<sup>80</sup> Others highlighted their lineage through the depiction of heraldic shields or listed their titles in the legends around the edge of the seals to emphasise their status and authority.<sup>81</sup> Contemporary English examples include those of Eleanor of Provence and her daughter-in-law Eleanor of Castile.<sup>82</sup> Sanchia must have had her own seal as *Regina Romanorum*, but unfortunately no copies are known to have survived. It is probable, however, that her royal seal mirrored those of her recent German predecessors: rounded in shape rather than vesical (oval) and depicting her seated on a throne.<sup>83</sup> She too presumably had another earlier seal as Countess of Cornwall, although there are likewise no known surviving examples.<sup>84</sup>

Marian imbued regal iconography can also be found on the tombs of several medieval queens, but whether Sanchia's own tomb or her effigy at Hailes Abbey followed this practice cannot be confirmed since both were subsequently destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries.<sup>85</sup> If such Marian symbolism had indeed been depicted on her funerary monument, Sanchia herself may well have influenced its eventual design since the unidentified illness from which she suffered in the months preceding her death in November 1261 gave her plenty of time for careful deliberation.<sup>86</sup> That Hailes was her chosen place of internment may have equally been Sanchia's own decision, especially since the abbey itself had been the site of both the birth and subsequent burial of her first-born son Richard.<sup>87</sup> Yet this cannot be certain

since Earl Richard is known to have disregarded the funerary wishes of his first wife Isabella, who had been interred in his father's foundation at Beaulieu rather than alongside her former husband at Tewkesbury.<sup>88</sup>

### **The *Virago***

So far, this article has concentrated upon the ceremonial, ritualistic, and courtly elements that evoked the image of an idealised womanhood with Marian overtones which queens and noblewomen like Sanchia were expected to emulate publicly. But there were other influences that similarly shaped contemporary views on the role played by the wives of royal and noble men. Successful women of affairs, who competently managed their own households, engaged in political matters, and undertook day-to-day administration or the logistics of war, constituted a recurrent image that thirteenth-century chroniclers long recognised.<sup>89</sup> Often labelled a *virago*, contemporary examples included Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor de Montfort. Matthew Paris also famously described Blanche of Castile, the French queen mother, as 'feminine in sex, but masculine in counsel' (*sexu femina, consilio mascula*).<sup>90</sup> Yet such epithets cannot easily be applied to Sanchia either as countess or as queen.

At no time, for instance, was Sanchia ever called upon to support her husband in either a military or logistical capacity. In the years prior to Richard's coronation England itself had remained peaceful despite rising tensions and latent discontent with his brother's personal rule. Nor did Richard participate in the successful military expedition to Gascony in 1253-54,<sup>91</sup> although he was appointed as chief counsellor to Eleanor of Provence, who had been appointed as regent of England in Henry's absence. After the queen's departure for Bordeaux in May 1254, Richard became regent in her stead but Sanchia herself was never accorded any formal role alongside either her

husband or sister.<sup>92</sup> Yet even after the royal couple had been crowned, Sanchia seemingly never personally contributed towards any of her husband's military operations in Germany. In the summer of 1257, Richard led an army along the Rhine in a campaign intended to subdue the few remaining Rhenish towns that resisted his authority.<sup>93</sup> Assembling and maintaining such a large armed force in the field involved considerable effort, but there is no evidence surviving that Sanchia herself either helped in its recruitment or purchased the necessary provisions for supplying such a sizeable host. Perhaps, if she had lived, Sanchia might have later played a proactive logistical, diplomatic, and strategic role like that her sister Eleanor performed for the royalist party during the Barons' War of 1263-67,<sup>94</sup> but of course this can never be anything more than mere speculation.

There is no surviving evidence either that Sanchia herself participated in the day-to-day rule of her German kingdom in any administrative capacity. Richard instead solely relied upon a small coterie of native-born counsellors, men like Philipp I von Falkenstein and Werner IV von Bolanden, who assisted him in administering his newly acquired realm.<sup>95</sup> Even when Sanchia's husband was far away campaigning against Rhenish towns such as Boppard and Worms,<sup>96</sup> he did not emulate his brother Henry's example and appoint his wife as regent in his absence.<sup>97</sup> Earlier German queens had been entrusted with specific responsibilities which allowed the king 'to be freed of all concern for the household or palace' so that he 'could concentrate on the rulership and preservation of the entire state of the realm'.<sup>98</sup> Amongst her allotted duties were the 'good management of the palace' and *de facto* oversight of the treasury,<sup>99</sup> but whether any of these duties were performed by Sanchia herself is unknown.

Sanchia though fully assumed the diplomatic responsibilities associated with her royal position. Queen consorts were expected to engage in diplomacy to support the

interests of both their husbands and their own natal families. This could take several forms including matrimonial negotiation, resolving disputes, informal reconciliation, and the gathering of support for specific policies. Alliances were sustained through the maintenance of a queen's existing personal and familial networks while newer relationships were also carefully cultivated.<sup>100</sup> Thus when Sanchia presided over the court in Richard's absence, messengers were frequently received from England and elsewhere as others bearing her own correspondence were dispatched from Köln to her trans-European contacts.<sup>101</sup>

As *Regina Romanorum* Sanchia would have likewise engaged in the practice of diplomatic gift-giving. Articulating both 'the relative status' between the two principals and 'their aspirations for the outcome of their negotiations', the exchange of gifts constituted an important element in medieval diplomacy.<sup>102</sup> The materials used to construct an object, its craftsmanship, and the cultural imagery it displayed all conveyed specific meanings that were well understood by both the benefactor and the recipient. Diplomatic gifts could be deployed to emphasise an individual's power or authority, but equally these objects may have conveyed messages of common cause and shared beliefs.<sup>103</sup> Sanchia would therefore have sent carefully selected gifts to fellow rulers and their relations, both as a powerful symbolic affirmation of her own newly acquired regal status and to win further recognition of her husband's nascent kingship. Often the objects that she herself received in turn may have been subsequently redistributed within the royal court, the items now being used to forge new links with her German subjects and thus reinforce Richard's rule.<sup>104</sup> She also probably dispatched diplomatic gifts to woo those German princes and ecclesiastics who had disputed her husband's election as *Rex Romanorum*.<sup>105</sup>

Before her coronation too Sanchia had shared fully in the diplomatic efforts that succeeded in securing the German throne for Richard. Through her extensive natal kinship network, she had rallied her influential Savoyard uncles to offer support for his candidature and to plead his case at the papal *curia*.<sup>106</sup> Sanchia's sisters were similarly mobilised, most notably Marguerite who was probably instrumental in persuading her husband Louis IX of France to abandon his earlier opposition to their brother-in-law's plan.<sup>107</sup> Some modern writers even credit Sanchia with being the real driving force behind Richard's candidature, encouraging him in his plans so that her own ambition to wear a royal diadem herself would finally be satisfied.<sup>108</sup>

### **The Patroness**

Less tangible though was the extent to which Sanchia acted as a channel for cultural transfer in her new kingdom. Through the promotion of the arts, the introduction of fashions in dress common in their homeland, and the dissemination of new ideas, foreign-born queens could exert a softer form of political power.<sup>109</sup> Eleanor of Aquitaine, for instance, has been traditionally viewed as a conduit for the spread of chivalric ideals and courtly romance<sup>110</sup>, while Beatrice of Naples was 'instrumental in introducing Italian renaissance ideas to the court of Hungary'.<sup>111</sup> Although there is no surviving evidence that Sanchia herself commissioned specific artistic works during her time in Germany, nor did she seemingly follow her sister's example and embark upon a major refurbishment programme at any of the royal palaces in the Rhineland, sartorially however she may have influenced the feminine attire worn at the German court.

Sanchia's lavish wardrobe, stocked with the latest fashions from England, would have been on display at her coronation and in the daily ceremonies of court life. Her household too, including the damsels who attended on her, were probably gifted new

robes, many of which she had brought with her. Some indication of her queenly attire may perhaps be gleaned from contemporary statuary. Situated in the north choir of Meissen Cathedral, for example, is a mid-thirteenth century statue of Empress Adelheid. She is depicted in resplendent apparel, wearing a 'heavily bejewelled crown, a rich ermine cloak with gold clasps, and a gown adorned by an ornate, jewelled brooch'.<sup>112</sup> Louise Wilkinson has tentatively suggested that the artist's inspiration may have been Isabella of England, but given the figure itself is dated between c.1255 and c.1260, a timeframe that encompassed her coronation, Sanchia may perhaps have been the more likely influence.<sup>113</sup> Conversely, Sanchia's tomb at Hailes may have incorporated German stylistic elements. In both sculptural and architectural terms, there was 'an established cultural identity of great distinction' in Germany and effigies of remarkable sensitivity and realism were being produced in the Lower Rhineland in particular.<sup>114</sup> Such was their contemporary reputation that an artist from Köln executed the effigy of her compatriot, Peter de Aigueblanche, at Aiguebelle in Savoy.<sup>115</sup> Sanchia's own effigy at Hailes may likewise have been commissioned from one of the many workshops active in the Rhenish heartland.

### **The Woman of Affairs**

As countess too, Sanchia had been near the centre of Henrician politics for almost twenty years. Richard of Cornwall himself was recognised as the preeminent figure in the English political landscape, who 'managed the king and the affairs of state, and on his nod hung all the business of the realm'.<sup>116</sup> But through Sanchia's own close personal relationship with her sister Eleanor and her maternal uncles, she was also a constituent member of the Savoyard faction at court.<sup>117</sup> The Savoyards, for instance, had been instrumental in arranging her marriage, a circumstance that prompted Matthew Paris to

comment on public concerns shortly before the wedding that ‘the whole business of the kingdom would be disposed of at the will of the queen and her sister, the said Cinthia [Sanchia] ... who would be, as it were, a second queen’.<sup>118</sup>

For the Savoyards, the benefits of a union between Sanchia and Richard were threefold. Firstly, the marriage would eliminate a serious potential threat to their plans for the Lord Edward, Henry III’s eldest son, whose future territorial appanage, it was envisaged, would encompass Gascony despite Richard’s pre-existing claims to the duchy.<sup>119</sup> Secondly, the Savoyards’ position at court would be strengthened significantly through an alliance with the earl of Cornwall.<sup>120</sup> Lastly, for Eleanor herself, there was a personal benefit since it allowed her to ‘have the pleasure of having a sister in England’.<sup>121</sup> Henry himself had been persuaded by his wife of the marriage’s potential advantages, most notably that the alliance would further advance his own continental ambitions while weakening the earl’s long-standing ties to the king’s political opponents at court.<sup>122</sup> For Richard, the union also held several distinct benefits. In return for agreeing to the proposed match and surrendering his claims to Gascony, for instance, he was able to extract from Henry a very generous territorial and financial settlement.<sup>123</sup> The marriage would also enhance the earl’s personal prestige as his two brothers-in-law were both anointed kings.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, in marrying Sanchia, Richard gained a beautiful young wife who would potentially provide him with further offspring.<sup>125</sup> But what of Sanchia herself? The union certainly offered her both social prestige and financial security, while the renown of her prospective husband as a crusader might have been more appealing than the heretical leanings of her previous suitor Count Raymond VII of Toulouse.<sup>126</sup> But whether in actuality Sanchia, who may have met Richard in 1240 while he was *en route* to the Holy Land,<sup>127</sup> had any real input into the choice of the earl as her husband is most unlikely.

The Savoyards were intimately involved throughout the marriage negotiations. It was Peter de Aigueblanche, Bishop of Hereford and a leading member of the Savoyard faction, who had first journeyed to Tarascon in Provence to determine whether a marriage was potentially feasible, while Sanchia's uncle Peter of Savoy was later empowered to act on Richard's behalf in the negotiations that eventually led to the actual marriage contract.<sup>128</sup> Sanchia's closeness to her uncle was reflected in the royal grant made to him by the king in August 1253. Should Peter die before any future male offspring of his had attained their majority, Henry had promised that the heir would not be married 'to anyone' without Sanchia's personal consent.<sup>129</sup> Richard also enjoyed good relations with Peter of Savoy, a long-lived and mutually beneficial connection that she herself may well have encouraged.<sup>130</sup> Yet Sanchia never occupied a leading position within the Savoyard faction in the years before her coronation, preferring instead an association that was more discreet but still fully supportive of the persons and policies of Eleanor and their maternal relatives.

Sanchia and her husband were thus successful in avoiding the enmity that developed at court between the Savoyards and the Lusignans,<sup>131</sup> Henry and Richard's uterine relatives from Poitou. Given that this bitter factional rivalry only climaxed in the months after the couple's departure for Germany, it is possible that both Sanchia and Richard may have jointly adopted the role of intermediary within the royal family and thus played a part in easing the tensions between these two court factions.<sup>132</sup> Sanchia herself may have also developed a good personal relationship with her brother-in-law, Henry III, who had made two separate grants for the salvation of her soul shortly after her death. Some five marks, payable at the royal exchequer, was to be rendered annually to Westminster Abbey, whose monks were tasked with celebrating the anniversary of Sanchia's death.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Katherine's

by the Tower were to receive 50s. annually, the money to be used ‘for the maintenance of a chaplain celebrating divine service daily in the chapel of St. John within the Tower for her soul’.<sup>134</sup> But unlike the commemorations undertaken by Henry for his sisters Joan and Isabella, he seemingly made no provision for a mass *pro anima* feeding of the poor.<sup>135</sup>

Sanchia had also developed personal relationships with other leading figures in English society. Amongst her known correspondents was the friar Adam Marsh, an influential Oxford Franciscan whose immediate circle included Simon de Montfort and his wife Eleanor.<sup>136</sup> Thus, in an undated letter which indicates that they communicated regularly, Marsh thanked the Countess of Cornwall for her many kindnesses and generosity, before giving her news concerning a mutual acquaintance of theirs, William Batale.<sup>137</sup> Sanchia was also an active member of an exclusive network of high-status women that included the countesses of Arundel and Winchester. This group, for instance, circulated amongst themselves religious works such as saints’ lives. Thus, Matthew Paris himself noted on a fly-leaf of the manuscript of his *Life of St. Alban*:

- (1) If you please, you can keep this book until Easter.
- (2) G., send, please, to the lady Countess of Arundel, Isabel, that she is to send you the book about St. Thomas the Martyr and St. Edward which I translated and illustrated, and which the lady Countess of Cornwall may keep until Whitsuntide.
- (3) In the Countess of Winchester’s book let there be a pair of images on each page.<sup>138</sup>

Though Countess Sanchia was certainly well-connected both politically and socially, there is no direct evidence that in the years before her husband’s bid for the German throne she exploited these contacts for either herself or her husband’s benefit.

## **The Mistress of the Household**

In thirteenth-century Europe, wealthy high-status wives would have had their own households which were separate from those of their husbands.<sup>139</sup> As queen, Sanchia's household was probably considerable. Though there are unfortunately no surviving records or indeed descriptions for this royal institution during the period of her queenship, it was likely to have been a 'highly complex administrative unit' that included a separate office of the wardrobe.<sup>140</sup> Staffed with its own set of administrative clerks, her wardrobe probably compiled annual accounts and controlled her daily expenditure. Sanchia's royal household too comprised many attendants performing various ceremonial and domestic functions, from ladies-in-waiting to chamberlains and from cooks to laundresses.<sup>141</sup> The identities of her damsels at this time are unknown, but they would presumably have been drawn from the female kin of her husband's leading German supporters.

Nevertheless, her earlier household as Countess of Cornwall can be partially reconstructed from surviving fragmentary evidence. This institution itself was based at Berkhamsted, the castle having been settled upon Sanchia at the time of her marriage.<sup>142</sup> Considerable sums had recently been spent on the fortress's refurbishment,<sup>143</sup> while in 1254 the Dunstable Annalist noted the construction of a three storey tower with timber taken from Sundon in Bedfordshire.<sup>144</sup> New floors and roofs were also perhaps installed around this time.<sup>145</sup> There are unfortunately no extant account rolls for her household as countess, although similar surviving records for those of both her sister Eleanor and sister-in-law Eleanor de Montfort can give some understanding of its likely daily routines and life-cycle.<sup>146</sup> But occasional references can be found in the public records which do name individual members of her household. The King's Remembrancer's

memoranda roll for 55-56 Henry III (Michaelmas 1271-Trinity 1272), for instance, notes that Sanchia's steward was a Walter of Cooksey, an official who interestingly had served her sister Eleanor simultaneously in the same capacity.<sup>147</sup> More intriguing is a brief reference in a royal jewel account from 1253 to a Lucy who had been gifted a clasp by Queen Eleanor at the feast of the Circumcision (1 January). The entry noted that Lucy had 'remained' with the countess.<sup>148</sup> This woman, described as a damsel (*domicille*), may have been a constituent member of Sanchia's household but Lucy could equally have been one of Eleanor's own attendants. Such transfers of officials and servants between the households of members of the royal family were not unknown: Margaret Biset, for instance, had acted as Isabella of England's nurse and governess before later entering the service of Eleanor of Provence.<sup>149</sup> Other known household members of Sanchia included both the Lady Denise, the nurse of her son Edmund of Cornwall,<sup>150</sup> and a yeoman named Stephen de la Haye.<sup>151</sup>

To sustain these two separate households Sanchia drew income from a mixture of resources. After the joint coronation at Aachen, Richard would likely have assigned his wife some estates from the *Reichsgut* or imperial demesne. These lands belonged to the kings of Germany solely through their royal office and were distinctly separate from each monarch's own dynastic territory.<sup>152</sup> Exactly where Sanchia's German estates were situated is unknown. Matilda, the Anglo-Norman wife of Emperor Heinrich V, had, for instance, probably been given lands in the region of Utrecht.<sup>153</sup> But since her husband's royal authority was primarily concentrated in the Rhineland,<sup>154</sup> Sanchia's allocation from the *Reichsgut* probably consisted of lands either in the Middle Rhine or near the River Neckar.<sup>155</sup> Richard may also have given her *ad hoc* monetary grants drawn from either the remaining *Reichsgut* under his control or from the money reserves that they had brought with them from England.<sup>156</sup> Sanchia moreover drew upon other non-

monetary resources both to maintain her royal household and to successfully perform her duties as queen. Accompanying her on the journey to Germany would have been a sizeable baggage train carrying an abundance of luxury goods: sumptuous clothing and wall hangings, valuable jewels, ornaments, rings and clasps, plate, and even perhaps pieces of furniture.<sup>157</sup> All these items served different purposes: robes and cloaks, for instance, might have been distributed to her damsels and other attendants; girdles and jewellery were associated with ritualised gift-giving; furnishings may have decorated her private chambers; and furniture such as beds installed in the palace.<sup>158</sup> Sanchia too presumably utilised the surviving material resources of previous queens that were housed either in the imperial treasury at Trifels or royal palaces such as Kaiserslautern.<sup>159</sup>

Far more is known though about Sanchia's landed resources in England. As the third daughter of Raymond Bérengar V, she brought to her marriage no territorial claims in Provence. There were hopes, however, that under the terms of her father's will, drafted in 1238, she would receive 5,000 marks at his death.<sup>160</sup> Henry III meanwhile agreed to provide Richard with £2,000 in cash and a thousand marks a year or the equivalent in lands as her dowry.<sup>161</sup> At the wedding itself, Richard settled on her a third of his English estates including both the castle and manor of Berkhamsted.<sup>162</sup> Soon Henry granted his brother other manors in several different counties: Corsham (Wiltshire), Fordington (Dorset), Mere (Wiltshire), Newport (Essex), and Prince's Risborough (Buckinghamshire) in 1243;<sup>163</sup> Benson (Oxfordshire) and Bradninch (Devon) in 1244;<sup>164</sup> Oakham (Rutland) and Lechlade (Gloucestershire) in 1252;<sup>165</sup> Barford St. Martin (Wiltshire) and Langborough (Gloucestershire) in 1254.<sup>166</sup> All of these manors were given to Richard and Sanchia jointly, but with the condition that they would descend only to his surviving heirs 'by Sanchia his wife'.<sup>167</sup> This specific

provision might be evidence of her maternal desire to protect the interests of her children, acting as their natural guardian and securing their future. Sanchia seemingly did enjoy a close relationship with her son Edmund of Cornwall, to whom she made specific reference to in her letter to the Prior of Wallingford.<sup>168</sup> After Sanchia's death, Edmund likewise remembered her in the *pro anima* clauses of several of his charters and paid for a chaplain at Mere to say prayers for her soul.<sup>169</sup> Her maternal concerns were also addressed in Henry's promise that should Sanchia outlive her husband, the grieving widow would herself be given custody of her surviving children during their minority.<sup>170</sup>

Sanchia too occasionally received wardships granted by the crown whose revenues were likely paid directly into her wardrobe. In July 1253, Henry made her a promise that 'out of the king's wards that first fall in, in one place or more, she shall have to the amount of £80 a year, to hold during the minority of the heirs of such wards'.<sup>171</sup> Just over six months later, this undertaking was honoured when, in February 1254, the king gave Sanchia all the lands and heirs of Ralph de Levinton.<sup>172</sup> Shortly afterwards she surrendered this wardship to the Lord Edward, receiving in its place custody of the late Earl of Derby's Berkshire manor of Stanford in the Vale. Sanchia's keeping of the manor proved to be short-lived, however, as she soon surrendered it to the Lord Edward. But, on 29 October 1254, she was fully compensated by the king when he granted her custody of two manors formerly held by William de Cantilupe. Situated at Aston Cantlow in Warwickshire and Barby in Northamptonshire, Sanchia would hold these lands together with 'all appurtenances and escheats which may fall' until Cantilupe's heirs had attained their majority. Should there be any annual surplus 'beyond £80', however, this excess was to be rendered at the exchequer.<sup>173</sup>

That Sanchia seemed to have exerted some degree of personal control over these estates or even participated in the exploitation of the land market is hinted at in a few tantalising references in the records of the royal law courts.<sup>174</sup> In the *Coram Rege* roll for Michaelmas 1259, for instance, a certain Wygan de Mara had alleged that a deed or bond issued by ‘his lady’ Queen Sanchia for ten marks had been taken from him.<sup>175</sup> Wygan was himself subsequently found guilty of seizing chattels from several individuals at Alcester and bringing them to her manor at Aston Cantlow.<sup>176</sup> Wygan himself subsequently acted as an attorney for Sanchia’s steward, Walter of Cooksey, so it is conceivable that Wygan may also have been in her service at this time.<sup>177</sup> Three years later, during the Warwickshire eyre of 1262, Ralph Basset of Drayton acknowledged that he owed Sanchia’s executors a total of £38 18s., although unfortunately the reason for this debt was not recorded.<sup>178</sup>

Sanchia usually appeared as a co-plaintiff or co-defendant alongside her husband in legal proceedings.<sup>179</sup> Occasionally, however, she be found acting as the sole plaintiff and defending her seignorial rights in the law courts. She herself would not have been personally present in court to witness any of these legal proceedings, but instead her interests were represented by a nominated attorney. Although the identities of these attorneys are now unknown, it is probable that they were either members of Sanchia’s own household or one of her husband’s senior clerks and officials.<sup>180</sup> In Michaelmas 1260, she initiated a plea in the Common Bench against Robert of Stafford and nineteen other men for a sum of 120 marks that they owed her. Given that many of the defendants were either in her service, for example Walter of Cooksey, or came from Wootton Warwen, a Warwickshire manor just two and a half miles from Aston Cantlow, she was probably enforcing the rights conferred on her through her custody of William de Cantilupe’s manor.<sup>181</sup> Sanchia similarly enforced her seignorial rights

against the king's own officials, preventing the sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire from levying his customary dues in her estates at Hockliffe and Houghton.<sup>182</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Throughout her eighteen years of married life Sanchia of Provence, first as countess and later as *Regina Romanorum*, had performed successfully in the role expected of her as the wife of Richard of Cornwall. Actively engaging in the ceremonies, rituals, entertainments, and diplomacy that constituted life at court and in the comital household, Sanchia carefully constructed a public image for herself that embodied many contemporary concepts of virtuous noble womanhood and quickly became a powerful advertisement for the wealth, power, and prestige of her marital family. In embracing Marian symbolism, she assumed the widely respected roles of both intercessor and loving mother. Sanchia though never seemingly invoked for herself the recurrent thirteenth-century image of the *virago*, the superbly competent woman of affairs. She instead preferred a more restrained and less political approach in the public sphere than some of her peers, eschewing factional politics at court but facilitating her husband's regal ambitions in Germany through her trans-European familial network and careful personal diplomacy. Character too helped shape this model façade, Sanchia's own personal qualities and achievements influencing how contemporaries measured her success when performing this most difficult of roles. For medieval queens and noblewomen, the boundary between the public and the private woman was often blurred as their behaviour in both spheres was constrained through commonly held expectations of idealised wifely conduct.<sup>183</sup> Sanchia was no exception. So successful was her performance as a living exemplar that the real woman behind the mask can only ever be

glimpsed occasionally. A veil may still hang over much of her private life, but in the public sphere at least Sanchia of Provence can no longer be considered a queen in the shadows.

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<sup>1</sup> H.R. Luard (Ed) (1872-84) *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, 7 vols (London: Rolls Series, 57), v, p. 640; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1869) 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes, 1066-1298', in his (Ed) (1864-9) *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols (London: RS, 36), iv, pp. 116-117 [hereafter *Wykes*]; N. Denholm-Young (1947) *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), pp. 88-92; B.K.U. Weiler (2006) *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216-1272*, Studies in History New Series (London: Royal Historical Society and Boydell Press), pp. 172-176; M. Groten (2010) 'Mitravit Me, et Ego Eum Coronabo - Konrad von Hochstaden und die Wahl Richards von Cornwall', in A. Neugebauer, K. Kremb and J. Keddigkeit (Eds) *Richard von Cornwall: Römisch-deutsches Königtum in nachstaufiger Zeit* (Kaiserslautern: Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1110, the elected kings of Germany had regularly used the title of *Rex Romanorum* (King of the Romans) 'in a bid to assert authority over Rome and reinforce claims that only the German king' could be crowned as Holy Roman Emperor: P.H. Wilson (2016) *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* (London: Allen Lane), p. 37; T. Reuter (2013) *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c.800-1056* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 274-275.

<sup>3</sup> For Richard's contested election and the rival claim of King Alfonso X of Castile, see I. Schwab (2010) 'Richard von Cornwall und Alfons von Kastilien - Parallelen und Differenzen ihres Königtums', in Neugebauer, Kremb and Keddigkeit (Eds) *Richard von Cornwall*, pp. 117-140, esp. 120-129; Groten, 'Mitravit Me', pp. 25-54, esp. 51-54; F.R.

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- Lewis (1937) 'Ottokar II of Bohemia and the Double Election of 1257', *Speculum* 12 (4), pp. 512-515.
- <sup>4</sup> British Library, Cleopatra DIII (Hailes Cartulary), fol. 43v; Wykes, pp. 129-130; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1864) 'Annales de Osneia, 1016-1347', in his *Annales Monastici*, iv, p. 128 [hereafter *Osney*]; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1865) 'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in his *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 100 [hereafter *Winchester*]; G. Sivéry (1987) *Marguerite de Provence: Une reine au temps des Cathédrales* (Paris: Fayard), p. 19.
- <sup>5</sup> H.R. Luard (Ed) (1866) 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297', in his *Annales Monastici*, iii, p. 161 [hereafter *Dunstable*]; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 263; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1865) 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291', in his *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 330; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1864) 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesberia, 1066-1263', in his *Annales Monastici*, i, p. 132 [hereafter *Tewkesbury*]; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1864) 'Annales Monasterii de Burton, 1004-1263', in his *Annales Monastici*, i, p.257 [hereafter *Burton*].
- <sup>6</sup> For Richard's wealth, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 59, 65-66, 157-170; N. Vincent (2004), 'Richard, First Earl of Cornwall and King of Germany (1209-1272)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23501. For Richard's political influence, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 32, 54-57, 71-85.
- <sup>7</sup> For the importance of royal marriages as important tools in diplomacy, see for example: L.J. Wilkinson (2009) 'The Imperial Marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's Sister', in L. Oakley-Brown and L.J. Wilkinson (Eds) *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp.21-23; J.C. Parsons (1993) 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500', in his (Ed) *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Alan Sutton), pp. 63-78; T. Earenfight (2006) 'Diplomatic Marriages', in M.C. Schaus (Ed) *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopaedia* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), p.211.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Howell (1998) *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. xv, 1-2; Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence*, pp. 12-16.

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- <sup>9</sup> E.L. Cox (1974) *The Eagles of Savoy: The House of Savoy in Thirteenth Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 462-463; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. xiv, 2-3; Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence*, pp. 12-16.
- <sup>10</sup> J. Le Goff (2009) *St. Louis*, trans. G.E. Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press), pp. 85-86, 594-595; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. xiv, 12-20. Sanchia's youngest sister Béatrix would also become Queen of Sicily in 1266 following the coronation of her husband Charles of Anjou: J. Dunbabin (2014), *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), p. 133.
- <sup>11</sup> (1971) *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols, Kraus Reprint edn (London: HMSO), iii. (1232-47), pp. 399, 414, 437; iv. (1247-58), pp. 162, 204, 455, 481, 523, 536; vi. (1258-66), p. 195; (1970) *Calendar of Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 14 vols, Kraus Reprint edn (London: HMSO), vii. (1251-3), pp. 92, 95-96, 319; viii. (1253-4), p. 13.
- <sup>12</sup> M. Devine (Ed) (1977) *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey*, Vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press), no. 283.
- <sup>13</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 49-51; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 2, 31, 33-34, 38-39.
- <sup>14</sup> P. Stafford (2006) 'Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century Queens', in D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton (Eds) *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), pp. 99-109 at 109.
- <sup>15</sup> For the sources, imagery and models of behaviour associated with queenship, see P. Stafford (1998) *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London and Washington: University of Leicester Press), pp. 1-31, esp. 24-31.
- <sup>16</sup> See, for example, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, KB 26/161, m. 3d; TNA, KB 26/169, mm. 5d, 58; TNA, JUST 1/953, m. 7d; TNA, JUST 1/1188, mm. 1, 2-2d.
- <sup>17</sup> *Winchester*, pp. 89, 100; H.R. Luard (Ed) (1869) 'Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377', in his *Annales Monastici*, iv, pp. 435, 444, 448.

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- <sup>18</sup> For example, J.M. Lappenburg (Ed) (1859) ‘Annales Hamburgenses, 1-1265’, in G.H. Pertz (Ed) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicum in Folio* 16 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani), p. 384 [hereafter *MGH*, SS]; P. Jaffré (Ed) (1861) ‘Hermannii Altahensis Annales, 1137-1272’, in G.H. Pertz (Ed) *MGH*, SS 17 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani), p. 397; J. Heller (Ed) (1880) ‘Chronicon Hanoniense quod dicitur Balduini Avennensis’, in G. Waitz (Ed) *MGH*, SS 25 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani), p. 462.
- <sup>19</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 640; vi, p. 366-8; Wykes, pp. 116-117.
- <sup>20</sup> *Chronica Majora*, vi, pp. 366-370; Wykes, p. 271; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 153; R. Vaughan (1948) *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Thought New Series 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 13; A. Gransden (1996) *Historical Writing in England I: c.550 to c.1307* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 405-406, 431.
- <sup>21</sup> J.S. Brewer (Ed) (1858) ‘*Adae de Marisco Epistolae*’, in his (Ed) *Monumenta Franciscana*, Vol. I (London: RS, 4), no. clvi.
- <sup>22</sup> *Chronica Majora*, vi, p. 366.
- <sup>23</sup> J.C. Ward (2016) *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), p. 102; M.C. Schaus (2006) ‘Noble Households’, in her (Ed), *Women and Gender*, p. 380.
- <sup>24</sup> L.J. Wilkinson (2012) *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London: Bloomsbury), p. 10.
- <sup>25</sup> J.C. Parsons (1995) ‘The Queen’s Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England’, in J. Carpenter and S.B. MacLean (Eds) *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press), pp. 147-177.
- <sup>26</sup> M.C. Schaus (2006) ‘Diplomacy and Reconciliation’, in her (Ed) *Women and Gender*, p. 210.
- <sup>27</sup> J.C. Ward (1992) *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman), pp. ix, 129-142; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 83-85; L.L. Gee (2002) *Women, Art and*

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- Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216-1377* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), pp. 7-37, 123-138.
- <sup>28</sup> J. Whittle (2013) 'Rural Economies', in J.M. Bennett and R.M. Karras (Eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 314; J.H. Drell (2013) 'Aristocratic Economies: Women and Family', in Bennett and Karras (Eds), *Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender*, p. 338; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 10, 85-88; Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe*, pp. 123-125.
- <sup>29</sup> Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 8-14; S. Sharhar (1992) *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, trans. C. Galai (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 209-224. For the upbringing and education of Sanchia's sisters Marguerite and Eleanor, see Sivéry, *Marguerite de Provence*, pp. 16-19; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 3-8.
- <sup>30</sup> Drell, 'Aristocratic Economies', p. 328; J.C. Ward (2006) *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum), p. 102.
- <sup>31</sup> BL, Cleopatra DIII, fol. 44r; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 568.
- <sup>32</sup> BL, Cleopatra DIII, fol. 43v; *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 94.
- <sup>33</sup> *Tewkesbury*, pp. 38, 98; N. Vincent (2004) 'Almain, Henry of (1235-1271), *courtier*', *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12958.
- <sup>34</sup> *Chronica Majora*, iii, 522; J.A. Giles (Ed and trans) (1852-4) *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, 3 vols (London: George Bell and Sons), i, p. 159.
- <sup>35</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 537; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, iii, p. 156.
- <sup>36</sup> M.C. Schaus (2006) 'Ladies-in-Waiting', in her (Ed) *Women and Gender*, p. 447; Ward, *English Noblewomen*, pp. 91-92; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 12-13, 86.
- <sup>37</sup> Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, i, p. 460.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p.461.

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- <sup>39</sup> Matthew Paris recorded that many nobles had travelled from ‘the most distant parts of the kingdom, and even from those parts which border on Scotland’: Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris’s English History*, i, p.460.
- <sup>40</sup> *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 503; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris’s English History*, ii, p. 129.
- <sup>41</sup> TNA, E 101/349/13, m.2; TNA, E 101/349/21.
- <sup>42</sup> B.J. Wild (Ed) (2012) *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III* (London: Pipe Roll Society, NS 58), p. 68.
- <sup>43</sup> For the dynastic and territorial activities of Sanchia’s Savoyard relatives and their compatriots in the years after her marriage, see Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 38-56; Cox, *Eagles of Savoy*, pp. 134-263.
- <sup>44</sup> For the pageantry surrounding Eleanor’s purification ceremonies, see Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 28. For the extravagant ceremonial for later English queens, see C. Shenton (2003) ‘Philippa of Hainault’s Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III’, in R. Eales and S. Tyas (Eds) *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies IX (Donington: Shaun Tyas), pp. 105-112; L.B. St. John (2012) *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 101.
- <sup>45</sup> M. Morris (Ed) (2001) *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III*, 2 vols (List and Index Society, 291-2), *passim*; *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 1 (1239), 503 (1245); v, pp. 29 (1248), 48 (1249), 421 (1252); vi, p. 601 (1256); *Tewkesbury*, p. 132 (1243); H.R. Luard (Ed) (1890) *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols (London: RS, 95), ii, p. 356 (1249).
- <sup>46</sup> Ward, *English Noblewomen*, pp.70, 91-92.
- <sup>47</sup> C.M. Woolgar (1999) *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), *passim*; C. Given-Wilson (1996) *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth Century Political Community* (Abingdon and New York:

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- Routledge), p. 87; R.R. Davies (2009) *Lords and Lordship in Late Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp.102-104.
- <sup>48</sup> Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 26; L.J. Wilkinson (2003) ‘The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in the Thirteenth-Century England’, in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S.R. Rees Jones (Eds) *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 294-306.
- <sup>49</sup> Ward, *English Noblewomen*, pp. 58, 70-71, 75, 92; Drell, ‘Aristocratic Economies’, p. 337; M.W. Labarge (1965) *A Baronial Household in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode), pp. 38-50; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 119-121; L. Kjær (2011) ‘Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265’, *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (1), pp. 75-89.
- <sup>50</sup> J.K. Hedges (1881) *The History of Wallingford in the County of Berkshire, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Present Time*, 2 vols (London: William Clowes and Sons), i, p. 341.
- <sup>51</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 47; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris’s English History*, p. 288.
- <sup>52</sup> E. L’Estrange (2012) *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), chap. 3; Ward, *English Noblewomen*, p. 94.
- <sup>53</sup> K.J. Lewis (2013) *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), p. 207. For descriptions of specific Churching ceremonies, see for example Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 69-70; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 28; St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 100-101.
- <sup>54</sup> *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 568-569; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris’s English History*, ii, p. 182.
- <sup>55</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 75-77; Ward, *English Noblewomen*, pp. 70-80, 91-92.
- <sup>56</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 97; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris’s English History*, p. 326; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 363; L. Grant (2016) *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France* (New

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- Haven and London: Yale University Press), p. 169. Louis IX and Marguerite were themselves on Crusade at Damietta in Egypt: Le Goff, *St. Louis*, pp. 139-144.
- <sup>57</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 467-468; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, iii, p. 98. Sanchia's journey to visit her sisters was similarly noted in other chronicles: *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 403-405; *Burton*, p. 329; *Dunstable*, p. 194.
- <sup>58</sup> *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 467-468; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, iii, p. 98.
- <sup>59</sup> *Chronica Majora*, vi, p. 366.
- <sup>60</sup> H.T. Riley (Ed and trans) (1863) *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, A.D. 1188 to A.D. 1274* (London: Trübner and Co), p. 30; *Wykes*, p. 117.
- <sup>61</sup> *Chronica Majora*, vi, p. 369.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, v, p. 64; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, iii, p. 239.
- <sup>63</sup> Acting in conjunction with the chamberlain, Sanchia's predecessors as *Regina Romanorum* were expected to orchestrate arrangements for important assemblies and feasts, allot annual gifts and care for foreign guests: M. Welton (2018) 'Domina et Fidelibus Eius: Elite Households in Tenth-Century Francia and Anglo-Saxon England', in T. Earenfight (Ed) *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More than Just a Castle* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), p. 15; M.M. Chibnall (1993) *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 22-23, 28-9, 38, 45.
- <sup>64</sup> Riley (Ed and trans), *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, p. 30; *Wykes*, p. 117.
- <sup>65</sup> For the connections between Marian imagery, intercession and medieval queenship, see for example Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession', pp. 147-177; J. Laynesmith (2004) *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 7, 31-34; J.L. Nelson (2011) 'Medieval Queenship', in L.E. Mitchell (Ed) *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 179-181; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 255-259.

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- <sup>66</sup> Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, pp. 33-34; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 257, 259; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 72.
- <sup>67</sup> L. Hilton (2009) *Queen's Consort: England's Medieval Queens* (London: Phoenix), p. 4; L.L. Huneycutt (1995) 'Intercession and the Late Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos', in Carpenter and MacLean (Eds), *Power of the Weak*, pp. 126-146; St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 13, 20-21, 33-64; J.C. Parsons (1997) 'The Intercessionary Patronage of Queens Margaret and Isabella of France', in M. Prestwich, R.H. Britnell and R. Frame (Eds) *Thirteenth Century England VI: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), pp. 145-156.
- <sup>68</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 258; M. Howell (2002) 'Royal Women of England and France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century: A Gendered Perspective', in B.K.U. Weiler and I.W. Rowlands (Eds) *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 170-171; Parsons, 'Intercessionary Patronage', pp. 150-153. For other specific examples of queenly intercession, see St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 33-67, esp. 35-46; P. Strohm (1992) 'Queens as Intercessors', in his *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination in Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 99-105.
- <sup>69</sup> Froissart's description of Philippa of Hainault's intercession for the lives of the burghers of Calais in 1347 is one of the best-known examples of queenly intercession: Ward, *Women in England*, p. 129; St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 53-54.
- <sup>70</sup> *CPR 1247-58*, p. 455.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.
- <sup>72</sup> *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1255-6*, no. 990, accessed 16 May 2018, [http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll\\_053.html](http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_053.html).
- <sup>73</sup> *CR 1253-6*, p. 265; Historical Manuscripts Commission (1881) *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Report and Appendix – Part I* (London: HMSO), p. 87b.

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- <sup>74</sup> Devine (Ed), *Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey*, iii, no. 283; *CPR 1258-66*, p. 193; S. Dixon-Smith (2002) *Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead: The Pro Anima Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227-72* (PhD dissertation, University of London), p.236. Sanchia's will itself has not survived.
- <sup>75</sup> Brewer, 'Adae de Marisco Epistolae', i, no. clvi; For Richard's foundation of Hailes Abbey, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 50, 76; W.S.C. Baddeley (1908) *A Cotteswold Shrine. Being a Contribution to the History of Hailes* (Gloucester: John Bellows), pp. 27, 31, 33, 39, 48, 57.
- <sup>76</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 258.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256; R. McKitterick (1990) 'Women in the Ottonian Church: An Iconographic Perspective', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (Eds) *Women and the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), pp. 88-89; P.S. Gold (1985) *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press), pp. 52-61.
- <sup>79</sup> St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 22; J.C. Parsons (1992) 'Ritual and Symbol in English Medieval Queenship to 1500', in L.O. Fradenburg (Ed) *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 65.
- <sup>80</sup> S. Johns (2003) *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 125, 203-204.
- <sup>81</sup> E. Danbury (2008) 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', in N. Adams, J. Cherry and J. Robinson (Eds) *Good Impression: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals* (London: British Museum Press), pp. 17-24.
- <sup>82</sup> W. de Gray-Birch (1887) *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. I (London: Longmans and Co), pp. 98-100.

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- <sup>83</sup> O. Posse (1909-13), *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751-1806*, 5 vols in 3 (Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch), i, plates 19 no. 4 (Margarete von Österreich), 26 no.1 (Marie de Brabant), 33 nos. 1-2 (Elisabeth von Bayern), 35 no.7 (Béatrix de Brabant), 35 no. 5 (Elisabeth von Braunschweig); Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', 13, 23 n. 13.
- <sup>84</sup> Louis Blancard, in his descriptive commentary on the surviving seals in the Archives Départementales des Bouches-du Rhone, mistakenly ascribes a damaged seal to Sanchia. But a thorough examination of the seal's partly missing legend in his accompanying illustrative drawing, however, indicates that this was in fact the seal of Sanchia's mother Béatrix of Savoy, a conclusion that is confirmed elsewhere in the same volume when he notes that the seal was indeed that of Béatrix and is attached to the marriage contract for Richard and Sanchia dated at Tarascon in August 1242: L. Blancard (1860) *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles conservés dans la partie antérieure à 1790 des Archives Départementales des Bouches-du Rhone*, 2 vols in 4 (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin), i, p. 14 and plate 6 no. 4.
- <sup>85</sup> BL Cleopatra DIII, fol. 44v; St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 22; Baddeley, *Cotteswold Shrine*, pp. 39, 41, 57, 66, 90. Sanchia's heart was alleged to have been buried separately at Cirencester: A.K.B. Evans (1993), 'Cirencester Abbey: From Heyday to Dissolution', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 111, p. 127. Only a few fragments of tabernacle work and some tiles bearing her coat of arms, from the floor of a presbytery bay near the shrine and High Altar, have survived at Hailes: Baddeley, *Cotteswold Shrine*, p. 39. For the fate of Hailes Abbey during the Dissolution, see E.H. Shagan (2003) *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 162-196.
- <sup>86</sup> J.F. Bappert (1905) *Richard von Cornwall seit seiner Wahl zum deutschen König, 1258-1272* (Bonn: Paul Hanstein), pp. 53-56; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 461, 474.
- <sup>87</sup> Baddeley, *Cotteswold Shrine*, p.31.
- <sup>88</sup> *Tewkesbury*, p. 114.
- <sup>89</sup> Drell, 'Aristocratic Economies', p. 337; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 260.

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- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvii; *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 354; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 2.
- <sup>91</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 77-80.
- <sup>92</sup> Vincent, 'Richard, first earl of Cornwall'; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 111-117.
- <sup>93</sup> A. Thon (2010) 'Studien zur Bedeutung der pfälzischen Reichsministerialität für Itinerar und Herrschaftspraxis des römisch-deutschen Königs Richard, Graf von Cornwall (1257-1272)', in Neugebauer, Kremb and Keddington (Eds) *Richard von Cornwall*, pp. 158-160; Weiler, *Henry III and the Staufan Empire*, p. 175; Bappert, *Richard von Cornwall*, pp. 15-17.
- <sup>94</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 201-209, 213-226.
- <sup>95</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 92-93; Thon, 'Studien zur Bedeutung', pp. 141-204, esp. 159-160.
- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158-160; Weiler, *Henry III and the Staufan Empire*, p. 175; Bappert, *Richard von Cornwall*, pp. 15-17, 26-27.
- <sup>97</sup> For Eleanor of Provence acting as regent, see Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 109-127.
- <sup>98</sup> P. Nash (2017) *Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda: Medieval Female Rulership and the Foundations of European Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 133.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133; Welton 'Domina et Fidelibus Eius', pp. 15-16.
- <sup>100</sup> Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, pp. 75-76; Schaus, 'Diplomacy and Reconciliation', p. 210.
- <sup>101</sup> For individual envoys and messengers travelling between England, France, the *curia*, and Germany, see for example: *CPR 1247-58*, pp. 635, 633-634; *CPR 1258-66*, pp. 45, 119; *CLR 1251-60*, nos. 425, 454; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 425, 428; *CR 1256-9*, p. 460.
- <sup>102</sup> A. Walker (2012) *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 80; J. Watkins (2008) 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38(1), pp. 10-11.
- <sup>103</sup> Walker, *Emperor and the World.*, pp. 80-81.
- <sup>104</sup> Gifts received by the royal family were similarly redistributed at both the English and Byzantine courts: N. Vincent (2015) 'An Inventory of the Gifts to King Henry III, 1234-5',

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- in D. Crook and L.J. Wilkinson (Eds) *The Growth of Royal Government Under Henry III* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), p. 123; Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History', p. 10.
- <sup>105</sup> Richard's opponents included the Duke of Saxony and the Archbishop of Trier: Groten, 'Mittravit Me', p. 52.
- <sup>106</sup> A. Neugebauer (2010) 'Richard von Cornwall - Ein Engländer am Rhein, ein König ohne Bedeutung?', in Neugebauer, Kremb and Keddington (Eds) *Richard von Cornwall*, p. 21. Thomas of Savoy held Piedmont in Northern Italy, giving him control over the Western Alpine passes, while his younger brother Peter effectively ruled over Western Switzerland, including the strategic Pays de Vaud between Lausanne and Geneva: Cox, *Eagles of Savoy*, p. 155; N. Vincent (2004) 'Savoy, Peter of, Count of Savoy and de facto Earl of Richmond (?1203-1268), *magnate*', in *ODNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22016; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 52-54. For Sanchia's extensive pan-European Savoyard/Provençal kinship network, see Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 1-2, 130-139; Weiler, *Henry III and the Staufien Empire*, pp. 81-83, 127-128.
- <sup>107</sup> For Louis's support of Alfonso X of Castile's candidature, see Schwab, 'Richard von Cornwall und Alfons von Kastilien', pp. 131, 133; Weiler, *Henry III and the Staufien Empire*, pp. 179-181, 204; Le Goff, *St. Louis*, pp. 194, 595-596.
- <sup>108</sup> T.W.E. Roche (1966) *The King of Almayne: A Thirteenth-Century Englishman in Europe* (London: John Murray), pp. 125-126, 134; N. Goldstone (2008) *Four Queens: The Provençal Sisters Who Ruled Europe* (London: Penguin), pp. 210-213.
- <sup>109</sup> Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 42; Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', p. 32.
- <sup>110</sup> A. Kelly (1950) *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) pp. 85-87, 98-102;
- <sup>111</sup> T. Earenfight (2013) *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan: London), p. 237.
- <sup>112</sup> Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', p. 33.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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- <sup>114</sup> P. Williamson (1995) *Gothic Sculpture, 1140-1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 174-192.
- <sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- <sup>116</sup> Wykes, p. 118.
- <sup>117</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 185. For the Savoyard faction at Henry III's court, see H.W. Ridgeway (1989) 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258', *English Historical Review* 104 (412), pp. 590-610; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 49-54, 186-187, 189-190; A. Jobson (2012) *First English Revolution: Simon de Montfort, Henry III and the Barons' War* (London: Bloomsbury), pp. 9-10.
- <sup>118</sup> *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 190; Giles (Ed and trans), *Matthew Paris's English History*, i, p. 404.
- <sup>119</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 33-36; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 48-49.
- <sup>120</sup> For Henry's increasing reliance upon his brother's counsel, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 32.
- <sup>121</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp.34-35.
- <sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34. For Richard's earlier association with the king's political opponents, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 22-37; Vincent, 'Richard, first earl of Cornwall'.
- <sup>123</sup> For the terms of the territorial settlement between Henry and Richard, see Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 51.
- <sup>124</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. xv.
- <sup>125</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 50; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 33-34.
- <sup>126</sup> For Raymond's earlier betrothal to Sanchia, see Cox, *Eagles of Savoy*, p. 115; N. Vincent (2002) 'England and the Albigensian Crusade', in Weiler and Rowlands (Eds) *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III*, pp. 82-83 and nn. 126, 131.
- <sup>127</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 33.
- <sup>128</sup> F. Benoit (Ed) *Recueil des Actes des Comtes de Provence appartenant à la Maison de Barcelone*, 2 vols (Paris and Monaco: Imprimerie de Monaco, 1925), ii, no. 356; Howell,

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*Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 33-34. The marriage contract itself still survives in the Archives Départementales des Bouches-du Rhone.

- <sup>129</sup> *CPR 1247-58*, p. 220. Peter's surviving brothers would also have to give permission.
- <sup>130</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 52, 104, 116. Richard provided several loans to Peter: Vincent, 'Savoy, Peter of'.
- <sup>131</sup> For the Lusignan relatives, see H.W. Ridgeway (1992) 'William de Valence and his *Familiares*', *Historical Research* 65 (158), pp. 239-257; H.W. Ridgeway (1996) 'The Ecclesiastical Career of Aymer de Lusignan, Bishop Elect of Winchester, 1250-1260', in J. Blair and B. Golding (Eds) *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 148-177.
- <sup>132</sup> For the political impact of the rivalry between the Savoyards and Lusignans, see Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites', pp. 590-610; H.W. Ridgeway (1988) 'King Henry III and the "Aliens", 1236-72', in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Eds) *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), pp. 81-92; Jobson, *First English Revolution*, pp. 8-10, 17-27.
- <sup>133</sup> *CPR 1258-67*, p. 195.
- <sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- <sup>135</sup> Dixon-Smith, *Feeding the Poor*, pp. 203-208, 212-214, 235-237; S.A. Dixon-Smith (1999) 'The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society* 152, p. 90.
- <sup>136</sup> J.R. Maddicott (1994) *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 40-41, 80-85, 171; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, pp. 12, 15, 80-81, 114.
- <sup>137</sup> Brewer, '*Adae de Marisco Epistolae*', i, no. clvi.
- <sup>138</sup> Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, p. 170
- <sup>139</sup> Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe*, p. 115.

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- <sup>140</sup> St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 65-66. Sanchia's wardrobe though would probably have still enjoyed close organisational links with that of her husband: Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', p. 202.
- <sup>141</sup> For contemporary examples, see Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', p. 28; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 75-77; St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, pp. 65-72. Documentary evidence for Richard's own wardrobe survives in just a single document: TNA, E 101/350/5 m. 3.
- <sup>142</sup> *CPR 1232-47*, p. 414.
- <sup>143</sup> *Dunstable*, p. 161.
- <sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- <sup>145</sup> *CR 1251-3*, p. 319; P.M. Remfry (1995) *Berkhamsted Castle and the Families of the Counts of Mortain, the Earls of Cornwall and the Crown* (Worcester: Castle Studies Research and Publishing), p. 67.
- <sup>146</sup> Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 266-269; T.H. Turner (Ed) (1841) *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century* (London: Shakespeare Press), pp. 3-85. Households could also fluctuate considerably in size: see, for example, L.J. Wilkinson (2018) 'The Great Household in Wartime: Eleanor de Montfort and Her *Familia*', in C.M. Woolgar (Ed) *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XXVIII (Donington: Shaun Tyas), pp. 37-38.
- <sup>147</sup> TNA, E 159/46 rot. 5.
- <sup>148</sup> TNA, E 101/349/12 m.1.
- <sup>149</sup> Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', p. 28; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, pp. 22-23.
- <sup>150</sup> TNA, E 101/349/12, m.2.
- <sup>151</sup> *CPR 1247-58*, p. 481.
- <sup>152</sup> H.C. Faussner (1973) 'Die Verfügungsgewalt des deutschen Königs über weltliches Reichsgut im Hochmittelalter', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 29, pp.

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- 345-349; R. Fossier (1997) 'The Structuring of Society', in his *The Cambridge Illustrated History of The Middle Ages II: 950-1250* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 386.
- <sup>153</sup> Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 24.
- <sup>154</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 94.
- <sup>155</sup> E. Isenmann (1999) 'The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages', in R. Bonney (Ed) *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c.1200-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 252.
- <sup>156</sup> Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 94-95; Bappert, *Richard von Cornwall*, p. 20. So impressive were Richard's monetary resources that a fifteenth-century German chronicler claimed that he had travelled to Germany with thirty-two carts, each of which were drawn by eight horses, loaded with gold and silver: J. Schwalm (Ed) (1895) *Die Chronica Novella des Hermann Korner* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht), p. 175.
- <sup>157</sup> Richard's sister Isabella had brought a similar array of luxurious items with her to Germany: Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', pp. 29-31.
- <sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
- <sup>159</sup> Thon, 'Studien zur Bedeutung', pp. 186, 191; J. Schwarz (2010) 'Herrschaft und Herrschaftskonzeptionen des römisch-deutschen Königs Richard von Cornwall', in Neugebauer, Kremb and Keddigkeit (Eds) *Richard von Cornwall*, pp.81-83.
- <sup>160</sup> On his deathbed, however, Raymond-Bérengar altered its terms and left everything to his youngest daughter Béatrix: Benoit (Ed), *Receuil des Actes des Comtes de Provence*, ii, no. 292A; *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 404, 485.
- <sup>161</sup> *CPR 1232-47*, p. 437; (1930) *Calendar of Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1240-1245* (London: HMSO), p. 198; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 51.
- <sup>162</sup> *CPR 1232-47*, p. 414; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 51, 165.
- <sup>163</sup> TNA, E 36/57 (Edmund of Cornwall's Cartulary), fol. 57r, no. ccxv; (1972) *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226-1326*, 3 vols, Kraus Reprint edn (London: HMSO), i. (1225-57), p. 276. Ten years later, Henry's permission for Richard to build a new stone castle at Mere included a provision that at Richard's death the fortress

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would revert only to the male issue from his second marriage to Sanchia: *CPR 1247-58*, p. 208.

<sup>164</sup> TNA, E 36/57, fol. 57v, no. ccxvi; *CChR 1226-57*, pp. 280-281.

<sup>165</sup> TNA, E 36/57, fol. 54v, no. ccvi; *CChR 1226-57*, p. 392; *CR 1251-3*, p. 92.

<sup>166</sup> TNA, E 36/57, fols. 38v-39r, no. cxxxvii; *CR 1253-4*, pp. 13, 67.

<sup>167</sup> *CChR 1225-57*, p. 276.

<sup>168</sup> Brewer, '*Adae de Marisco Epistolae*', i, no. clvi.

<sup>169</sup> Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson B 455 (Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital York), fol. 24r; TNA, E 36/57, fol. 14v, no. xlvi; *CChR 1300-26*, p. 490; M. Ray, 'A Forgotten Hero? Edmund of Almain, Earl of Cornwall, 1249-1300', (unpublished book manuscript), p. 55, accessed 25 July 2018, [https://www.academia.edu/15748495/A\\_forgotten\\_Hero\\_Edmund\\_of\\_Almain\\_Earl\\_of\\_Cornwall\\_1249-1300\\_Chapter\\_6\\_Edmund\\_and\\_his\\_family](https://www.academia.edu/15748495/A_forgotten_Hero_Edmund_of_Almain_Earl_of_Cornwall_1249-1300_Chapter_6_Edmund_and_his_family).

<sup>170</sup> *CPR 1232-47*, p. 414.

<sup>171</sup> *CPR 1247-58*, p. 208.

<sup>172</sup> *CFR 1253-4*, no. 947, accessed 16 May 2018, [http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll\\_051.html](http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_051.html).

<sup>173</sup> *CFR 1254-5*, no. 1, accessed 16 May 2018, [http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll\\_052.html](http://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_052.html).

<sup>174</sup> For the aristocratic exploitation of the thirteenth-century land market, see S. Raban (1985) 'The Land Market and the Aristocracy in the Thirteenth Century', in D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (Eds) *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 239-262.

<sup>175</sup> TNA, KB 26/161, m. 3d.

<sup>176</sup> TNA, JUST 1/953, m. 7d.

<sup>177</sup> TNA, JUST 1/954, m. 36.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 12.

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<sup>179</sup> See, for example, TNA, JUST 1/1188, mm. 1, 2-2d; TNA, E 159/29, rot. 16d; TNA, KB 26/165, m. 6.

<sup>180</sup> Richard's own attorneys at this time included William Pasket (his steward) and John of Brompton (his clerk): TNA KB 26/165 m. 32; TNA E36/57 fol. 60v. Similarly, Eleanor of Provence employed attorneys in her own litigation who had often acted in the same capacity for her husband: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 265.

<sup>181</sup> TNA, KB 26/169, mm. 5d, 58; *CFR 1254-5*, no. 1.

<sup>182</sup> TNA, E 101/505/9; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 140.

<sup>183</sup> P. Stafford (1998) 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in Parsons (Ed), *Medieval Queenship*, p. 145.