Elite Female Constructions of Power and Space in England, 1444-1541

Rachel Marie Delman
University College
University of Oxford

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Short Abstract

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach to five residences that were commissioned and headed by noblewomen in England between the years 1444 and 1541. By focusing on the design, layout and use of domestic space, it explores how female authority was articulated through the material, spatial and social environment of the late medieval great household and its wider landscape.

The five noblewomen and sites considered in this study are as follows: Alice Chaucer, duchess of Suffolk (c.1404-75) and Ewelme Manor House (Oxfordshire); Margaret of Anjou, queen of England (1430-82) and Greenwich Palace (Kent); Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby (1443-1509) and Collyweston Palace (Northamptonshire); Katherine Courtenay, countess of Devon (1479-1527) and Tiverton Castle (Devon); and Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury (1473-1541) and Warblington Castle (Hampshire). By taking a comparative approach to the principal houses of these five women, this thesis makes a new and significant contribution to scholarly discussions of gender, power and space in pre-modern England, which have until now neglected to consider the medieval great household as a site of female authority.

Chapter one introduces the sites, and explores the geographical and social factors governing the women's choices of those locations. Chapters two and three focus on the arrangement of outdoor and indoor space respectively, to consider whether there was a discernible gender difference in the ways in which male and female heads of household ordered space for the projection of their authority. Chapter four focuses on the representations of male and female bodies through large-scale visual media such as tapestries and wall paintings, and considers how their representation and placement within the domestic complex articulated female authority. The fifth and final chapter explores the women's performances of their authority as household figureheads. Overall, the thesis argues that female displays of domestic authority relied on a complex interplay of masculine and feminine elements, thus challenging a prevailing notion that authoritative women in pre-modern England were merely honorary men or exceptional women, and revealing a far more nuanced reality.

Long Abstract

In the scholarly and popular imagination alike, castles and great residences have long been understood as bastions of masculine, lordly authority. Roberta Gilchrist vividly sums this up in her statement that 'archaeologists and social historians have eulogized the male domain of the castle, reeking of sweat, testosterone and horses'.[1] According to current historiographical narratives, castles and great residences were spaces where women were spatially marginalized and rendered invisible, with their containment in the more 'private' areas of the domestic complex, such as towers and enclosed gardens, seen to reflect and reinforce their wider social passivity. Yet, what can be said of instances where the head of the great household was a woman?

By taking an interdisciplinary approach to five houses that were commissioned and/or presided over by women between 1444 and 1541, this thesis explores the ways in which female authority was articulated through the spatial, material and social environment of the late medieval great residence and its associated landscape. It argues that female constructions of authority, as expressed through the design, layout and use of the home, did not simply mimic those of their male counterparts, but instead relied on a complex interplay of masculine and feminine elements. In painting a nuanced picture of female authority within a domestic context, this thesis makes a new and significant contribution to wider discussions of gender and power, which have recently sought to complicate a long-held notion that women who wielded authority in pre-modern England were simply either honorary men or exceptional women.

The five women and sites considered in this thesis are as follows: Alice Chaucer, duchess of Suffolk (c.1404-75) and Ewelme Manor House (Oxfordshire); Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England (1430-82) and Greenwich Palace (Kent); Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby (1443-1509) and Collyweston Palace (Northamptonshire); Katherine Courtenay, countess of Devon (1479-1527) and Tiverton Castle (Devon); and Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury (1473-1541) and Warblington Castle (Hampshire).

The five thematic thesis chapters chart the progression from outdoor to indoor space. While chapters one and two focus on the locations and landscape environs of the residences, chapters three and four are concerned with the interior arrangement and appearance of space, and consider the layout and decoration of the rooms within the

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[1] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London, 1999), p. 121.

domestic complex. The final chapter moves from physical to social space, to explore the women's performance of their domestic authority through their use of the home, its grounds and the wider estate. The arrangement of the chapters is designed to replicate the sequential movement of a contemporary visitor to the residence, who would first experience the residence within its landscape context, followed by the rooms and their interior decoration, and culminating in the appearance of the head of household herself. This thesis argues that the head of household's authority was not just expressed through a single one of these elements; rather they were complementary and integral to the presentation of female authority through the domestic environment.

Chapter one, 'Topographies of Female Lordship', focuses on the locations of each of the residences and their pre-existing topographical and social advantages for expressions of female authority. Addressing each of the five sites in turn, the discussion considers how much choice the women had over the locations of their principal residences and what factors may have informed their attachment to those particular places. While a literature on religious landscapes has shown that there was a pronounced gender difference in the locations of monasteries and nunneries, the discussion in this chapter considers whether the sites inhabited by lordly women spoke of distinctly feminine concerns or priorities. It argues that while the geographical locations advertised the women's social, spiritual and economic privileges in a manner akin to their male counterparts, the social factors governing the women's attachments to those particular locations spoke of their distinctly feminine concerns as wives, daughters and mothers.

Chapter two, 'Elite Female Landscapes', develops the discussion in chapter one by considering the women's roles as place-makers and shapers of the landscape environs around their residences. The aims of this chapter are two-fold. On one level, the discussion seeks to establish how far the women were responsible for re-structuring outdoor space for the projection of their personal authority. It considers how the women used those places as vehicles for self-expression, and the impact their presence had on the order and appearance of the local landscape. The discussion also explores how the women's creation and ownership of what have variously been referred to as 'elite', 'designed' or 'ornamental' landscapes — that is to say composite landscapes for pleasure, which included features such hunting grounds, gardens, orchards and water features — conveyed gendered messages of power and authority. It argues that while as a whole these landscapes were viewed as appurtenances to male lordship, the gendering of many of the individual settings and features within such landscapes was ambivalent. Enclosure, for example, at once carried connotations in medieval thought with male seclusion and female chastity. This chapter argues that the women were able to exploit the ambivalent gendering of these spaces for statements of authority that were both masculine and feminine in their expression.

Chapter three, 'Within the Walls: Ground Plans of Female Authority', focuses on the interior arrangement of space. It considers how visible each of the women are in the historical record as patrons of domestic architecture, and whether the physical arrangement of space differed when the principal occupant was female. Since many of the houses no longer survive, or have been much altered since the women occupied them, this chapter necessarily sets out, in so far as is possible, the interior layouts of each of the houses addressed. In doing so, it marks the first scholarly attempt to establish the physical arrangement of elite female houses in late medieval England. The chapter's main aim is to establish whether a discernible gender difference can be detected in the layouts of houses presided over by elite men and women. If we were simply left with the ground plans and had no knowledge of who owned the residence and was responsible for building it, would it be possible to tell that the principal occupant was female? Paying especial attention to the women's apartments, this chapter demonstrates that 'privacy' was a defining feature of the living quarters of both male and female heads of household. While the physical design of men's and women's apartments was largely the same, however, this chapter argues that concepts of seclusion may have taken on a heightened gendered significance when the principal occupant was female.

Chapter four, 'Gendered Iconography', explores how female authority was articulated through the visual environment of the home. Focusing primarily on large-scale visual media such as tapestries and wall paintings, this chapter considers how the subject and placement of these images expressed the female head of household's authority by raising her to the level of an exemplar. Responding to a prevailing view in current scholarship that representations of female bodies in male-owned households were excluded from the more 'public' areas of the great residence, such as the great hall, and that representations of women were simply designed to reflect and reinforce cultural norms of female passivity, this chapter considers whether this was also the case in houses where the figure of authority was female. Moving away from the binaries of male/female, active/passive, this chapter argues that formulations of female authority through the visual environment were not simply reliant on male or female or masculine and feminine representations; rather they incorporated a complex interplay of all these elements.

The fifth and final chapter, ''Captenesse' or 'Houswyff'? Governing Domestic Space', focuses on the women's performance of their authority through their use of domestic space. The title of this chapter takes its inspiration from the gentlewoman Margaret Paston's descriptions of her own household governance in her letters to her husband. These terms vividly capture the interplay of masculine and feminine elements integral to female household governance, as expressed by a fifteenth-century woman in her own words. While the first four chapters present the elite residence as a stage, this final chapter considers the women as stage managers. The discussion first addresses household and estate management, considering how far the women personally took responsibility for the day-to-day running of their households. It then proceeds to consider the interrelationship between control of the body and control of space, focusing specifically on the women's performance of piety, and how this was facilitated and structured through more solitary spaces, such as gardens and closets. The final part of the chapter addresses the home as a site of sociability. Focusing on aspects such hospitality, charity and the exchange of domestic objects with servants, friends and associates, this section explores the women's interactions with others, and how these were celebrated and cultivated through domestic space and the objects within it. Overall, this chapter argues that the secular female head of household performed her authority in a manner akin to both an abbess and a king.

Together, these chapters demonstrate the complexities of female authority as it was articulated through the spatial, material and social environment of the great residence, and they highlight the rich value of domestic space for exploring women's experiences and expressions of authority in late medieval and early Tudor England.

Contents

Acknowledgements 1

Abbreviations 3

List of Illustrations 4

Introduction 8

- The Women and their Residences 9
- Why the Great Residence? 13
- Methodological Approach and Scope of the Project 22
- The Sources 25
- Structure of the Thesis 39

Chapter One: Topographies of Female Lordship 44

- Introduction 44
- Margaret of Anjou and Greenwich Palace 52
- Alice Chaucer and Ewelme Manor House 62
- Margaret Beaufort and Collyweston Palace 70
- Katherine Courtenay and Tiverton Castle 80
- Margaret Pole and Warblington Castle 88
- Conclusion 94

Chapter Two: Elite Female Landscapes 99

- Introduction 99
- Enclosure and Separation 102

- Pleasure Grounds 111
    - i) Hunting Reserves 112
    - ii) Deer Parks 112
    - iii) Warrens 125
    - iv) Dovecotes 127
    - v) Gardens and Orchards 131
    - vi) Watery Settings 137
- Conclusion 141

Chapter Three: Within the Walls: Ground Plans of Female Authority 145

- Introduction 145
- The Late Medieval Great Residence: Expected Layouts 149
- Greenwich 159
- Collyweston 169
- Warblington 186
- Ewelme 191
- Tiverton 194
- Conclusion 203

Chapter Four: Gendered Iconography 209

- Introduction 209
- The Great Hall 218
- The Parlour 222
- The Great Chamber 232
- The Chapel 238
- Conclusion 250

Chapter Five: ‘Captenesse’ or ‘Houswyff’? Governing Domestic Space 253

- Introduction 253
- Managing Space 255
  - Estate Management 257
    - Looking onto the Landscape: Surveillance and Female Authority 267
  - Household Management 271
    - Overseeing Accounts 272
    - Managing Servants 276
- The Abbess as a Role Model 282
  - Controlling Bodies; Controlling Space 282
  - Solitude and Sisterhood: Gardens, Closets and the Female Spiritual Imagination 290
  - Sites of Conspicuous Privacy 294
  - Reading Communities 298
- Dispensing Authority 302
- Hospitality and Commensality 306
  - Feasting 312
  - Hunting 315
  - Music 318
  - Giving and Receiving Gifts 322
- Charity 331
- Conclusion 341

Conclusions 344

Bibliography 352

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List of Abbreviations

BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BL	British Library, London
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CRO	Cornwall Record Office
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EETS	Early English Texts Society
GIS	Geographic Information System
HKW	*History of the King's Works*
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PCRO	Portsmouth County Record Office
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
Rot. Parl.	*Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols, 1767-77).
SJC	St. John's College Archives, Cambridge
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VCH	*Victoria County History*

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Outline Map of England with pre-1974 county boundaries showing all five sites considered in the thesis p. 43

Figure 2. Map of Greenwich in relation to Margaret of Anjou's other main residences p. 55

Figure 3. Site of Greenwich palace. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1869-70 edition, London p. 56

Figure 4. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Panorama of the Thames', 1543. Image: Wikimedia Commons p. 60

Figure 5. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'View of Greenwich from Observatory Hill', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b p. 60

Figure 6. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Greenwich Palace', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b p. 61

Figure 7. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Greenwich Palace', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b p. 61

Figure 8. Outline Map of England showing Ewelme in relation to Alice's other main residences p. 65

Figure 9. Map of Ewelme in 1767 showing the Open Field System. Oxfordshire History Centre (OHC), MS dd. Par. Ewelme, a. 1 p. 66

Figure 10. Site map of Ewelme. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1877 edition, Oxfordshire p. 66

Figure 11. Site map of Collyweston. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1886 edition, Rutland p. 73

Figure 12. View from Back Lane looking West over the Welland Valley. Image: All rights reserved: Gerry Gutteridge, Flickr. Reproduced by kind permission of the author p. 74

Figure 13. Tithe Map of Collyweston (Parish), Northamptonshire, 1842-3. TNA, IR30/24/34 p. 76

Figure 14. Outline map of England showing Collyweston in relation to Maxey and Fotheringhay p. 80

Figure 15. Outline map of England showing Tiverton in relation to Katherine Courtenay's other main residences p. 81

Figure 16. Site map of Tiverton. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1890 edition, Devon p. 85

Figure 17. Outline map of England showing Warblington in relation to Margaret Pole's other main residences p. 90

Figure 18. Site map of Warblington. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1867 edition, Hampshire p. 91

Figure 19. Map showing all five sites in relation to the major roads, navigable rivers and towns of England and Wales. Adapted from J. F. Edwards and B. P. Hindle, 'The Transportation System of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17/2 (1991) p. 98

Figure 20. The Boundaries of Collyweston Park in 1692. Burghley Estates, Ex Map 368, Map of Collyweston Park, 1692 p. 117

Figure 21. Site of Lady Margaret Beaufort's palace and gardens, RCHME, *North-East Northamptonshire* (London, 1975) p. 118

Figure 22. Detail from John Norden's Map of Hampshire (1607) showing Warblington Castle with its enclosed deer park p. 120

Figure 23. The site of Margaret Pole's house and landscape at Warblington. Adapted from Tithe Map of Warblington (Parish), Hampshire, 1841. TNA IR 30/31/265 p. 120

Figure 24. Detail from the Hours of the Virgin in Margaret Beaufort's Prayer Book, Alnwick Castle MS 498 p. 129

Figure 25. Detail from the Hours of the Virgin in Margaret Beaufort's Prayer Book, Alnwick Castle MS 498 p. 130

Figure 26. Schematic layout of a late medieval Great Residence (inner courtyard, ground floor). Copied and adapted from C. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* p. 157

Figure 27. Schematic layout of the lord's apartments in a late medieval great household (first-floor level). Drawn by author p. 158

Figure 28. Schematic Representation of the first-floor level of Margaret of Anjou's ward at Greenwich. Drawn by author p. 167

Figure 29. The Principal's Lodgings at Queens' College, Cambridge. Image: Author's own p. 168

Figure 30. The main gatehouse to Queens' College, Cambridge. Image: Author's own p. 168

Figure 31. Conjectured plan of the hall at Collyweston and its associated offices. Northampton Record Office, SG 131 p. 173

Figure 32. Conjectured Plan of Collyweston Palace. Image not to scale. Drawn by author p. 182

Figure 33. The front court of Christ's College, Cambridge, as viewed from the main gatehouse. Image: Author's own p. 183

Figure 34. The oriel window of the master's lodgings at Christ's College, Cambridge. Image: Author's own p. 183

Figure 35. Christ's College, Cambridge, Adapted from Loggan's Engraving of 1690 p. 184

Figure 36. The interior of the chapel at Christ's College, Cambridge. Image: Author's own p. 184

Figure 37. The main gatehouse of Christ's College, Cambridge, showing a full body representation of Margaret Beaufort above a full achievement of the Beaufort arms. Image: Author's own p. 185

Figure 38. Conjectured ground plan of the inner courtyard of Warblington Castle p. 189

Figure 39. View of Warblington Gatehouse looking east. Image: Author's own p. 190

Figure 40. Buck's Engraving of Ewelme Manor House, 1729 p. 193

Figure 41. Schematic reconstruction of Ewelme Manor House at first-floor level. Reproduced from M. Airs, "Ewelme" *Archaeological Journal*, 135 (1975) p. 277 p. 194

Figure 42. Aerial View of Tiverton Castle facing west. Image: All rights reserved: John Fielding, Flickr. Reproduced by kind permission of the author p. 199

Figure 43. Schematic Plan of the inner courtyard of Tiverton Castle. Drawn by author p. 200

Figure 44. View of the fourteenth-century south range of Tiverton Castle. Image: Author's own p. 200

Figure 45. View of the solar at Tiverton Castle. Image: Author's own p. 201

Figure 46. Samuel and Nathaniel Bucks' Engraving of Tiverton Castle, 1734 p. 201

Figure 47. View of the main gatehouse at Tiverton from Park Hill. Image: Author's own p. 202

Figure 48. A view of Tiverton Castle from the north showing the tower which is coeval with Katherine Courtenay's period of residency. Image: Author's own p. 202

Figure 49. View of the great chamber at Tiverton Castle. Image: Author's own p. 203

Figure 50. Fresco of the Tarrochi Players from the Castle Borromeo, Milan. Image: Wikimedia Commons p. 231

Figure 51. The Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall. Image: Wikimedia Commons p. 232

Figure 52. Sculptural representation of St. Katherine bearing a crest with the Burghersh arms. Chapel of John the Baptist, St. Mary's, Ewelme. Image: Author's own p. 237

Figure 53. Sculptural representation of Mary Magdalene bearing a crest with Roet impaling Burghersh. Chapel of John the Baptist, St. Mary's, Ewelme. Image: Author's own p. 237

Figure 54. Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons. Detail from the War of Troy Tapestry, Belgium, 1475-1490, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Image: Author's own p. 238

Figure 55. A corbel from the roof of Margaret Pole's Chantry Chapel in Christchurch Priory, Dorset, showing Margaret kneeling at the centre of the Trinity. Image: Author's own p. 250

Figure 56. Image from Margaret Beaufort's Book of Hours, Alnwick Castle, MS 498, showing the Virgin Mary and female devotees in a *hortus conclusus*. Image: Author's own p. 293

Introduction

In the fifteenth-century poem, *The Assembly of Ladies*, a female narrator and her company of women are transported to the court of Lady Loyalty, where they are invited to present their bills to her concerning the wrongdoings done to them by men.[1] When approaching Lady Loyalty's palace, Pleasant Regard, the narrator turns to her guide, Perseverance, and asks her, "What place is there this lady is dwellyng?" to which Perseverance replies, "Feirer is none, though it were for a kyng".[2] Throughout the text, the poet uses architectural descriptions of Pleasant Regard, with its 'goodely' bay windows and 'galaries right wonderfully wrought', to convey Lady Loyalty's esteemed reputation as an exemplary head of household and dispenser of justice, and to prefigure her ceremonial entry at the end of the poem, where she ascends to her chair of estate, fittingly arrayed in blue cloth of gold and with a circlet of precious stones around her neck.[3]

The relationship between gender, authority and space as presented in *The Assembly of Ladies* encapsulates the subject of this thesis, which explores elite female constructions of power through domestic space. While the all-female household presented in *The Assembly of Ladies* is a fictional representation, the text raises important questions regarding the nature of female authority and women's exercise of it. Perseverance's likening of Lady Loyalty's palace to that of a king, for example, invites us to ask how far high-status women, in their capacity as heads of household, emulated or deviated from masculine models of lordship, and the poet's use of architectural motifs to convey Lady Loyalty's fame and acclaimed reputation invites us to consider how far female authority within the household translated into power and influence beyond its walls. Taking the domestic establishments of five noblewomen who lived in England between the years 1444 and 1541 as its focus, this thesis addresses these very questions, considering how gender and authority were constructed through and reflected in the design, use and layout of the domestic environment.

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[1] 'The Floure and the Leafe' and 'The Assembly of Ladies', ed. D. A. Pearsall (London, 1962, repr. Manchester, 1980). Hereafter 'The Assembly of Ladies'. For a discussion of this text see J. M. Cowen and J. C. Ward, '''Al myn aray is bliew, what nedeth more?' Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies'* in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

The Women and their Residences

The five noblewomen considered in this study are as follows: Alice Chaucer, duchess of Suffolk (1404-75); Margaret of Anjou, queen of England (1430-82); Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby (1443-1509); Katherine Courtenay, countess of Devon (1479-1527); and Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury (1473-1541). All stood at the pinnacle of late medieval and early Tudor society and stood in close proximity to the English Crown: Margaret of Anjou was the wife of Henry VI; Alice Chaucer her lady-in-waiting and close friend; Margaret Beaufort the mother of Henry VII; Katherine Courtenay the daughter of Edward IV; and Margaret Pole his niece through his brother, George, Duke of Clarence.[4] The noble parentage of these women conferred illustrious lineage, wealth and courtly connections upon them from an early age. They enjoyed privileged positions at court, where they took part in the ceremonies and rituals of royal life and came into contact not only with one another, but also with the leading thinkers, writers and artists of their day. If these women shared in the splendour and magnificence of courtly life, however, they also shared an awareness of the transient nature of good fortune, which ebbed and flowed with the tide of kings. All these women lived through the turbulent years of the Wars of the Roses, and all found themselves having to act independently at times when their husbands were absent, whether those absences were the result of imprisonment, mental instability or death. All were also mothers, who used their initiative to protect the inheritance of their eldest sons and in the cases of Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole, the interests of their other children, too. By safeguarding lands and arranging marriages, these women acted to secure the future of their family lines, albeit with varying degrees of success. While Alice Chaucer, Margaret Beaufort and Katherine Courtenay reached their final days peacefully, Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Pole were less fortunate, with the former dying in poverty in France, having been stripped of her lands and title as queen of England, and the latter beheaded in the Tower of London at Henry VIII's command in 1541.

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[4] Full biographical treatments of these women's lives are provided in the following: For Margaret of Anjou see H. E. Mauer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003); D. E. S. Dunn, 'Margaret of Anjou (1430–1482)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). For Alice Chaucer see: R. E. Archer, 'Chaucer, Alice, duchess of Suffolk (*c*.1404–1475)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); C. A. Metcalfe, 'Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk, c. 1404-1475' (BA dissertation, University of Keele, 1970); J. A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001); H. A. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme in the County of Oxford* (Oxford, 1858). For Margaret Beaufort see, M. Jones and M. Underwood, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992); Idem, 'Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). For Katherine Courtenay see M. R. Westcott, 'Katherine, Countess of Devon (1479–1527)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); M. R. Westcott,

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'Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1479- 1527', in T. Gray, M. Rowe and A. Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, (Exeter, 1992). For Margaret Pole see, H. Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473-1541: Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership* (Cardiff, 2003). See also Eadem, 'Pole, Margaret, suo jure countess of Salisbury (1473–1541)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). Of these women, Alice Chaucer is sometimes referred to as Alice de la Pole and Katherine Courtenay as Katherine of York, I have chosen to use the names most commonly adopted in the secondary literature.

All the women in this study experienced the unpredictable turn of fortune's wheel, yet in their times of financial and social prosperity, all also established themselves as heads of their own households. For Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort, this occurred within marriage, as these women's positions as the wife and mother of Kings Henry VI and Henry VII, respectively, afforded them the legal and financial independence to set up their own domestic establishments. Both women established their principal residences just two years after they acquired their new titles as queen consort and king's mother; while Margaret of Anjou established her own independent household at Greenwich in Kent in 1447, Margaret Beaufort established her principal residence at Collyweston in Northamptonshire in 1487. The two women, however, were at very different stages in their lives when they did so. While Margaret of Anjou was a new bride of only seventeen, Margaret Beaufort was forty-four and had been widowed three times over. In order to establish her Collyweston residence, the countess had also taken a vow of chastity, which gave her the legal independence from her fourth husband, Thomas Stanley, and thus the freedom to set up her own household.[5] For Alice Chaucer, Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole, the opportunity to establish their own households presented itself through widowhood. When Alice Chaucer's third husband, William de la Pole was murdered in 1450, the duchess, who by this point was in her mid-forties, returned to her natal seat at Ewelme in Oxfordshire. Cousins Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole established their principal seats under similar circumstances to one another. Both women were restored to their estates by Henry VIII in 1512 and 1514, respectively. For Katherine Courtenay, the return of her marital family's lands saw her, aged thirty-three, take a vow of chastity and establish herself as the head of the Courtenay family seat of Tiverton in Devon.[6] For Margaret Pole, the restoration of the Salisbury inheritance saw her astronomical rise to power and wealth. As the countess of Salisbury, Margaret was the only woman in sixteenth-century England (with the exception of Anne Boleyn) to hold a peerage title in her own right.[7] In light of her new-found wealth and status, Margaret commissioned her own principal seat at Warblington in Hampshire, which she presided for over until her death twenty years later.

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[5] For vowesses see P. Cullum, 'Vowesses and Veiled Widows: Medieval Piety in the Province of York', *Northern History,* 32 (1996).

The five women addressed in this study were wealthy landowners, who owned vast swathes of lands and properties. This thesis, however, places a deliberate focus on a single site associated with each one (see fig. 1). The five properties outlined are those which the women appear, based on the surviving evidence, to have favoured, lavishing considerable time and expenditure on them. Rather than charting the evolution of a single residence over time, this thesis takes a biographical approach to space, considering how a specific owner's ambitions and achievements were made manifest through the spaces they inhabited.[8] By exploring the design, use and layout of each of the five residences at the point when the women occupied them, this thesis explores how concepts of female power and authority were formulated and expressed through the spatial, material and social environment of both the indoor and outdoor space of the late medieval great residence.

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[6] Westcott, 'Katherine, Countess of Devon', *ODNB*.

[7] Pierce, 'Pole, Margaret, suo jure countess of Salisbury (1473–1541)', *ODNB*.

[8] A comparative, biographical approach to domestic space is adopted by Audrey Thorstad in her recent discussion of Early Tudor castles under male lordship and by Patricia Dallas in her discussion of East Anglian elite landscapes. See A. M. Thorstad, 'Living in an Early Tudor Castle: Households, Display, and Space, 1485-1547' (University of Leeds, 2015); P. Dallas, 'Elite Landscapes in Late Medieval and Early Modern East Anglia: Families, Residences and the Development of Exclusivity' (University of East Anglia, 2013). I am grateful to Audrey Thorstad for sending me a copy of her thesis.

Why the Great Residence?

In the scholarly and popular imagination alike, castles and great residences have long been understood as bastions of masculine, lordly authority. Indeed, Roberta Gilchrist vividly sums this up in her statement that 'archaeologists and social historians have eulogized the male domain of the castle, reeking of sweat, testosterone and horses'.[9] In medieval and early modern Europe, the household was the site where concepts of authority and gender, as Judith Hardwick has put it, gained meaning.[10] The household, as Susan Broomhall has argued, was a site of masculine governance, which both promoted and sustained patriarchal beliefs about gender and framed how and by whom forms of authority were enacted and articulated.[11] As a 'pedagogical tool' and a place where individuals and groups were socialized for their roles within the wider community, the household also shaped and reflected the ways in which authority was conceived of beyond its walls, with the model of the *pater familias* informing the wider expression of personal and political power relations and naturalizing gender hierarchies in the wider world.[12] The great household has thus long been understood as a site that reflected and gave meaning to authority as a concept that was gendered, and more specifically, one that was gendered masculine.

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[9] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London, 1999), p. 121.

[10] J. Hardwick, *Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (Pennsylvania, 1998), p. ix.

[11] S. Broomhall, 'Introduction: Authority, Gender, and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in Eadem (ed), *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 4.

[12] Ibid; C. Beattie and A. Maslakovic, 'Introduction — Locating the Household: Public, Private, and the Social Construction of Gender and Space', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic, S. Rees Jones (eds), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850- c. 1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 5. For the home as a site of socialization see S. Rees Jones, 'The Public Household as Political Power: Preface', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic, S. Rees Jones (eds), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850- c. 1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003) and F. Riddy, 'The Moral Household: Preface' in the same volume.

While spatial studies of castles and great households are rarely explicitly framed with reference to gender, the trajectory of scholarship in the field means that discussions have remained squarely focused on lordly residences as expressions of authority by elite men. In traditionalist scholarship, it was thought that castles were solely designed for defence. In the late twentieth-century, however, concurrent developments in the fields of architectural history, landscape archaeology and economic and social history saw the castle reassessed as a site of comfort and luxury.[13] Architectural historians began to place increasing emphasis on the symbolic aspects of castle architecture and used formal spatial analysis techniques to argue for the increasing number of rooms in elite residences from the fourteenth century onwards as evidence of a heightened desire among the elite to express their authority and privilege through separation.[14] At the same time, landscape archaeologists recognised the evidence for what have now been variously labelled designed landscapes, ornamental landscapes or pleasure grounds.[15] Beginning with the identification of earthworks at Bodiam Castle in East Sussex in the 1980s, scholars came to realise increasingly that high-status residences were routinely surrounded by cultivated outdoor settings, commonly comprising various elements, such as parks, gardens, terraces, orchards and fishponds.[16] The identification of these features invited scholars to consider the importance of such landscapes as extensions of the lordly residence and as sites of conspicuous display.[17] Concurrently, economic and social historians began to explore the everyday life of the elite household, laying emphasis on its structure, composition and rhythms.[18] These developments posed a direct challenge to the prevailing view that castles and great residences were defensive in purpose, inviting scholars to instead argue for their importance as sites for the advertisement of lordly privilege.[19] While recent efforts have been made to move beyond the defence versus status paradigm, or 'The Battle for Bodiam', as it is now commonly referred to, the enduring hold of this debate has meant that great residences have either been presented as tangible expressions of their male creators' glittering courtly careers or as expressions of their military prowess.[20]

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[13] For an overview see R. Higham, 'Castle Studies in Transition: A Forty Year Reflection', *Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010).

[14] C. C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 132 (1979); Idem, 'The state of research: cultural realities and reappraisals in English castle-study', *Journal of Medieval History* 22/2 (1996); Idem, 'Bodiam Castle: truth and tradition', *Fortress*, 10 (1991); Idem, 'Freedom to Crenellate by Licence — An historiographical revision', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 38 (1994); G. Fairclough, 'Meaningful constructions: spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', *Antiquity,* 66 (1992); P. Faulkner, 'Castle-planning in the fourteenth century', *Archaeological Journal,* 120 (1963); M. H. Johnson, 'Meanings of Polite Architecture in Sixteenth-Century England', *Historical Archaeology*, 26/3 (1992); A. Richardson, 'Corridors of Power: A Case Study in Access Analysis from Medieval England', *Antiquity*, 77/296 (2003).

[15] O. H. Creighton, 'Castle Studies and the 'Landscape' Agenda', *Landscape History*, 26 (2004); C. C. Taylor, 'Medieval Ornamental Landscapes', *Landscapes*, 1 (2000). For the debate over the terminology of such landscapes see, R. Liddiard and T. Williamson, 'There by Design? Some Reflections on Medieval Elite Landscapes', *Archaeological Journal,* 165 (2008).

What, then, can be said of women in the great household? The first scholar to explore gender and power with reference to high-status domestic architecture of the medieval period was Roberta Gilchrist.[21] In her groundbreaking work of the early 1990s,

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[16] C. C. P. Taylor, P. Everson and W. R. Wilson-North, 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex', *Medieval Archaeology*, 5 (1961); J. Turner, 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex: True Castle or Old Soldier's Dream House?', in W. M. Ormrod (ed), *England in the Fourteenth-Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1986).

[17] See O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002); *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2009); R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and the Landscape, 1066-1500* (London, 2005); S. A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009).

[18] C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London, 1999); K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988).

[19] One of the strongest (and earliest) proponents for the status symbol argument was Charles Coulson (See footnote fifteen above). Colin Platt, by contrast, has been a staunch defender of the idea that late medieval castles were primarily built with defence in mind. See C. Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007).

[20] For a more nuanced picture of the status vs. defense paradigm see O. Creighton and R. Liddiard, 'Fighting Yesterday's Battle: Beyond War or Status in Castle Studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52/1 (2008).

[21] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London and New York, 1993); Eadem, *Gender and Archaeology*; Eadem, ''Blessed Art Thou Among Women': The

Gilchrist employed the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to argue that high-status women, in both monastic and secular contexts, were complicit in reproducing the spatial arrangements, and by extension the gender norms, which appeared to render them subordinate to their male counterparts.[22] Since the publication of her work over twenty years ago, subsequent considerations of elite women, power and domestic space have focused overwhelmingly on the apartments of queens in houses headed by kings, in order to explore the balance of power between elite men and women. In her discussion of gender and royal palaces, for example, Amanda Richardson employs the architectural technique of access analysis to argue that the placement of queenly apartments in the 'deepest' or least accessible parts of castles and palaces, away from ceremonial spaces such as grand entrances and the 'public' space of the great hall, marked their inferiority to the king and their limited access to power.[23] Indeed, Richardson's work is representative of a broader trend, which presents women's associations with enclosed, inaccessible spaces as symbolic of their wider social inferiority. Such arguments have also extended to outdoor space. It has long been recognised that enclosed gardens were gendered feminine in medieval thought, and that in elite residences, such features were routinely placed beneath women's chambers and thus formed part of a feminine spatial ideology. For this reason, such spaces have also often been treated as spatial evidence for women's social passivity.[24] While some attempts, chiefly with respect to deer parks, have recently been made to provide a more nuanced reading of the relationship between women, power and outdoor domestic

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Archaeology of Female Piety', in P. J. P. Goldberg (ed), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society, c. 1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992).

[22] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*; *Gender and Archaeology*.

[23] A. Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c.1160- c.1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003).

[24] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology,* esp. Chapter 6.

space, there nevertheless remains a strong tendency, as Jeremy Goldberg has put it, 'to see encoded in the design and layout of the physical structures people occupy normative ideas that seek to segregate the sexes, to restrict women's movement and to associate women with the private'.[25]

The tendency of spatial approaches to present the great residence in terms of binaries — male/female, public/private, active/passive — fails to take into account the developments in scholarship on women's domestic activities, which, since the late twentieth century, has increasingly challenged the usefulness of the public/private dichotomy and the idea that women were passively socialised within the home.[26] Indeed, Barbara Harris' view that '[the] modern dichotomies between the personal and the political, the private and the public had little, if any meaning' for the lives of women in late medieval and early Tudor England is now shared by many.[27] While some scholars have highlighted evidence for women's mobility and movements beyond the home, others have shown how women used domestic activities, such as embroidery, piety, household management, letter writing and motherhood to achieve power and agency.[28]

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[25] A. Richardson, "Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana': Gendered Aspects of the Medieval Hunt and its Landscape Settings', *Gender and History,* 24/2 (2012); Eadem, 'Beyond the Castle Gate: The Role of Royal Landscapes in Constructions of English Medieval Kingship and Queenship', *Concilium Medii Aevi*, 14 (2011); P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Space and Gender in the Later Medieval English House', *Viator*, 42 (2011), p. 207.

[26] For discussions of these developments see, A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36/02 (June, 1993); S. Rees Jones, 'Public and Private Space and Gender in Medieval Europe', in J. Bennett and R. Karras (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013).

[27] B. Harris, 'The View from my Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on Early Tudor Monarchy', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 60/3 (1997), p. 246. See also Eadem, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2003).

[28] The subject of women's movement has generated much interest in recent years, especially with respect to female pilgrims. See S. Signe Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance* (London and New York, 2000); L. A. Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, 2009); D. Retsö, 'The Benefit of Confinement: Women's Geographical Mobility in the Middle Ages and the travels of Matta Ivarsdotter, 1504-1511', *Scandia*, 73/3 (2007).

The list of publications on women's power and agency through domestic activities is too broad to be covered comprehensively here. See in particular, J. Ward, 'English Noblewomen and the Local

Such studies have highlighted the ways in which women actively harnessed and utilised concepts of femininity to achieve power within the patriarchal frameworks in which they lived, to further both their own and their families' advancement. Discussions of women's letter writing, for example, have drawn attention to the ways in which female writers played on ideas of their feminine frailty and meekness in order to achieve their desired outcomes, while others have shown how women created female networks through their exchange of domestic objects.[29]

While these approaches have proved important for highlighting the home as a site of women's power and agency, scholars have been less eager to consider instances of female authority within a domestic context.[30] It is important to note here that unlike power, which could be wielded informally and by different groups, including women, authority - defined in this thesis as the recognised or legitimized right by individuals or groups to enforce obedience or compliance in others through the invocation of external sources - was available to far fewer groups and individuals.[31] Indeed, the discussion has

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Community in the Later Middle Ages', in D. Watt (ed), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff, 1997); Eadem, 'Noblewomen, Family, and Identity in Later Medieval Europe', in A. Duggan (ed), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations (*London, 2000); *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2002); R. E. Archer, 'The Estates and Finances of Margaret of Brotherton, c. 1320-1399', *Historical Research*, 60/143 (1987); J. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2006); collected essays in Eadem (ed), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2004); L. M. Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50/2 (Summer, 1997); S. Frye, 'Sewing Connections: Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Talbot, and Seventeenth-Century Anonymous Needleworkers', in S. Frye and K. Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

[29] Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*. Gift-giving and female networks will be discussed in further detail in chapter five.

[30] An exception is J. L. McIntosh's, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558* (New York, 2009). McIntosh's study, however, is more concerned with the women themselves than with gender *per se*.

[31] For a discussion of the distinction between power and authority with reference to women's and gender history see L. Lamphere and M. Rosaldo, *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, 1974); B. M. Bolton and C. E. Meek, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 1.

already indicated a prevailing notion that authority within pre-modern home, and in fact in pre-modern Europe more widely, was gendered masculine.

How, then, might we begin to understand instances of female authority within a domestic context? The gendering of authority as masculine has meant that authoritative women have fitted uncomfortably into historical narratives of patriarchal governance. Indeed, as Anne Longley has put it in her study of the literary queen Guinevere's lordship, 'a woman acting in the capacity of an authority figure like a master is rare, as during this period a master is, by definition, a male figure who holds a position from which women are ordinarily excluded'.[32] The rule of a woman, as Barbara Weissberger has argued, 'inevitably created anxiety, confusion, and resistance in a patriarchal society grounded in the theological subordination of women to men'.[33] Both contemporary writers and modern historians alike have promoted the idea that in order to gain authority the woman must, as Kimberly LoPrete has put it, 'assume honorary manhood and renounce her femininity altogether'.[34] In his study of women and power, George Duby also commented that to enact her role as lord, 'the woman must cease to be a woman, must take on masculinity, must *change* gender'.[35] Authority was a dynamic and negotiated practice that needed to be continually performed in order to be maintained or upheld.[36] According to the views presented here, the articulation and legitimization of authority by women (and men) rested on a performance that was wholly masculine in its expression.

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[32] A. P. Longley, 'Guinevere as Lord', *Arthuriana,* 12/3 (Fall, 2002), p. 49.

[33] B. F. Weissberger, '"Deceitful Sects": The Debate about Women in the Age of Isabel the Catholic', in T. Fenster and C. Lees, *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (New York, 2002).

[34] K. LoPrete, 'The Gender of Lordly Women: The Case of Adela of Blois'; in C. Meek and C. Lawless (eds), *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women: Pawns or Players?* (Dublin, 2003); Eadem, 'Gendering Viragos: Medieval Perceptions of Powerful Women', in C. Meek and C. Lawless (eds), *Victims or Viragos? Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women*, 4 (Portland, 2005); Eadem, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067-1137)* (Dublin, 2007).

[35] Duby cited in LoPrete, 'The Gender of Lordly Women', p. 91.

[36] Broomhall, 'Introduction: Authority, Gender and Emotions', p. 2.

More recently, however, a small group of scholars has called into question the idea that authority was altogether masculine. LoPrete has argued that the categorization of female lords as exceptional women and as honorary men alike is anachronistic, and obscures a more nuanced reality at play.[37] She argues that to remove lordly women from the history of women by casting them as honorary men occludes the contemporary social dynamics inherent in a political system where women's traditional activities as daughters, wives and widows placed them in authoritative roles and at the centre of political affairs.[38] Complementing the more nuanced picture painted by LoPrete is the work of Louise Fradenburg, whose concept of the 'gender plasticity' has been eagerly adopted by a number of scholars working on female sovereignty in early modern Europe.[39] For Fradenburg, sovereignty is not distinct from gender, rather it is 'a site of gender-transgression and crossover', where the female office holder is required to draw on both 'male' and 'female' characteristics in order to demonstrate and perform her authority.[40] One of the advantages of Fradenburg's model is that while she accepts sovereignty was *de facto* a masculine office, she recognises and acknowledges the complexities that were at play for elite women who held and articulated authority in their contemporary societies. Fradenburg's reading also accords with a number of contemporary texts, which describe authoritative women not simply through recourse to masculine language, but through reference to both the masculine and the feminine.

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[37] LoPrete, 'The Gender of Lordly Women', pp. 91-92.

[38] Ibid, p. 110.

[39] F. O. Fradenburg, 'Introduction: Rethinking Queenship', in F. O. Fradenburg (ed), *Women and Sovereignty*, p. 2; B. Weissberger, '"Deceitful Sects"; See also Richardson, 'Beyond the Castle Gate.

[40] Fradenburg, 'Introduction: Rethinking Queenship'.

LoPrete draws attention to Bishop Hilderbert's account of William the Conquerer's youngest daughter, Adela of Blois, in which the author uses a balanced interplay of masculine and feminine elements to construct Adela as an exemplary model of female lordship.[41] Indeed, chapter five of this thesis will discuss the account of Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who served in Margaret Beaufort's household during his youth and who describes the countess's governance through reference to both masculine and feminine exemplars, namely classical kings and historical queen consorts. In this respect, the late-twentieth century work of Judith Halberstam also proves instructive. Halberstam famously called for 'female masculinity', that is to say masculinity without men, to be considered as a category in its own right.[42] Although rarely applied to the middle ages, Halberstam's term provides an ideal means of circumventing the exceptional men/honorary women binary, and will thus be adopted in this thesis.[43]

While exciting developments are afoot in a scholarship on female authority in the pre-modern world, it is nevertheless apparent that scholars working on this topic have largely failed to engage with the ways in which female authority was constructed and articulated through the spatial and material environment of the late medieval and early Tudor home. The focus has instead primarily been placed on the language used by or about such women, as well as their actions, gestures or dress. Elizabeth I is a case in point, whose oft-cited Armada speech, in which she described herself as having the body of a feeble woman, but the heart and stomach of a king, is commonly employed to illustrate the dual-gendered nature of her performance as a regnant queen. It is also apparent that an obsession with female sovereignty has resulted in women's authority in other contexts being overlooked. This thesis responds to these issues by offering the first study of female constructions of authority and power as they were articulated through the spatial, material and social environment of the great household.

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[41] LoPrete, 'The Gender of Lordly Women', p. 109.

[42] J. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC, 1998).

[43] For a rare example of the application of Halberstam's concept to the middle ages see M. M. Stauer, *Gender in Medieval Culture* (London & New York, 2015).

Methodological Approach and the Scope of the Project

The five women in this study were selected on the grounds that they were all noblewomen who are visible in the documentary record as having commissioned and/or presided over their own households over a one-hundred-year period. The choice to focus on women was made because although approaches to medieval women's access to power through domestic activities have flourished in recent years, castles and elite residences have yet to be considered as sites of female authority. The decision to draw together a group of women on account of their social rank and the similarities in their life events also aligns with current approaches to gender history, which emphasise the ways in which gendered experiences intersected with factors such as social status and life experiences.

A thematic consideration of a group of women, rather than a single case study was also deemed necessary to the purpose of this study, which is not to provide a biographical account of women's lives, but to explore the impact of gender and status on expressions female authority and power through domestic space. Indeed, the lives of a number of the women in this study have already received biographical treatment. Margaret of Anjou, Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole, for example, have all recently been the subject of revisionist biographies, which have given long overdue consideration to their political roles and agency.[44] Yet, one of the limitations of biographical accounts is their tendency to highlight the 'exceptional' individual, at the risk of obscuring the networks that existed between people and the broader patterns and particularities of female experiences.[45] In this respect, studies which analyse medieval and early-modern women's lives through collective and network analysis have proved illuminating, highlighting women's shared or distinct experiences.[46] Such works have circumvented the uneven evidence survival for women's lives, identifying commonalities and differences in the behaviour and life experiences of particular female groups and exploring how these intersected with the prevailing gender norms of their contemporary societies. Despite the recognised value of prosopographical and thematic approaches, however, no study of this period has taken a collective approach to elite women on account of their shared roles as heads of their own households and as shapers of their own domestic space. In doing so, this thesis not only provides a new way of thinking about the lives and experiences of the women addressed, but also builds a broader, comparative picture of female constructions of authority as they were expressed through the domestic environment.

The study's chronological framework, from 1444 to 1541, was made in response to a current lack of spatial approaches to this period.[47] While recent work within the field of castle studies has begun to address elements of continuity and change in castle architecture from the mid- fifteenth to the mid- sixteenth centuries, the period, which has traditionally been viewed as one of transition between the medieval and early modern eras, remains neglected in spatial approaches to gender and power. Moreover, there is also a notable difference between the ways in which medievalists and early modernists have treated the subject of domestic architectural patronage and household governance by elite women. While early modernists have more readily adopted concepts such as gender and space as categories of analysis when discussing figures such as Margaret of Austria, Bess of Hardwick and Anne Clifford, medievalists have instead primarily conducted survey studies, highlighting instances where women acted as heads of household, but failing to explore this in relation to the physical and material space of the home.[48] In this respect, spatial and material culture approaches are not aligned with traditional approaches to women and politics, which have treated the period from 1450 to 1550 as a distinct chronological category for analysis and have frequently placed examples of 'medieval' and 'early modern' women side-by-side.[49] The five women in this study knew each other and their lives were similarly shaped by the Wars of the Roses. It was thus felt that modern divisions between 'medieval' and 'early modern' were unhelpful for understanding their actions and experiences.

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[44] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*; Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*; Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*.

[45] C. Goldy and A. Livingstone, 'Introduction: Setting the Scene' in Eadem (eds), *Writing Medieval Women's Lives* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 4.

[46] For example, S. Gristwood, *Blood Sisters: The Hidden Lives of the Women Behind the Wars of the Roses* (London, 2012); K. Robertson, 'Negotiating Favour: the Letters of Lady Ralegh', in J. Daybell (ed), *Women and Politics*; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*.

[47] Exceptions to this rule are J. A. A. Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (New Haven, 2011); Thorstad, 'Living in an Early Tudor Castle'.

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[48] See D. Eichberger, 'A Noble Residence for a Female Regent: Margaret of Austria and the 'Court of Savoy' in Mechelen' in H. Hills (ed), *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2003); A. Friedman, 'Architecture, Authority and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House', *Assemblage*, 1/18 (1992); K. Hearn and L. Hulse (eds), *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain* (Leeds, 2009); F. Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Gentry Household in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1999).

[49] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550*. For a more general discussion of the end of the Middle Ages see, J. Watts, 'Introduction: History, the Fifteenth Century and the Renaissance', in Idem, *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Stroud, 1998).

The Sources

The discussion in this thesis necessarily engages with a wide range of sources and adopts an interdisciplinary perspective in order to understand and interpret the design, use and layouts of the five houses and their associated landscapes. In doing so, the thesis provides a new methodology for the study of gender, authority and domestic space in the late medieval period. While a number of studies of great households have brought together documentary and archaeological evidence, the social interpretation of these buildings has often been lacking or highly speculative. The evidence outlined below is combined in this thesis in order to provide a holistic reading of the sites addressed. While the discussion engages in archaeological, architectural, literary and art historical analysis, however, it must be noted that this thesis is first and foremost a work of historical scholarship. I draw upon these various disciplines and advocate their usefulness for illuminating a hitherto neglected area of historical enquiry.

Documentary Evidence

One of the biggest challenges in taking a biographical approach to historic buildings and landscapes is that they are constantly evolving, being adapted and altered by environmental factors and to suit the needs of their subsequent owners. As we shall also see, in all the cases considered in this study, the houses and their associated landscapes have either been completely destroyed or dramatically altered since the women were in residence. Contemporary written evidence in the form of building accounts, inventories and household accounts, is thus crucial to understanding the material fabric and spatial layout of the houses at the point when the women occupied them, and for ascribing particular features to their agency.

While either inventories, building or household accounts survive for all the houses considered in this study, Margaret Beaufort's residence at Collyweston is the only site for which all three evidence types survive.[50] For Ewelme, a collection of inventories, unusually taken during Alice's lifetime in 1466, offers a detailed description of the layout and decoration of the manor house there, although no household accounts or building documents remain.[51] For Katherine Courtenay's castle at Tiverton, a posthumous household inventory, dated to January 1528, and two household books for the years 1522-3 and 1523-4 provide information relating to the castle under her ownership.[52] Margaret Pole's ownership of Warblington is documented by a volume of building accounts for 1517-18 and an inventory taken after her arrest in 1538.[53] No inventory survives for Margaret of Anjou's Palace of Pleasaunce at Greenwich, although this is unsurprising given that the residence had already housed a string of subsequent owners by the time she died in 1482. Information regarding design, material fabric and use of the palace at Greenwich can instead be gleaned from building accounts for the residence, which were carried out under the direction of Robert Kettlewell, purveyor of works at Eltham Palace, and survive as part of the records of the Duchy of Lancaster.[54] The accounts chart Margaret's works to the palace over a five-year period, beginning in 1452. An account book for the years 1453-4 and five accounts of the treasurers of the chamber also provide further details of the use of Margaret's palace and the objects within it.[55]

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[50] These are preserved in the archives at St. John's College, Cambridge. See SJC D91.1; D91.2; D91. 3; D91.4; D91.5; D91.6; D91.13; D91.14; D91.15; D91.17; D91.19; D91.20; D91.21; D91.22; D102.1; D102.6; D102.9; D102.10; D102. 13.

[51] Bodl. Lib, EM A 47 1-6.

[52] Tiverton Castle, inventory, January 1528, TNA SP 1/46, 51–6; 'Katherine, countess of Devon, Household Accounts, Michaelmas 1522-3, TNA SP 1/28; Katherine, countess of Devon, household accounts, Michaelmas 1523–4, exchequer, lord treasurer's Remembrancer's books, TNA E 36/223.

[53] 'Account book of works at Warblington, 1517-19', TNA E101/490/12; 'The Inventory of Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, Taken 14 November 1538', TNA S.P.1/139, ff. 72-84.

[54] 'Accounts of Robert Kettlewell, Clerk of Works to the Queen Margaret for her Manor of Pleasaunce in Gravesend (Kent)', TNA DL 28/1/11.

It is important to highlight here that these documents are far from standardized with respect to the amount of information they provide and in their presentation. Inventories, for example, fall into three main categories: topographic, lists and functional.[56] While those for Ewelme and Warblington are topographic, providing a room-by-room analysis, those for Collyweston list household objects without reference to a sequential ordering of household space. Clerks also offer varying levels of details about the objects they describe. This is most obvious in descriptions of tapestries and wall hangings. While some provide vivid details of the subjects depicted, others give a vague impression. A description of a wall hanging of 'imagery work' is, for example, unfortunately one all too familiar to the architectural historian.

Building documents can equally vary greatly in the level of detail they provide. While the multiple volumes of building documents for Collyweston provide a considerable level of detail, including measurements and specific features of the rooms they describe, the single volume of accounts for Warblington mostly lists the materials for the construction of the residence, and not the rooms those materials were used to create. It must also be noted that building accounts only list the rooms that were newly constructed or for which repairs were needed, and not those which did not require work. Nevertheless, building accounts are an invaluable source for ascribing specific features to particular owners.

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[55] TNA MS. Duchy of Lancaster 28/5/8; TNA E101/409/14, 17; E101/410/2, 8, 11.

[56] For a discussion of inventories as historical sources see, M. Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses, 1480-1640', *Architectural History,* 41 (1998).

Household accounts provide details of the women's expenditure. While building accounts and inventories give an impression of the physical fabric of the buildings, household accounts offer important information on the use of the residence, its members, and the visitors to it. In this thesis, they are used to present the elite residence as a dynamic and social space, and to explore the ways in which the women performed their domestic governance.

In nearly all cases, there are also surviving household or building accounts relating to other residences inhabited by the five women addressed. These are referred to occasionally in the study to shed further light on the women's management and use of their domestic space. Margaret Beaufort's accounts, for example, also contain details of the alterations made to her houses at Coldharbour in London, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire and Haling in Surrey.[57] The countess also occasionally resided in the residences of ecclesiastical lords, including the palace of the bishops of Ely at Hatfield House in Hertfordshire and the summer residence of the archbishops of Canterbury at Croydon in Surrey, where she also made alterations. The accounts relating to Margaret Pole's London residence, The Erber, are also a valuable source for understanding how the countess designed and managed her domestic space.[58] For Margaret of Anjou, surviving building accounts document the alterations that she and her husband made to their various royal residences.[59] Included in the household accounts for Katherine Courtney's castle at Tiverton are references to two of her other county residences, namely Columbjohn in Broadclyst and Colyton in Colcombe.[60]

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[57] Details of Margaret's alterations to Coldharbour are given in in C. L. Kingsford, 'On Some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period', *Archaeologia*, 21 (1920-1).

[58] The building documents for The Erber are transcribed in Kingsford, 'On Some London Houses', pp. 28-36.

[59] TNA E364/83, rot. E.

[60] TNA SP 1/28; SP 1/46.

While contemporary documentation provides evidence for the design, appearance and use of these women's households, a fuller understanding of their residences is also gained through a consideration of the documentary evidence relating to the sites both before and after their ownership of them. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, great households were rarely built from scratch, with successive owners usually developing pre-existing structures. The evidence for the building works of prior owners helps to establish the layout of each of the houses and, importantly for the discussion in chapters two and three, how much agency the women had in shaping the design and appearance of their domestic spaces. Documents post-dating the women's occupancy also help to reconstruct and understand the appearance of houses now vanished or altered. John Leland's sixteenth-century 'Itineraries', for example, importantly highlight aspects of the outer appearance of a number of the houses.[61] For Collyweston, there are also surviving repair books recording changes made to the palace under Elizabeth I's ownership, which provide further details on the fabric and layout of the house and its associated landscape.[62] Surveys taken of Greenwich from 1592-5, Ewelme Manor House in 1612 and Warblington Castle in 1632, also provide further details of the building materials and external appearance of each of the properties.[63] The latter also places Warblington within the context of its surrounding landscape, which is something that the contemporary inventory fails to do.

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[61] J. Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543,* ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, (London, 1907); Volume 1, pp. 112-3 (Ewelme); Volume 4, p. 91 (Collyweston).

[62] 'Pay Book of Repairs to Collyweston Manor, 1566', TNA LR 2/64; 'Account Book of Repairs at Collyweston, 1567-8', TNA E.101/542/25.

[63] 'Greenwich Survey of the Queen's Stables, Barn and Forge and of a Tenement called 'The Vine', and an inquisition of a Parcel of ground called 'Les Pitts', TNA E178/1151; 'Estimate of the Materials of Ewelme Manor Prior to its Demolition', TNA E178/4404; 'Survey of Warblington Castle' PCRO 906/A.

The documentary evidence outlined above will primarily be used to explore and, as far as is possible, reconstruct the physical and social space of each of the five houses addressed. This study will supplement this main body of documentary evidence with other written records. The last wills and testaments of Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Beaufort, for example, provide evidence for the women's attachments to particular places and properties.[64] In addition, Bishop Fisher's sermon for Margaret Beaufort and the account of her cupbearer, Henry Parker, Lord Morley, provide invaluable accounts of the countess's household governance.[65] The surviving letters of Margaret of Anjou, Alice Chaucer and Margaret Beaufort also inform the discussion of the women's household and estate management in chapter five. For the discussion of the use and rhythms of the female household, the surviving Privy Purse expenses of Queen Elizabeth of York and the ordinances of Cecily Neville will be employed.[66] Both women were closely connected to those discussed in this study: Elizabeth of York was the sister of Katherine Courtenay and the daughter-in-law of Margaret Beaufort, while Cecily Neville was Katherine Courtenay's mother and held a similar position to Margaret Beaufort as the matriarch of the house of York.[67] The sources pertaining to these women shed further light on the daily expenditure and routines of the elite female household, and help to provide a more holistic picture of women's authority as it was expressed through domestic space.

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[64] 'The Will of Katharine, Countess of Devon, daughter of Edward IV', ed. G. Oliver, *Archaeological Journal*, 10 (1853); Will of Margaret Beaufort, printed in the St John's College Quatercentenary Volume *Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae*, 1511-1911 (Cambridge, 1911).

[65] J. Fisher, 'Mornynge Remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the Noble Prynces Margarete Countesse of Richmonde and Darbye, emprynted by Wynkyn de Worde', in *The English Works of John Fisher*, p. I., ed. J. E. B. Mayor, *EETS*, e.s., 27 (1876); Henry Parker, Lord Morley, 'The Account of the Miracles of the Sacrament', in M. Axton and J. P. Carley (eds), *Triumphs of English: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court* (London, 2000).

[66] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth, with a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes,* ed. N. H. Nichols (London, 1830); 'A compendious recitation compiled of the order, rules and construction of the house of the right excellent Princess Cecily, late mother unto the right noble Prince, King Edward IV' in J, Nichols (ed), *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London, 1790).

[67] For Elizabeth of York see, R. Horrox, 'Elizabeth (1466-1503)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). For Cecily of York see Joanna Laynesmith's recent revisionist biography: J. Laynesmith, *Cecily, Duchess of York* (London, 2017).

Architectural and Archaeological Evidence

The five women addressed were some of the most notable individuals in late medieval and early Tudor society, yet their houses have left little trace. In order to gain a sense of place and to better understand the topographies of each of the sites addressed, I have visited all five locations. Small sections of the houses at Ewelme, Collyweston and Warblington remain above ground, in the form of a converted accommodation block, a barn and half a gatehouse, respectively. In the case of Collyweston, it is possible that the barn post-dates Margaret Beaufort's ownership of the house, although it is plausible that the Elizabethan date stone was added to an earlier building. There are also substantial garden earthworks at Collyweston, as the undulating land to the west and south-east of the former site of the residence has remained remarkably undisturbed for the last five hundred years due to its use as grazing pasture.

A substantial part of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century castle inhabited by Katherine Courtenay remains at Tiverton, although these buildings are now incorporated into an early eighteenth-century house, which provides the main living space for the house's current inhabitants. There are no remains surviving above ground at Greenwich, as the house was demolished to make way for the subsequent Tudor palace and is now occupied by the Old Naval College and the National Maritime Museum. The area of ground comprising the present-day Greenwich Park, however, is roughly synonymous with the medieval hunting ground attached to the medieval residence, although the medieval park tower, which was created by Margaret of Anjou's predecessor, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was demolished to make way for the Royal Observatory in the seventeenth century.[68] The surviving architectural remains at four of the sites enhances our understanding of these women's spatial choices and the examination of them in this thesis enables a more informed judgment to be made regarding how typical those choices were. In the case of Tiverton, it is particularly important that there are surviving architectural remains coeval with Katherine Courtenay's occupation of the house, as there are no building accounts or room-by-room inventories recording its appearance or her developments to the architectural fabric during the time she was in residence.

The five sites have been subject to varying levels of archaeological research. Greenwich is the only site to have been excavated, initially in the 1970s and more recently in 2003.[69] Substantial earthworks remain at Ewelme, Collyweston and Warblington. The earthworks at Collyweston were subject to a Royal Commission of Historical Monuments in England (RCHME) survey in 1975, while more recent surveys have been undertaken at Ewelme and Warblington.[70] Geophysical surveys have also been conducted on all three of these sites.[71] At Collyweston, the survey was carried out at my own commission, although limited time and funds meant that much of the site remains unexamined. The archaeological work carried out on each of these sites is by no means comprehensive, and without invasive archaeological investigation it is difficult to date the remains recorded. Nonetheless, these surveys are invaluable to this thesis, mostly because particular features on the ground can often be matched with those mentioned in the documentary record. Archaeology thus provides a spatial context for the features described in building documents and inventories, giving a fuller and more objective indication of the proximity between buildings and other landscape features, as well as indicating the potential value in further archaeological investigation.

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[68] A. Richardson, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape: The Lost Palace and Park of Humphrey of Gloucester', *Southern History,* 34 (2012).

[69] P. Dixon, *Excavations at Greenwich Palace, 1970-1* (London, 1972); The more recent excavations were carried out as part of a Time Team Excavation on the site (Series 10, Episode 5), http://www.channel4.com/programmes/time-team/on-demand/33104-005 (Accessed 12 February 2016).

[70] The results for the survey at Collyweston are published in the following, RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northampton, I, North-East Northamptonshire* (HMSO, 1975), p. 30. I gained my knowledge of the surveys at Ewelme and Warblington through personal correspondence with Stephen Mileson (University of Oxford) and Dominic Barker and Judith Jones (University of Southampton), respectively. I am grateful to Stephen, Dominic and Judith for bringing these to my attention.

[71] S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire Project', *South Midlands Archaeology*, 41 (2011); R. Ainslie, 'Collyweston Palace, Collyweston, Northamptonshire: Report on Geophysical Survey 2015' (Unpublished Report: Abingdon Archaeological Geophysics, 2015); S. Bax, 'Warblington Castle: Detailed Investigation' (MSc dissertation, University of Southampton, 2013). I am grateful to Dominic Barker at Southampton University for providing me with a copy of Samantha Bax's thesis.

A more informed understanding of the physical fabric of the women's houses and their social significance is provided through reference to the women's other surviving architectural commissions. I have visited and examined first-hand the chantry chapel commissioned by Margaret Pole for her burial at Christchurch Priory in East Dorset (historically in Hampshire); the Chaucer family chapel containing the tomb of Alice Chaucer at Ewelme; St. Peter's Church at Tiverton, where Katherine Courtenay's tomb once stood; and Westminster Abbey, where Margaret Beaufort's tomb is located. I did not inspect the site of Margaret of Anjou's now destroyed tomb in Angers cathedral as Margaret was exiled during the second reign of Edward IV and thus did not have the same level of choice over her burial location as the other women in this study. My choice to examine the tombs of these women was made on account of the fact that funerary effigies and burial sites have proved an important source for shedding light on the self-representation of individuals and groups in the medieval world, yet they have rarely been integrated as part of studies of domestic space.[72] They also provide important evidence for the women's attachments to specific places, a point that will be discussed in further detail in chapters one and two.

I have also visited and examined first-hand the educational establishments founded by Alice Chaucer, Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort. The almshouses and school founded by Alice and her husband, William, at Ewelme in 1437 are still standing today and a consideration of their appearance and iconographic design informs the ensuing discussion of their house at Ewelme.[73] Queens', Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, have also been examined due to their connections with Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort. In 1466, Margaret of Anjou founded Queens', while Margaret Beaufort refounded Christ's in 1505 and St. John's posthumously, in 1511.[74] While these colleges have undergone some renovations since the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and were built for different purposes to the women's houses, they are nevertheless invaluable sources for understanding these women's architectural and artistic preferences. The Old Court at Queens', constructed from 1448-9, was built just three years before Margaret of Anjou commissioned the Palace of Pleasaunce at Greenwich, and remains today as a little altered example of a medieval college court. The building of Christ's was also coeval with Margaret Beaufort's developments to Collyweston. Architectural historians have commented that both Queens' and Christ's bear remarkable resemblance to contemporary high-status domestic architecture, suggesting the fluidity between domestic and institutional architectural commissions at this point, and further recommending comparative analysis.[75] There are no establishments of this kind relating to Katherine Courtenay or Margaret Pole, but the existence of more substantial above ground remains at both Tiverton and Warblington means that more can be inferred from the sites themselves in these two cases.

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[72] See in particular, N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009); P. King, "'My Image to be made all Naked': Cadaver Tombs and the Commemoration of Women in Fifteenth-Century England', *Ricardian*, 13 (2003); J. C. Parsons, "Never was a Body Buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500', in A. Duggan (ed), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1997).

[73] For a comprehensive discussion of the almshouses see Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*.

[74] The surviving building documents relating to the construction of Christ's have also been examined: SJC D106.1.

Maps and Drawings

This project uses historical maps and drawings to provide a more informed understanding of the residences within their contemporary landscapes. There are no contemporary ground plans, drawings or estate maps for any of the residences considered. Of the five sites, the earliest map survives for Collyweston, and is an estate map showing the extent of the park in 1692.[76] For Ewelme, there is a 1788 map of open fields in the area, which sheds important light on place names and the arrangement of the locality before the Enclosure Acts.[77] The mid nineteenth-century tithe maps relating to each of the sites have also been studied, and an examination of the field names given their accompanying apportionments has proved profitable for locating particular features, such as orchards, gardens and parks, which are mentioned in the earlier documentary evidence.[78] Ordnance Survey maps also feature in chapter one, and provide an indication of each of the five sites in relation neighbouring buildings and topographical features. One of the limitations of these maps is that they post-date the period discussed considerably and their usefulness is to a large extent determined by the changes to the site during the intervening years. In this regard, Greenwich is the most problematic of the sites discussed, as its proximity to London means that the settlement has changed considerably since the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, maps are an invaluable source, allowing us to examine the changes to landscapes addressed over time and to gain a fuller understanding of the relationship between the houses and neighbouring features.

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[75] For Queens' see, A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500, Volume II: East Anglia, Central England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 69. For Christ's see 'Woman on Top: Lady Margaret Beaufort's Buildings at Christ's College, Cambridge', in L. Durning and R. Wrigley (eds), *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester, 2000).

[76] Burghley Estates, Ex Map 368.

[77] Map of Open Fields of Benson, showing the distribution of Fields Titheable (1788), Oxford History Centre PAR 28/17/M/1.

[78] Greenwich, TNA IR 30/17/156 (Map), IR 29/17/156 (Apportionment); Ewelme, TNA IR 30/27/57 (Map), IR 29/27/57 (Apportionment); Collyweston, IR 30/24/34 (Map), IR 29/24/34 (Apportionment); Tiverton (All Fours), IR 30/9/4 (Map), IR 29/9/4 (Apportionment); Warblington, TNA 1R 30/31/265 (Map), IR 29/31/265 (Apportionment).

Engravings and drawings are also employed in the discussion of the appearance of the houses and their landscape context. In the absence of contemporary drawings for any of the houses discussed, it is again necessary to look to later depictions. The earliest drawings to survive are those of Anton Van der Wyngaerde, whose illustrations of London from c. 1558 show Greenwich palace from both the river and the park.[79] By this point, the palace had mostly been rebuilt by Henry VII and Henry VIII, but the drawings nevertheless provide a near-contemporary impression of the landscape. It is also likely, as the discussion in the main body of the thesis will show, that the Tudor palace incorporated a number of features that had been implemented by Margaret of Anjou at the site. For all of the sites but Collyweston, eighteenth-century engravings survive, which show the residences in their various states of decay.[80] These are undoubtedly romanticised portrayals, for example James Basire's engraving of Greenwich omits a significant proportion of the palace for artistic effect, but they are nonetheless useful for highlighting features which have since been altered or have disappeared entirely.[81]

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[79] Anton Van der Wyngaerde, 'Greenwich Palace and London from Greenwich Hill', Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA.C.LG.IV.8b; 'Panorama of London (c.1544), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1950.206.13.

[80] J. Basire, 'A View of the Ancient Royal Palace Called Placentia, in East Greenwich', Royal Museums Greenwich, http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/143241.html (13 February 2016); N. and S. Buck 'Engraving of Ewelme Manor House' (1729), reproduced in M Airs: "Ewelme" *Archaeological Journal*, 135 (1975), p. 278;

Literary Evidence

This thesis employs literary evidence and visual iconography to illuminate the ways in which the women may have thought about and used their domestic space. All the women discussed are known to have had connections to courtly reading circles and were owners and commissioners of works of art and literature. The aim here is not to provide an exhaustive account of the women's literary and artistic patronage, which is beyond the scope of this study and has already been discussed elsewhere.[82] Instead, this

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N. and S. Buck, 'South-East View of Tiverton Castle' (1730), Engraved for Dunsford's *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, (London, 1790); S. Turner, 'Warblington Castle, Hampshire (1786)', published in F. Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* (London, 1786).

[81] G. H. Chettle, 'Introduction: Greenwich before the building of the Queen's House', in *Survey of London Monograph,* 14, *The Queen's House, Greenwich* (London, 1937).

[82] For Margaret of Anjou's book ownership and literary interests see, R. L. Radulescu, 'Preparing for Mature Years: The Case of Margaret of Anjou and her Books', in S. Niebrzydowski, (ed), *Middle-Aged Women in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011); R. McGerr, *A Lancastrian Mirror for Princes: The Yale Law School New Statutes of England* (Bloomington, 2011), p. 99-100. For Alice Chaucer's literary interests see K. K. Jambeck, 'The Library of Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk: A Fifteenth-Century Owner of a "Boke of le Citee de Dames"', *The Profane Arts of the Middle Ages/Les Arts Profanes du Moyan-Âge*, 7/2 (1998); C. M. Meale, 'Reading Women's Culture in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Alice Chaucer', in P. Boitani and A. Torti (eds), *Mediaevalitas: Reading the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1996). For Margaret Beaufort see S. Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, 20/3 (1998); R. Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca & London, 2002); A. Clark Bartlett, 'Translation, Self-Representation and Statecraft: Lady Margaret Beaufort and Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* (1489)', *Essays in Medieval Studies,* 22 (2005); J. Summit,'William Caxton, Margaret Beaufort and the Romance of Female Patronage', in L. Smith and J. H. M. Taylor (eds), *Women, the Book and the Wordly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993*, II (Cambridge, 1995). See also J. Backhouse, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours at Alnwick Castle', in J. Mitchell (ed), *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale, Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 2000). The significance of Margaret Beaufort's role as a translator of texts will be considered in more detail in chapter five. For more general studies of elite women as readers and patrons, see C. M., "…alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch': Lay Women and their Books in Late Medieval England', in Eadem (ed), *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500* (Cambridge, 1996); K. K. Jambeck, 'Patterns of Women's Literary Patronage: England, 1200- ca. 1475', in J. H. McCash (ed), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens & London, 1996); S. Michalove, 'Women as Book Collectors and Disseminators of Culture in Late Medieval Europe', in D. L. Biggs and S. D. Michalove (eds), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2004).

thesis draws on particular writings and images to explore contemporary ideas surrounding female authority. Of particular interest are literary works which address household management and those which include female protagonists who are represented as patrons of domestic architecture and the heads of their own households. Indeed, the period under consideration is, as Sarah Rees Jones has highlighted, one in which discrete female establishments begin to figure prominently in didactic and romance literature.[83]

The works of Christine de Pizan, particularly the *City of Ladies* and *the Treasure of City of Ladies* are regularly referred to throughout this study.[84] Other key works include the abovementioned *Assembly of Ladies*, William Caxton's translation of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, John Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and the Middle English translation of Jean d'Arras' *Melusine*. [85]All these texts feature female protagonists who either commission their own domestic spaces and/or who act as the heads of their own households. In some cases, the women also owned and commissioned these works. Margaret Beaufort, for example, commissioned the English translation of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* from William Caxton shortly after her son's accession, and she, Margaret of Anjou and Alice Chaucer were all owners of Christine de Pizan's works.[86] The discussion in this thesis does not view literary works as straightforward reflections of social practice; rather it uses them to create a more dynamic picture of domestic space, and to explore contemporary ideas surrounding female authority and the domestic.

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[83] Rees Jones, 'Public and Private Space and Gender in Medieval Europe', p. 249.

[84] For women as readers of Christine de Pizan's works, see the collected essays in R. Brown-Grant, ed. *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading Beyond Gender,* (Cambridge, 1999).

[85] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. & trans. R. Brown-Grant (London, 1999); Eadem, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies, or The Book of the Three Virtues*, ed. & trans. S. Lawson (London, 1985); William Caxton, *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, ed. L. Kellner, *EETS,* Extra Series 58 (London, 1890); John Capgrave, 'The Life of Saint Katherine', ed. K. A. Winstead (Kalamazoo, 1999); Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* ed. B. Windeatt (Oxford, 2006); Jean D'Arras, *Melusine*, ed. D. Alexander Karley, *EETS* (London, 1895); 'The Assembly of Ladies'.

[86] Clark Bartlett, 'Translation, Self-Representation and Statecraft'.

The Structure of the Thesis

The five thematic thesis chapters chart the progression from outdoor to indoor space. While chapters one and two focus on the landscape environs around the residences, chapters three and four are concerned with the interior appearance and arrangement of space, and consider the layout and decoration of the rooms within the domestic complex. The final chapter moves from physical to social space, to explore the women's performance of their domestic authority. The arrangement of the chapters is designed to replicate the sequential movement of a contemporary visitor to the residence, who would first experience the landscape environs around the residence, followed by the rooms and their interior decoration, and culminating in the appearance of the head of household herself. The decision to arrange the thesis in this way was also made with a view to highlighting the artificial nature of the binaries commonly drawn in studies of great residences between indoor and outdoor, and physical and social space. The head of household's authority was not just expressed through a single one of these elements; rather they were complementary and integral to the presentation of domestic authority.

Chapter one, 'Topographies of Female Lordship', focuses on the locations of each of the residences and their pre-existing topographical and social advantages for expressions of female authority. Addressing each of the five sites in turn, the discussion considers how much choice the women had over the locations of their principal residences and what factors may have informed their attachment to those particular places. While a literature on religious landscapes has shown that there was a pronounced gender difference in the locations of monasteries and nunneries, the discussion in this chapter considers whether the sites inhabited by lordly women spoke of distinctly feminine concerns or priorities. It argues that while the geographical locations advertised the women's social, spiritual and economic privileges in a manner akin to their male counterparts, the social factors governing the women's attachments to those particular locations spoke of their distinctly feminine concerns as wives, daughters and mothers.

Chapter two, 'Elite Female Landscapes', develops the discussion in chapter one by considering the women's roles as place-makers and shapers of the landscape environs around their residences. The aims of this chapter are two-fold. On one level, the discussion seeks to establish how far the women were responsible for re-structuring outdoor space for the projection of their personal authority. It considers how the women used those places as vehicles for self-expression, and the impact their presence had on the order and appearance of the local landscape. The discussion also explores how the women's creation and ownership of what have variously been referred to as 'elite', 'designed' or 'ornamental' landscapes — that is to say composite landscapes for pleasure, which included features such hunting grounds, gardens, orchards and water features — conveyed gendered messages of power and authority. It argues that while as a whole these landscapes were viewed as appurtenances to male lordship, the gendering of many of the individual features within such landscapes was ambivalent. Enclosure, for example, at once carried connotations in medieval thought with male seclusion and female chastity. This chapter argues that the women were able to exploit the ambivalent gendering of these spaces for statements of authority that were both masculine and feminine in their expression.

Chapter three, 'Within the Walls: Ground Plans of Female Authority', focuses on the interior arrangement of space. It considers how visible each of the women are as patrons of domestic architecture, and whether the physical arrangement of space differed when the principal occupant was female. Since the spatial arrangement of all the houses in this study has failed to attract scholarly attention, this chapter necessarily sets out, in so far as possible, the interior layouts of each of the houses addressed. In doing so, it marks the first scholarly attempt to establish the physical arrangement of elite female houses in late medieval England. The chapter's main aim is to establish whether a discernible gender difference can be detected in the layouts of houses presided over by elite men and women. If we were simply left with the ground plans and had no knowledge of who owned the residence and was responsible for building it, would it be possible to tell that the principal occupant was female? Especial attention is given to the women's principal apartments, and whether the placement and arrangement of these rooms matched those of their male contemporaries. Paying especial attention to the women's apartments, this chapter demonstrates that 'privacy' was a defining feature of the living quarters of both male and female heads of household. While the physical design of men's and women's apartments was largely the same, however, this chapter argues that concepts of seclusion may have taken on a heightened gendered significance when the principal occupant was female.

Chapter four, 'Gendered Iconography', explores how female authority was articulated through the visual environment of the home. Focusing primarily on large-scale visual media such as tapestries and wall paintings, this chapter considers how the subject and placement of these images expressed the female head of household's authority by raising her to the level of an exemplar. Responding to a prevailing view in current scholarship that representations of female bodies in male-owned residences were excluded from the more 'public' parts of the great household, such as the great hall, and that representations of women were simply designed to reflect and reinforce cultural norms of female passivity, this chapter considers whether this was also the case in houses where the figure of authority was female. Moving away from the binaries of male/female, active/passive, this chapter argues that formulations of female authority through the visual environment were not simply reliant on male or female or masculine and feminine representations; rather they incorporated a complex interplay of all these elements.

The fifth and final chapter, ''Captenesse' or 'Houswyff'? Governing Domestic Space', focuses on the ways in which the women performed their authority as household figureheads. The title of this chapter takes its inspiration from the gentlewoman Margaret Paston's descriptions of her own household governance in her letters to her husband, as these terms vividly capture the interplay of masculine and feminine elements integral to female household governance, expressed by a fifteenth-century woman in her own words. While the first four chapters present the elite residence as a stage, this final chapter considers the women as stage managers. The discussion first addresses household and estate management, considering how far the women personally took responsibility for the day-to-day running of their households. It proceeds to consider the interrelationship between control of the body and control of space, focusing specifically on the women's performance of piety, and how this was facilitated and structured through more solitary spaces, such as gardens and closets. The final part of the chapter considers the home as a site of sociability. Focusing on aspects such hospitality, charity and the exchange of domestic objects, this section considers how the women's interactions with others, as negotiated through domestic spaces and objects, shaped and projected their authority both within the home and the wider locality.

Together, these chapters demonstrate the complexities of female authority as it was formulated and projected through the spatial, material and social environment of the great residence, and highlight the value of the domestic space for exploring women's experiences and articulations of authority in late medieval and early modern England.

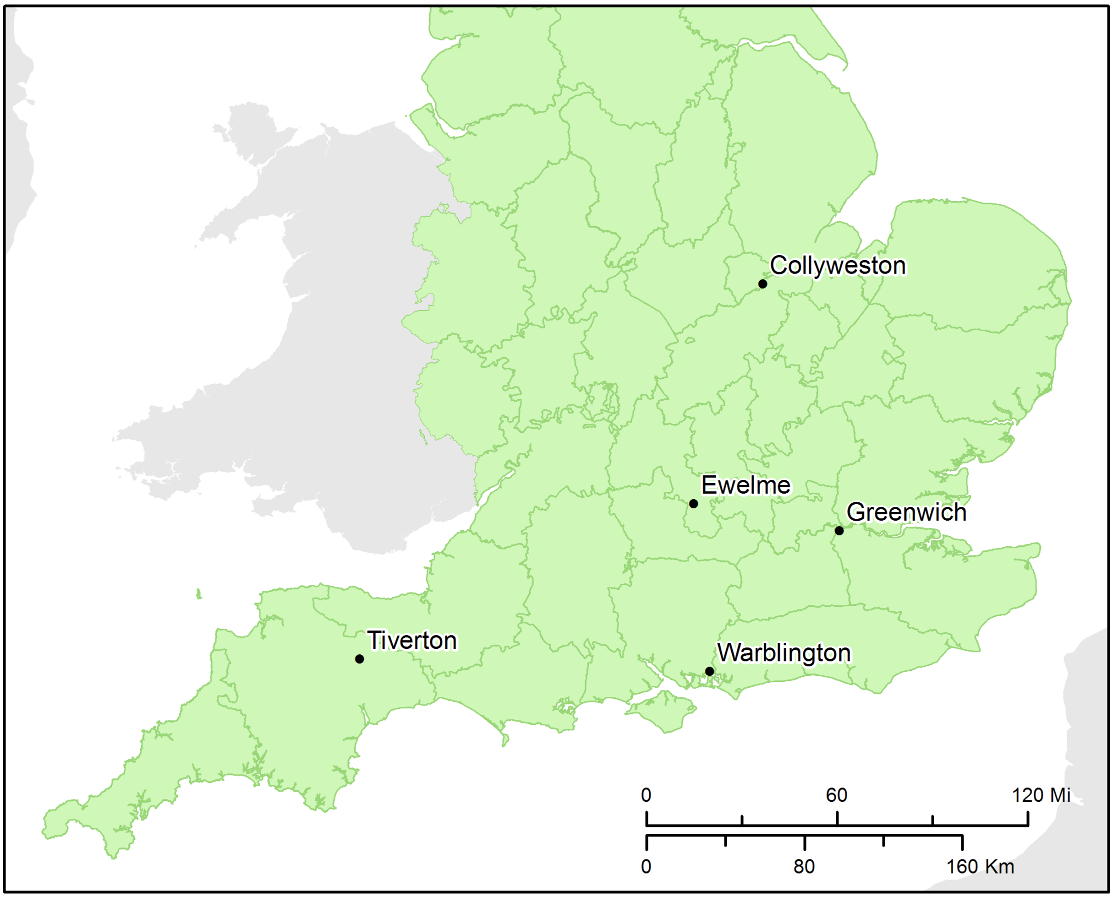

Figure 1: Outline Map of England with pre-1974 county boundaries showing all five sites considered in the thesis.

Chapter One: Topographies of Female Lordship

'….Blanchardyn…that alredy was nyghe comen vnto the cyte of Tourmaday/ Whiche he dyde beholde well hauynge merueylle of the comodyouse and riche contrey where the towne was sette / And hym semed the most fayre and most riche cyte that euer he sawe/ The see was nyghe betyng on the walles atte one syde…and the other syde were the grete medowes, the fayre vynes and the lond arable / The wodes, swete ryueres, and dyuerse fountayns. And sayd in hymself / that *he* that had suche a noble cyte of *his* owne were a great lorde…'[1]

The above lines from *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, a romance translated into English by William Caxton in 1489 at Margaret Beaufort's request, mark the protagonist Blanchardyn's first impressions of the imagined city of Tourmaday.[2] Blanchardyn surmises that the lord of such a rich and fertile townscape must be particularly powerful individual, and the use of the male pronoun suggests that the ruler of Tourmaday must also be a man. By this point in the romance, however, Blanchardyn, and by extension, the reader, have already learned that Tourmaday is governed by a woman, namely the tale's female protagonist, Queen Eglantine.

Whether Caxton was conscious of his use of the male pronoun or not, the passage returns us to the idea that landscapes of authority were gendered masculine. The relationship between gender, lordship and landscape as presented in *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* opens up a key area for discussion in this chapter, namely that constructions of gender and authority were inextricably bound to place, and more specifically, to the landscape.

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[1] Caxton, *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, Chapter 13. 'Blanchardyn…arrived in the city of Tourmaday / Which he beheld well and marvelled at the commodious and rich countryside in which the town was set / And to him it seemed the most fair and most rich city that ever he saw/ The sea was beating at the walls on one side…while on the other…there were great meadows, fair vines and arable land /…woods, sweet rivers, and diverse fountains. And he said to himself / that *he* who had such a noble city of *his* own was a great lord'. Translation and italics my own.

[2] For a discussion of the text and the significance of Margaret's commission see Clark-Bartlett, 'Translation, Self-Representation and Statecraft'.

It is now widely recognised that the terms 'space' and 'place' are not synonymous. Much ink has been spilled on the differing definitions of the two words, initially by cultural geographers, and subsequently by historians and scholars of other disciplines from across the humanities and social sciences.[3] For the geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan, whose work on the subject has remained influential since its publication in the 1970s, place is a humanized space.[4] While spaces can exist without people, places as Robert Preucel and Lynn Meskell have recently put it, are the 'outcome of the social process of valuing space…[and] the primary means by which we articulate with space and transform it into a humanized landscape'.[5]

Place and landscape are natural bedfellows.[6] Invented by Dutch painters as a technical term in the late sixteenth century, 'landscape' shares with the term 'place' a human element, referring to both a physical topography and a way of seeing and experiencing the world.[7] Although 'landscape' (unlike 'place') is a post-medieval term, medieval historians have nevertheless recognised the value of landscape approaches for investigating the ways in which past individuals and groups understood the world around them. Stephen Mileson, for example, has recently argued for the value of the landscape to an exploration of medieval *mentalités*, highlighting that 'Landscape History offers one of the most promising approaches to past inhabitants' perceptions, embodied…in the intimate daily experience of a particular physical environment'.[8]

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[3] For influential works in this field see: Y. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977); D. Cosgrove, 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series,* 10/1 (1985); D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis, 1994).
For more recent commentaries on the development of this subject see, P. Hubbard, 'Space/Place', in D. Atkinson *et al*. (eds), *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* (London, 2005); M. Cassidy-Welch, 'Space and Place in Medieval Contexts', *Parergon*, 27/1 (2010); C. J. Campbell, 'Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in *Past & Present'*, *Past & Present* (May, 2016).

[4] Tuan, *Space and Place*, p. 54,

[5] R. Preucel and L. Meskell, 'Places', in L. Meskell and R. Preucel (eds), *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Oxford, 2004), p. 215.

[6] T. Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 2015), p. 18.

[7] B. David and J. Thomas, 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction', in B. David and J. Thomas (eds), *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (California, 2008), p. 27

The social dimensions of both 'place' and 'landscape' means that the two terms are necessarily tied to concepts of power. Historical scholarship over the last twenty years has shown that individuals and social groups of all periods constructed, maintained, negotiated and subverted power relationships through places and landscapes.[9] In their edited collection, *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages,* Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws asked, 'how did people construct 'places of power', and how did such places in turn, create powerful people?'[10] The questions on their agenda remain highly relevant today, and have recently been taken up by David Rollason in his publication, *The Power of Place*.[11] Historians working on this topic have recognised the longevity of places and landscapes of power, and that the ways in which individuals and groups interacted with the landscape was often determined or structured by previous social groups.[12] Landscapes were thus sites of belonging and exclusion, of power and powerlessness.

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[8] S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire Project: Perceptions of Landscape, Settlement and Society, c. 1500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33/2 (2012), p. 83.

[9] Ibid. See also the collected essays in C. A. Lees and G. R. Overing (eds), *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (University Park, PA, 2006).

[10] M. De Jong, F. Theuws and C. Van Rhijn, *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Brill, 2001).

[11] D. Rollason*, The Power of Place: Rulers and their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities and Holy Places* (Princeton and Woodstock, 2016). See also D. Rollason, 'Forests, Parks, Palaces, and the Power of Place in Early Medieval Kingship', *Early Medieval Europe,* 20/4 (2012).

[12] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London, 1996); A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

The symbiotic relationship between place, landscape and power relates directly to matters of gender. The main introduction to this study advanced the argument that power and authority are gendered, and this is a view shared by feminist geographers, whose work since the 1980s has explored how gendered social relations both inform and are informed by place and space.[13] For Doreen Massey, 'particular ways of thinking about space and place are tied up with, both directly and indirectly, particular social constructions of gender relations', and Linda McDowell has argued that 'the mapping of place or location onto gender identities has been a key part of the establishment and maintenance of women's position'.[14] The landscape, as an instrument of power and control, has been understood as a key medium through which gender relations have historically been played out, and one through which masculinities and femininities were constructed and expressed. As Bruno David and Julian Thomas have put it, landscapes 'implicate social order and gender, because who lives where, who goes or works where, and the significance of places are each mediated by social structure, worldviews and the meaningfulness of place'.[15]

Despite these developments, medieval historians have been slow to engage with the agendas set by feminist geographers. The intersection of gender, power and place remains a largely unexplored topic in medieval scholarship, especially with respect to landscape. The most developed discussions of women, power and place can be found in approaches to burial locations and funerary monuments, where work on queens and noblewomen has shown that high-status widows could and did exhibit choice over their interment locations, as evidenced by their selection of sites that were distinct from those of their husbands, or which displayed their continued identification with their natal families.[16] Katherine French has also explored questions of place and female agency within the context of the parish church, arguing that urban and gentlewomen bought and traded seats as a means of marking their visibility, as well as furthering their associations with well-standing families and investing their own familial lines with longevity.[17]

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[13] The two most influential thinkers on gender and space are Doreen Massey and Linda McDowell. See Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*; L. McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Cambridge, 1999). See also the collected essays in L. McDowell and J. Sharp (eds), *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings* (London, 1997). For a more recent reflection on the place of feminist geography in historical enquiry see K. Beebe, A. Davis and K. Gleadle, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: Feminist History and the Spatial Turn', *Women's History Review*, 21/4 (September, 2012); L. Nelson and J. Seager (eds), *A Companion to Feminist Geography* (Malden, MA, 2005).

[14] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, p. 2; L. McDowell, 'Place and Space', in M. Eagleton (ed), *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory* (Oxford, 2003), p. 12.

[15] David and Thomas 'Landscape Archaeology: Introduction'.

For a religious context, some consideration, chiefly by Roberta Gilchrist and James Bond, has been given to the locations of medieval nunneries.[18] Gilchrist has argued that 'landscape situation and management are integral to the gender identities of medieval men and women in religious communities'.[19] In their work, Bond and Gilchrist have identified a stark contrast in the landscape locations of monasteries and nunneries, with nunneries routinely placed in liminal, isolated, and watery sites, which were prone to flooding and made the nuns highly dependent on others for their access to resources.[20] For Gilchrist, the pronounced difference between the landscape locations of nunneries and the more advantageous topographies of monastery landscapes was a visible marker of the nuns' relative inferiority and limited access to power.

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[16] Parsons, '"Never was a Body Buried in England with Such Solemnity and Honour"; E. Cavell, 'The Burial of Noblewomen in Thirteenth-Century Shropshire', in B. Weiler, J. Burton, P. Schofield and K. Stöber (eds), *Thirteenth Century England XI: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference* (Woodbridge, 2007).

[17] K. French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion After the Black Death* (Philadelphia, 2013); '"The Seat Under Our Lady": Gender and Seating in the Late Medieval Parish Church', in S. Stanbury and V. Raguin (eds), *Women's Space: Parish Place and Gender in the Middle Ages* (Albany, 2005).

[18] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture,* esp. Chapter 3; J. Bond, 'Medieval Nunneries in England and Wales: Buildings, Precincts and Estates', in D. Wood (ed), *Women and Religion in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2003).

[19] Ibid.

[20] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, pp. 63-77.

While the situation of nunneries has received some attention, no consideration has yet been given to the locations of great houses presided over by lay women. While there has been a growing interest in the landscape contexts of castles and great residences over the past thirty years, such discussions have remained singularly focused on such landscapes (much like the houses to which they were attached) as expressions of lordly masculinities by elite men.[21] The following questions have yet to be considered: Where did noblewomen establish their principal residences? Did they exercise a choice over those locations, and, if so, what factors governed those choices? Did sites occupied by women share common characteristics, and was there a marked gender difference in the types of sites occupied by noblemen and women? By addressing each of the sites in turn, the discussion will engage with these questions, to consider whether topographies of female lordship were distinctly feminine.

In order to address above questions, it is necessary to first establish what factors usually governed male lords' choices of seigneurial sites and whether there was a blueprint for such locations. The introduction to this chapter indicated that the literary protagonist Blanchardyn considered the fertile and abundant townscape of the imagined location of Tourmaday to be an unparalleled example of a lordly landscape. Yet, what factors governed the choice of a lordly site in reality? In his study of castle landscapes,

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[21] R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape* (Macclesfield, 2005); Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*; R. Liddiard, *'Landscapes of Lordship': Norman Castles in the Countryside* (Oxford, 2000); D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape: Annual Lecture to the Society for Landscape Studies, May 1984', *Landscape History*, 6/1 (1984); Robert Liddard has highlighted that 'castles and landscapes' has almost become a sub-discipline in its own right. See R. Liddard. 'Introduction' in Idem (ed), *Late Medieval Castles* (Woodbridge, 2016). Rarely are such discussions explicitly framed with reference to gender. For a brief discussion of gender and lordly landscapes, see M. H. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate* (London, 2002), p. 116.

Oliver Creighton has highlighted that surprisingly little attention has been paid to this particular question, with more weight instead given to the ways in which lords shaped the landscape after they established themselves at a particular site.[22] While it is admittedly difficult to discuss choice for a period for which we have no direct evidence for motivation, it is evident that there were, broadly speaking, a number of shared factors which made for an advantageous high-status site, namely defensibility, aspect and shelter, water supply, communications and available resources. High ground, fertile land and proximity to navigable rivers and Roman roads are all features that played a central role in the siting of many Norman castles.[23] Over time, the presence of a castle or lordly residence usually also attracted the growth of a settlement and the construction of a church, meaning that by the central middle ages, these were also features common to an elite spatial ideology of lordship.

What, then, can be said of late medieval high-status residences? While Norman castles and moated sites have generated considerable scholarly interest, late medieval great houses have usually been addressed either individual case studies, or through regional approaches. For this reason, there has been no broad, comparative study of the types of sites occupied by late medieval great houses.[24] Nevertheless, it is apparent that some general trends can be observed for the late medieval period. The desire by late medieval elites to create large-scale landscapes around their residences saw many hilltop and false crest sites abandoned in favour of low-lying, more adaptable locations.

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[22] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes,* p. 35. A brief discussion of castle sites can be found in N. J. G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Political and Social History* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 68-70.

[23] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, Chapter 3, 'Castle Siting and Distribution'.

[24] Anthony Emery's three-volume study of great medieval houses offers a brief consideration of the sites of each of the houses addressed, yet the primary focus of the study is the architectural design of the houses, not their wider landscape contexts. See Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales,* Vols I-III.

While a number of previously occupied lordly sites remained in use, the creation of late medieval 'trophy homes', as Anthony Emery has branded them, saw older houses razed to the ground and new ones erected.[25] Rather than occupying the exact same position, however, these later houses were often built at a distance from their neighbouring settlements, so as to signal lordly exclusivity through symbolic and literal separation. The work of Briony McDonagh and Jill Campbell, for example, has shown that lords increasingly withdrew to the edge of settlements, a separation that was emphasised further by the late medieval fashion for enclosing great houses within deer parks.[26] While others, such as the historical geographer B. M. S. Campbell, argue that the development from the late medieval to the early modern periods saw the emergence of entirely new socio-economic spatial order, McDonagh calls for a more nuanced picture, arguing that 'continuity as well as change indicates that landscapes and buildings were caught up in the practices by which meaning was (re)produced and power constituted in late medieval and early modern England'.[27]

While a defining feature of late medieval lordly landscapes was their increased emphasis on distance or separation, it is evident that throughout the middle ages, the locations continued to provide a tangible expression of the lord's spiritual, economic and social privileges. In his comparative study of aristocratic landscapes in Norfolk and South Sweden, for example, Martin Hansson has highlighted that a spatial celebration of martial prowess, of ancestry or antiquity, and of the lord's spiritual privileges were factors that retained their importance across space and time.[28] The discussion in this chapter will thus consider how far the principal sites inhabited by each of the women addressed in this study also reflected such priorities, in order to establish whether matriarchal sites of authority reflected distinctly feminine concerns.

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[25] A. Emery, 'Late Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', *Historical Research*, 78/200 (May, 2005).

[26] J. Campbell, 'Understanding the Relationship between Manor House and Settlement in Medieval England', in J. Klápšte (ed), *Hierarchies in Rural Settlements*, *Ruralia, VIX* (Turnhout, 2013); B. McDonagh, '"Powerhouses' of the Wolds Landscape: Manor Houses and Churches in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds), *Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2007).

[27] B. M. S. Campbell, 'People and Land in the Middle Ages, 1066-1500', in R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin (eds), *An Historical Geography of England and Wales* (London, 1990); McDonagh, "Powerhouses'', p. 195.

Margaret of Anjou and Greenwich Palace

Of the women addressed in this study, Margaret of Anjou is the only one to have had no pre-existing ties to any sites in England, having been born and raised in France. When she arrived on the shores of Dover in 1445, several of the royal palaces in London had been expanded to accommodate her, and she was also granted the customary dower of fifteenth-century queens, which comprised lands from the Duchy of Lancaster.[29] These lands were primarily in the Midlands, but also gave her landholdings in Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey, London and the 'ancient southern parts' of the Duchy, namely in the counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Oxfordshire and Herefordshire.[30] Most of the castles granted to Margaret were in the Midlands, and included Leicester (Leicestershire), Tutbury (Staffordshire), Melbourne (Derbyshire), Kenilworth (Warwickshire) and Rockingham (Leicestershire). She also held castles at Pleshey in Essex, Hertford in Hertfordshire and Odiham in Hampshire (fig. 2).[31]

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[28] M. Hansson, 'The Medieval Aristocracy and the Social Use of Space', in R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds (eds), *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007* (Leeds, 2009), p. 441; M. Hansson, *Aristocratic Landscape: The Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Lund. 2006).

[29] Myers, *The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou*, 1452-3, p. 87.

[30] *Rot. Parl.* V. 118-19

[31] Ibid, 258b- 259b.

Despite having a number of residences at her disposal, however, Margaret set upon establishing a household at Greenwich in Kent, at a residence she had seized just weeks after the previous owner, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's death.[32] Margaret's establishment of a household at Greenwich, and her decision to concentrate her efforts on rebuilding her own manor houses (rather than those she shared with the king) contrasts markedly with the actions of her successors, Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth York, and Joanna Laynesmith has used this to argue for the queen's greater autonomy.[33] The section will consider why Greenwich was such an advantageous location for the queen consort.

Location

Greenwich (historically East Greenwich) is located the southern banks of the River Thames, approximately four miles southeast of London Bridge. While today Greenwich forms part of greater London, in the middle ages it was part of the county of Kent, lying close to the county's western border with the city (see fig. 1). Still today, the settlement is situated on the low-lying banks of the Thames, with the land behind it rising steadily upwards to form the only hill on the eastern approach to London. The significant contrast between the high ground and the steep escarpment found to the south of the settlement and the low-lying river terraces to the north, makes for a particularly distinctive topography and still today offers far-reaching views across London (for elevation see fig. 3). By the later medieval period, the town had developed into a flourishing maritime and mercantile community and a market was held there from at least 1400 onwards.[34]

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[32] G. L. Harriss, 'Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1390–1447)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

[33] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 246.

When Margaret acquired the manor of East Greenwich in the mid-fifteenth century, she came to inhabit the great house that had been established by her predecessor, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Humphrey built Bella Court, as the residence was originally named, in 1428, on low-lying land just south of the Thames (fig. 3). The residence was located on the site currently occupied by the Old Royal Naval College, where it directly overlooked the river. The house stood to the north-east of the settlement and less than half a mile to the north of the medieval parish church, which was dedicated to the local martyr, St. Alfege.[35] Today, nothing survives of the palace above ground, yet it is known to have had a river-facing frontage, and comprised two courtyards, which were oriented from north to south. There is some debate as to whether the palace was surrounded by a moat, although details from Duke Humphrey's licence to crenellate confirm that a wall enclosed the palace, as well as the gardens and park, which were located directly south of the residence.[36] The park, which was first enclosed by Humphrey and his wife Eleanor in 1433 was roughly synonymous with the hilly terrain that still comprises Greenwich park today, although the medieval park was slightly larger, comprising 200 rather than its present-day 190 acres.[37] Upon acquiring the residence, Margaret renamed it the Palace of Placentia or Pleasaunce, enlarging the existing house into a residence of palatial proportions, yet retaining the park and also a hunting lodge implemented by Humphrey and Eleanor.

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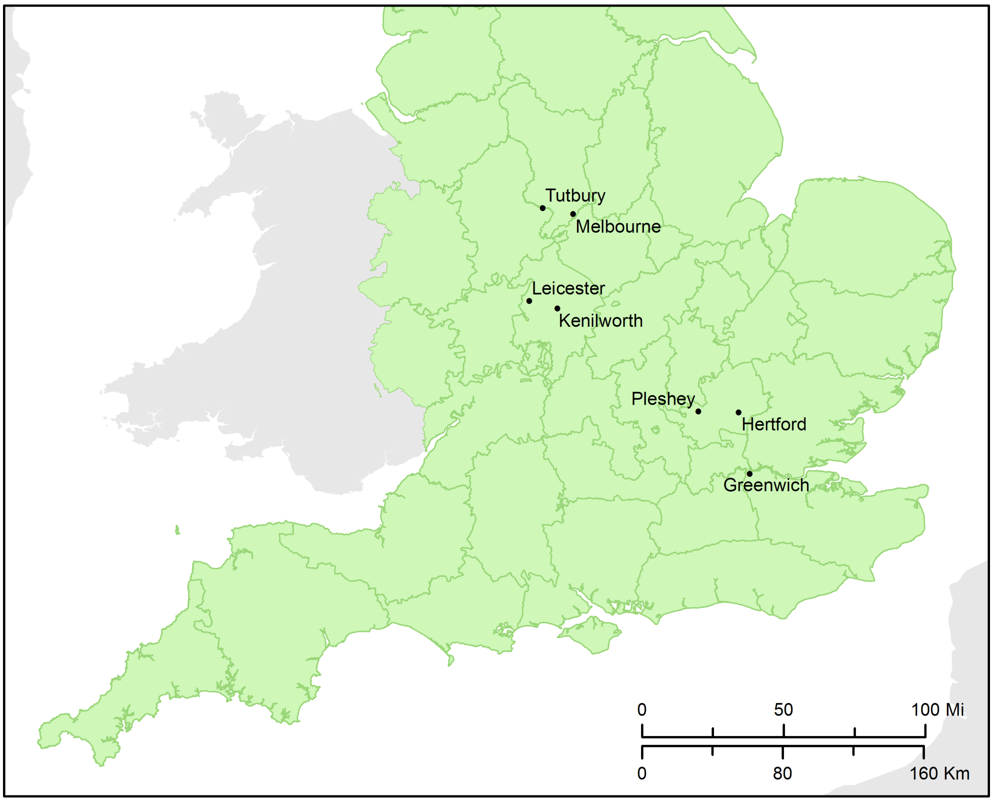
[34] G. M. Draper, 'Timber and Iron: Natural Resources for the Late Medieval Ship-Building Industry in Kent' in S. Sweetinburgh (ed), *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540* (Woodbridge, 2010).

[35] For a discussion of the medieval church of St. Alfege see M. Egan, 'The Church in Medieval Greenwich', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 123 (2003).

[36] For Duke Humphrey's ownership of Greenwich see Richardson, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape'.

[37] Ibid, p. 53.


Tutbury
Melbourne
Leicester
Kenilworth
Pleshey
Hertford
Greenwich
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50
100 Mi
0
80
160 Km

Figure 2. Outline map of England showing Greenwich in relation to Margaret of Anjou's other main residences.

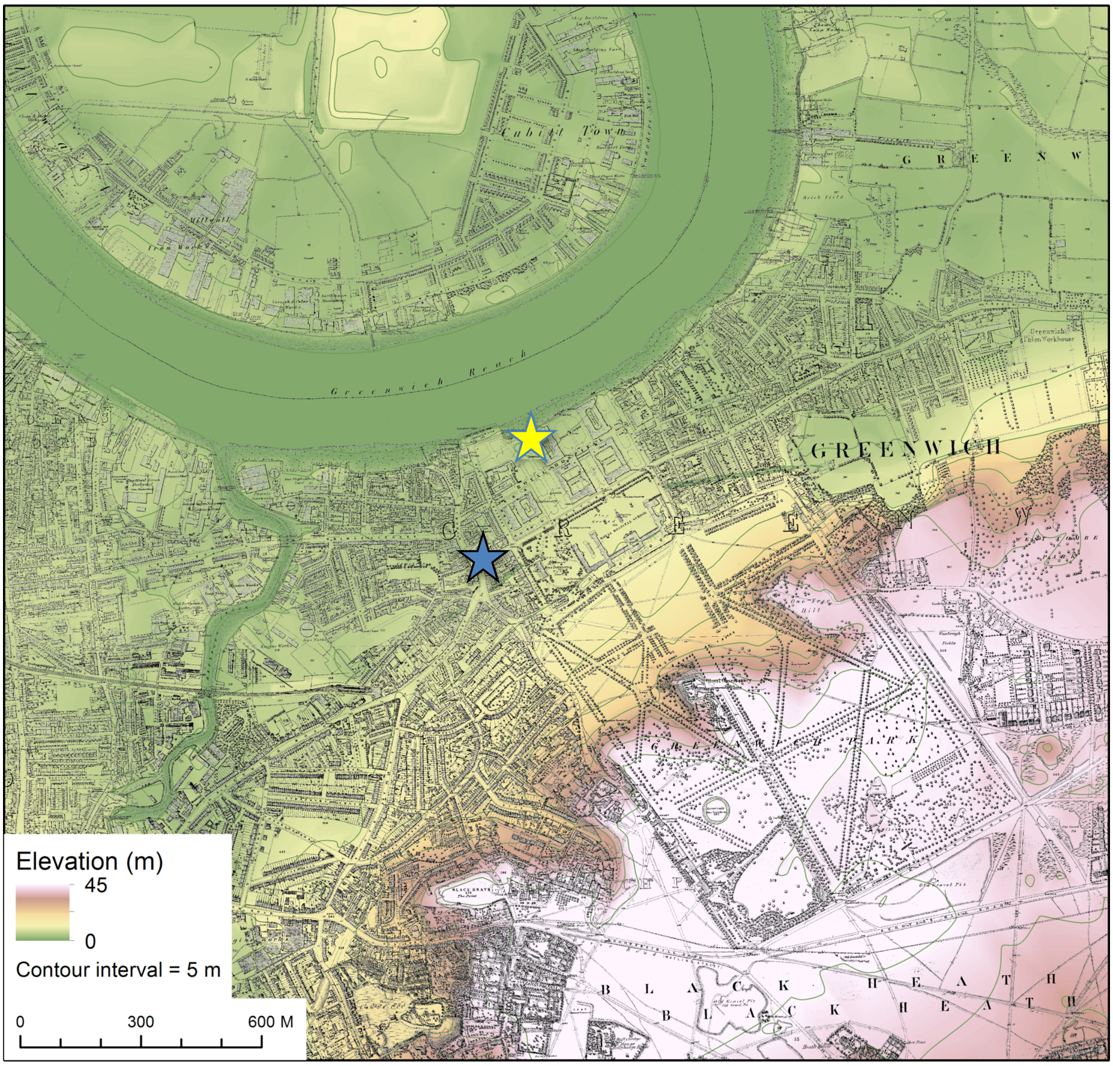
Cubitt Town
GREENW
Greenwich Reach
GREENWICH
GREENWICH
BLACKHEATH
BLACKHEATH
Elevation (m)
45
0
Contour interval = 5 m
0
300
600 M

Figure 3. Site of Greenwich palace. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1869-70 edition, London. The yellow star marks the site of the house and the blue star marks the site of the church.

Greenwich's History as a High-Status Site

By the time Margaret came to reside there, East Greenwich had a long history as a royal site. Its importance as a royal centre pre-dated the conquest, and in the tenth century King Alfred granted the manor to his daughter, Aelfthryth, on her marriage to Baldwin II, count of Flanders.[38] In the fourteenth century, Edward I and his son, the future king Edward II, made an offering at the two crosses in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Greenwich. Henry IV also occasionally resided at Greenwich and retired there shortly before his death.[39] In the early fifteenth century, Henry V granted the manor to Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and after his death in 1426 it was given to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, half-brother of Henry V and regent to Henry VI.[40] Aside from its rich mercantile and maritime community, by the later middle ages, Greenwich was also an important centre of royal ship-building.[41]

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[38] Egan, 'The Church in Medieval Greenwich', p. 336.

Communications

One aspect that undoubtedly made Greenwich so attractive as a royal site was that the location offered ease of access to both London and to the continent. To the south of the settlement, Watling Street, the old Roman road from Dover and one of medieval England's four principal roads (the present-day A2), ran from west to east, providing routes to the coast and central London.[42] Historically, the settlement's location on the main approach to London from the coast had made it an important site strategically, and also for receiving continental dignitaries.

The close proximity of Watling Street meant that goods and people could easily reach the palace overland. The building documents relating to Margaret of Anjou's ownership of the house confirm this. Wainscoting was sourced from London, roof tiles from Dulwich, Flanders tiles carried from Billingsgate and stone from Maidstone in Kent.[43] The site also afforded Margaret ease of access to skilled craftsmen, as evidenced by her employment of the king's own glazier, John Prudde, who resided at the royal palace of Westminster and supplied ornately decorated stained glass for the windows at Pleasaunce.[44]

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[39] Richardson, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape', p. 54.

[40] Chettle, 'Introduction: Greenwich before the building of the Queen's House'.

[41] Draper, 'Timber and Iron'; S. Rose, 'Royal Ships on the Thames before 1450', in J. O. Roger (ed), *Shipbuilding on the Thames and Thames-built Ships: Proceedings of a Second Symposium, held on 15 February 2003 at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich* (West Wickham, 2004).

[42] Draper, 'Timber and Iron', p. 63; Richardson, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape', p. 57; F. M. Stenton, 'The Road System of Medieval England', *The Economic History Review*, 7/1 (Nov. 1936), p. 3.

[43] TNA DL 28/1/11.

The Thames also provided an important means of communication. In the later middle ages, Greenwich grew into a key trading port between London and the Low Countries, with the river providing access to the North Sea and the English Channel.[45] Margaret exploited this to her advantage. When she acquired the residence, the queen commissioned the construction of a wharf, along with a forty-foot pier and stone steps, which provided access to the Thames at all states of tide.[46] This was a substantial undertaking and it is possible that the structures are those represented on Wyngaerde's sixteenth-century drawing of the post-medieval palace (figs. 6 & 7), in which steps are shown to the east of the main gatehouse (to the left of the image) and a pier to the west (to the right of the image). The significance and impact of Margaret's commission will be explored further in Chapter two, yet it is apparent that Greenwich was a well-connected site and that its river-side position facilitated the movement of people and goods to and from Margaret's residence.

Social Factors

It is highly possible that Margaret had also developed an emotional attachment to the place and the palace. After arriving as a seasick teenager on the shores of Dover for her coronation celebrations in 1445, Margaret had travelled along Watling Street to Blackheath, where Duke Humphrey and 500 of his liveried retainers had greeted her.

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[44] Ibid; For Prudde see R. Marks, 'Window Glass', in J. W. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1992), pp. 280-283.

[45] Draper, 'Timber and Iron'.

[46] TNA DL 28/1/11. The significance of Margaret's commission will be discussed further in Chapter two.

From here, the company descended towards Greenwich, no doubt through Humphrey's park, from where the queen would have caught her first glimpses of both Pleasaunce and the London skyline beyond. This was Margaret's first impression of the city that was to be her home for the coming years, and it is likely that this memory influenced her fondness for Greenwich and her desire to claim it as her own after Humphrey's death.

As the first high-status residence on the route upriver to London, and as the gateway between the capital and the continent, Greenwich was also ideally placed to symbolize the queen consort's role as a peacemaker and as a gatekeeper to the king. After Greenwich, the next high-status residence upriver was the royal palace of the Tower of London. The ordering of the residences meant that the owner of Greenwich was second only to the king in this spatial sequence of power. The palace's placement at the gateway between the continent and the capital was also of considerable strategic importance, particularly at a time when the Hundred Years' War was still raging. In a royal marriage designed to secure peace with France, Margaret, Henry's French-born queen assumed a crucial role as peacemaker between the two warring nations. It was thus suitable that her palace was poised at the point which most fittingly symbolized her role as peacekeeper between England and France.

While Greenwich was undoubtedly an advantageous location for Margaret personally, it is evident that her occupation of Duke Humphrey's former residence was also integral to a broader display of royal power. Margaret's establishment of a household at Greenwich was a choice that benefitted both her personal interests and those of the Crown, enabling the queen consort to exert her own influence, whilst also complementing and extending royal authority.

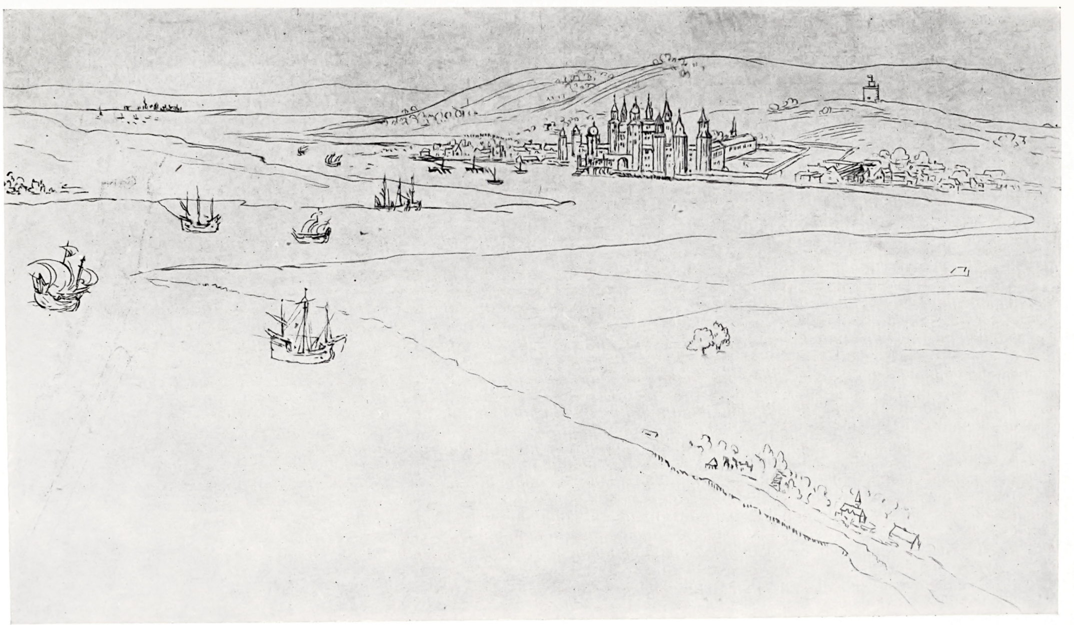

Figure 4. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Panorama of the Thames', 1543. The drawing shows the palace subsequently built on the site by Henry VII and Henry VIII, but conveys the topography of the site, including the river frontage and hilly terrain behind the palace. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

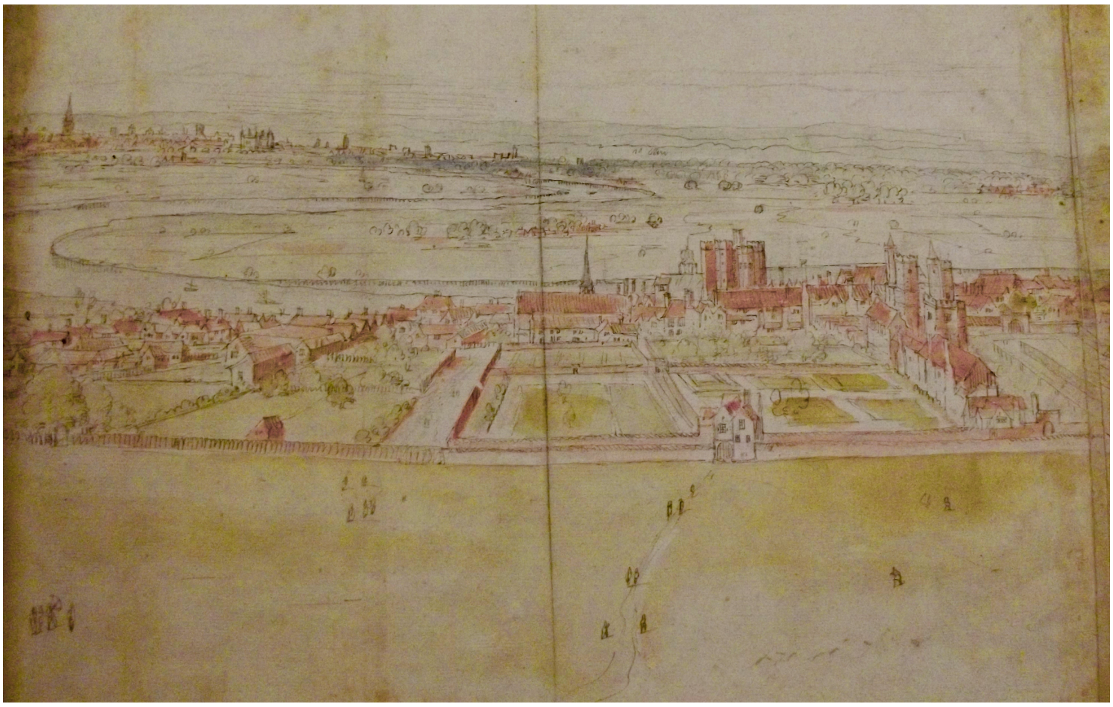

Figure 5. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'View of Greenwich from Observatory Hill', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b. Image: Author's own, by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum.

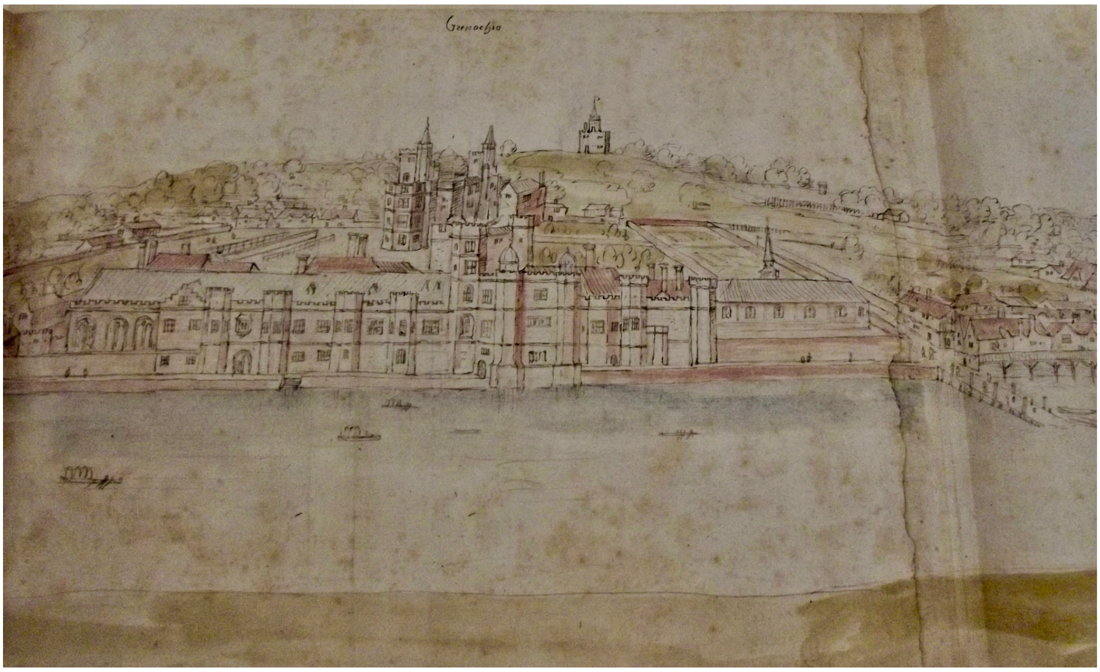

Figure 6. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Greenwich Palace', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b. The image shows the steps leading to the river are shown to the left of the image, and the pier to the far right. Image: Author's own, by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum.

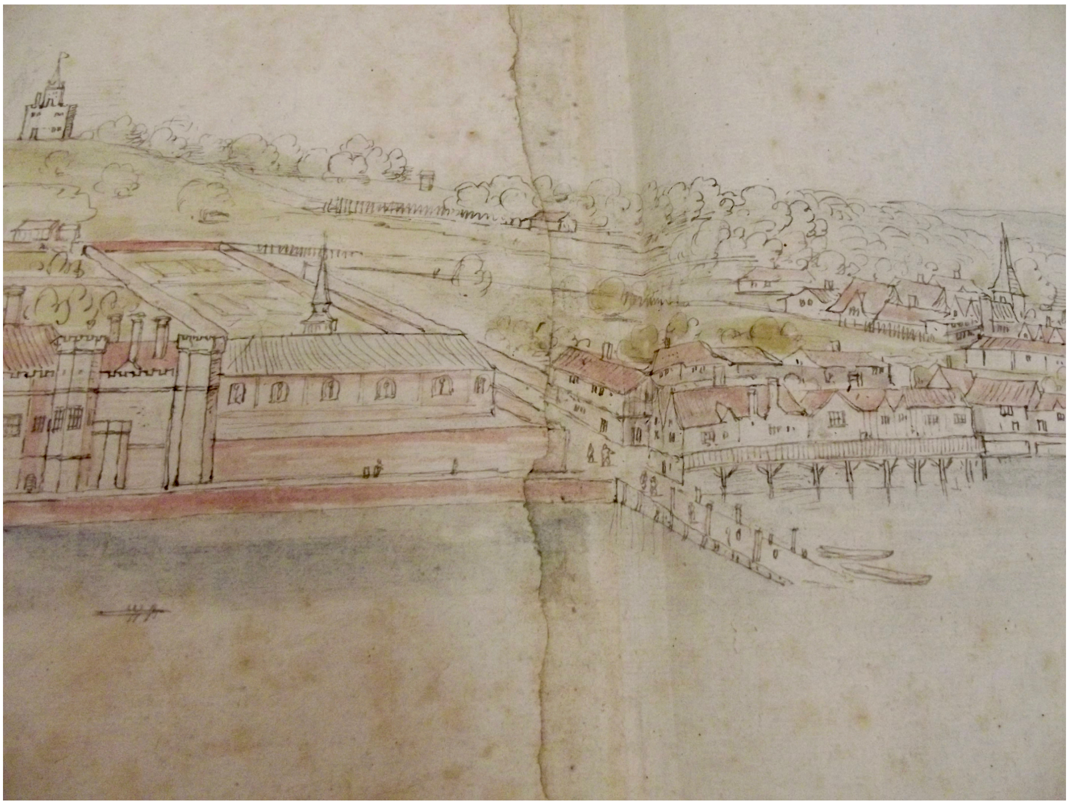

Figure 7. Detail from Anton van den Wyngaerde's 'Greenwich Palace', c. 1558 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA. C. LG. IV. 8b. The image shows the pier in the foreground, the chapel belonging to Henry VIII's palace to the left and the parish church of St. Alfege to the right. Duke Humphrey's tower can be seen in the background. Image: Author's own, by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum.

Alice Chaucer and Ewelme Manor House

By the time Alice and her third husband, William de la Pole, came to establish their residence in Ewelme, Oxfordshire, Alice was well acquainted with the village, which was the site of her parental home and most likely the place of her birth in c. 1404.[47] Upon her parents' death, Ewelme had passed to Alice as part of her natal inheritance and in the 1440s, she and William established their manor house, almshouses and school in the village. By the time William died in 1450, Alice, through her parental inheritance, successive marriages and long widowhood, had amassed a staggering amount of land and property, including 130 manors in twenty-two counties, 144 parcels of land, and hundreds of bailiwicks and rights of advowson.[48] She owned several manor houses and two houses in London. Aside from Ewelme, Alice had four other great houses, namely at Wingfield and Eye in Suffolk, Claxton in Norfolk, and Donnington in Berkshire (see fig. 8).[49] It was Ewelme, however, that was to become her principal seat during her widowhood and her final resting place upon her death in 1475.

Location

The village of Ewelme and the parish of the same name are in South Oxfordshire, close to the border with the neighbouring county of Berkshire (see fig.1).The settlement takes its name from its advantageous position on a natural spring line, with the Anglo-Saxon aew(i)elm meaning spring.[50] The village, which lies in the Chiltern foothills, is approximately four miles north-east of the Thames-side market town of Wallingford and around fourteen miles south-east of Oxford.[51] The settlement itself rests in the bottom of a gently sloping valley, where it is nestled between the higher ground, which reaches heights of over one hundred metres to the north and south.[52] Its sheltered location, at the bottom of a chalk escarpment, has long provided ideal ground for agricultural production, and during the middle ages this translated into the creation of an open field system, which can still be seen in an eighteenth-century map of the settlement (see fig. 9).

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[47] Archer, 'Chaucer, Alice, duchess of Suffolk (c. 1404-1475), *ODNB*.

[48] R. E. Archer, 'Alice Chaucer and her East Anglian Estates', in D. P. Bloore and E. Martin (eds), *Wingfield College and its Patrons* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 192.

[49] *VCH Oxon*. XVIII (London, 2016), p. 192.

[50] Ibid, p. 194.

[51] Ibid, p. 192.

The residence that Alice and William de la Pole enlarged in 1444, and which Alice returned to during her widowhood, was a double courtyard brick and stone-built structure, the inner courtyard of which was enclosed within a moat. The house was located on the south-western edge of the settlement and just south of the main street (see fig. 10). While the house stood at an elevation of approximately seventy-five metres above sea level, the neighbouring church of St. Mary the Virgin, located less than half a mile north-east of the residence, occupied higher ground, standing at an elevation of approximately one hundred metres. The ground beneath the church provided the location for Alice and William's almshouses and grammar school, which still occupy the hillside between the church and the village's main street today. Recent excavations at Ewelme have raised the possibility that the site now occupied by the almshouses and school was the former position of the Despenser-Burghersh manor of Alice's parents, suggesting that Alice and William chose to create their residence in a new, more adaptable location, where the flatter and more spacious land enabled them to build a larger house and to create a moat.[53]

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid, p. 204.

Ewelme's History as a High-Status Site

The history of Ewelme as a high-status site was closely bound to history of Alice's natal family. By the later middle ages, Ewelme comprised two estates, one belonging to the Wace family and the other to Alice's maternal ancestors, the Burghersh family.[54] When Alice's grandfather, John Burghersh, died in 1391, the Burghersh estate passed to his two underage daughters, Alice's mother, Maud, and her sister Margery. In 1417, Margery and her husband, John Arundel, gave up their share of the estates in exchange for an annual sum of rent. By the early fifteenth century, Maud and her husband, Thomas Chaucer were also in possession of the other manor that had previously belonged to the Waces, as well as the neighbouring manor of Swyncombe, where Thomas is believed to have first established a park.[55] In the subsequent years, Thomas added to the couple's estates through his purchase of a further five manors in Oxfordshire and Berkshire.[56] His wife's family seat at Ewelme, however, became the nucleus of these lands and provided a base from which Thomas could enact his roles as Constable of Wallingford Castle (a position later held by Alice) and as steward of the honours of Wallingford, St. Valery and the four-and-a-half hundreds of Chiltern. Thomas' considerable influence within the county is conveyed in a poem by John Lydgate, in which the poet laments his departing for the French campaigns.[57] Through his wife's inheritance, Thomas was able to carve out a notable regional identity for himself and his family, and the young heiress Alice, who spent her formative years in the family home at Ewelme, would have witnessed and learned from this first hand.[58]

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[54] Ibid, pp. 201-206.

[55] Ibid, p. 202.

[56] C. Rawcliffe, 'Chaucer, Thomas (c. 1367- 1434) of Ewelme, Oxon', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

[57] For a discussion and copy of the text see, E. P. Hammond, 'The Departing of Chaucer', *Modern Philology*, 1/2 (Oct. 1903). Lydgate's relationship to the Chaucer family is also discussed in W. F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 59-65.

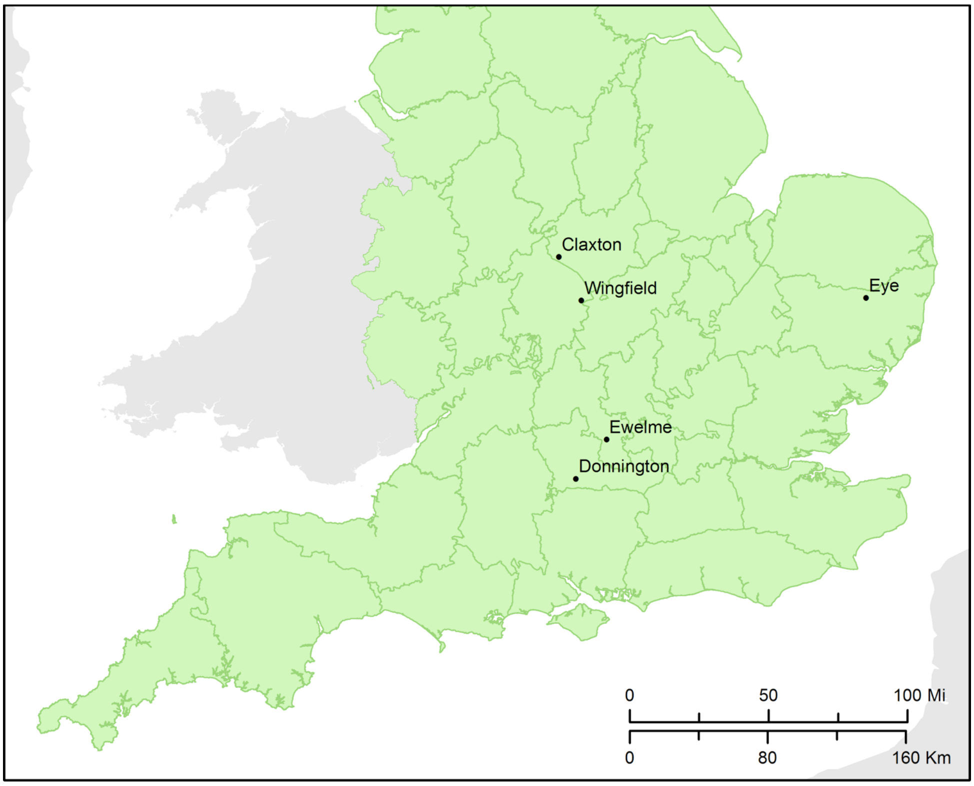

Figure 8. Outline Map of England showing Ewelme in relation to Alice's other main residences.

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[58] Archer, 'Alice Chaucer and her East Anglian Estates', p. 188.

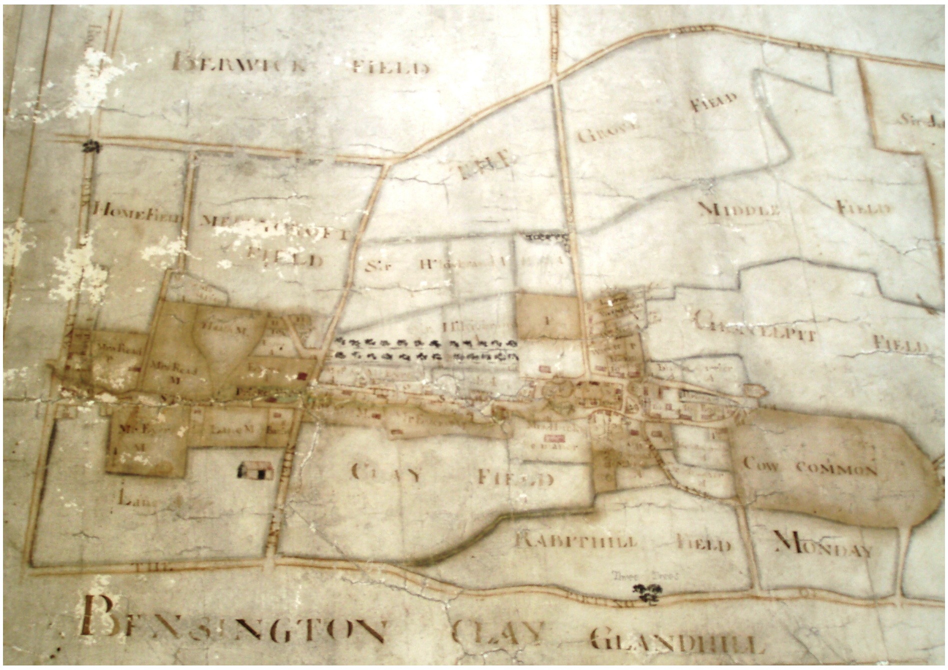
BERWICK FIELD
Home Field
MIDDLE FIELD
CHALKPIT FIELD
CLAY FIELD
COW COMMON
RABITHILL FIELD
MONDAY
BENSINGTON
CLAY
GLANDHILL

Figure 9. Map of Ewelme in 1767 showing the Open Field System. Oxfordshire History Centre (OHC), MS dd. Par. Ewelme, a. 1

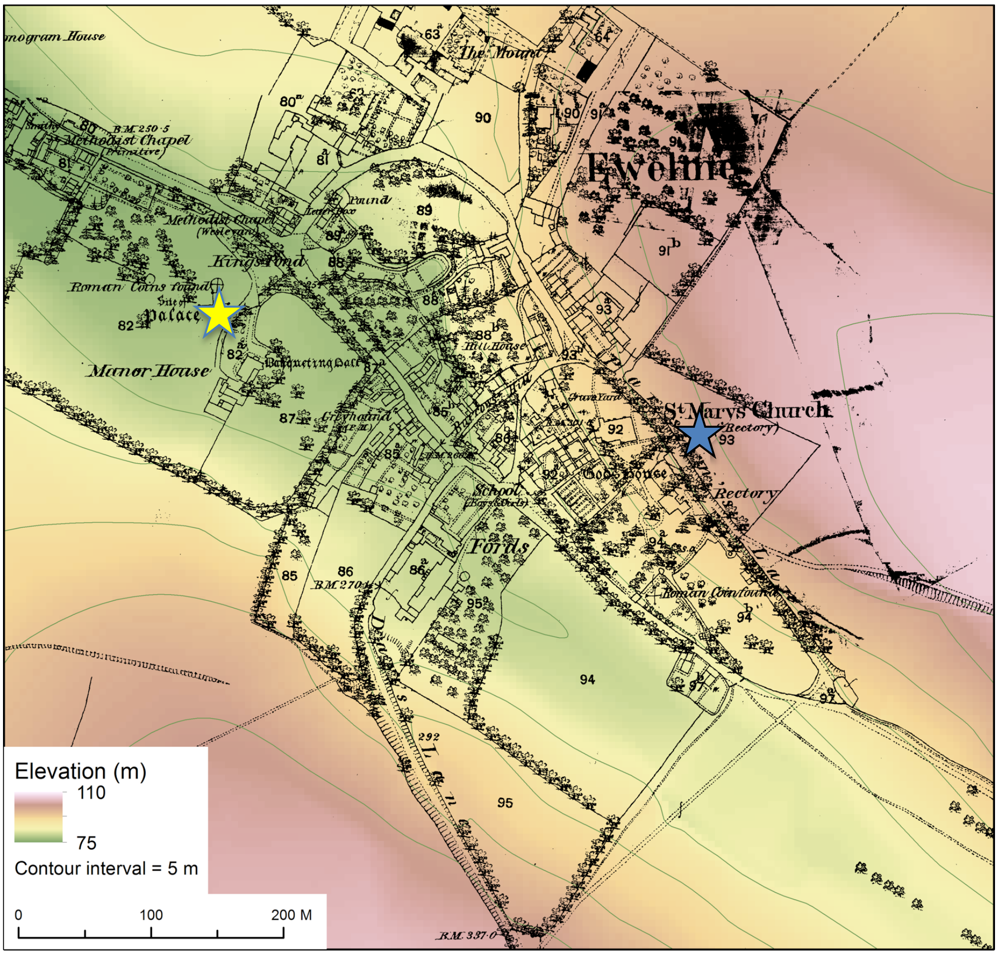
Ewelme
The Mount
Methodist Chapel (Primitive)
Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan)
Pound
Kingspond
Roman Coins found
Site of Palace
Manor House
Banqueting Hall
Greyhound
Hill House
School
Fords
St Marys Church (Rectory)
Rectory
God's House
Roman Coins found
Elevation (m)
110
75
Contour interval = 5 m
0
100
200 M

Figure 10. Site map of Ewelme. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1877 edition, Oxfordshire. The yellow star marks the site of the house and the blue star marks the site of the church.

Communications

Ewelme was situated at a confluence of roads, which gave access to areas of regional and national importance.[59] The core of Ewelme parish was bordered to the north by the road to Watlington and to the south by a road that followed the presumed course of the Roman road from Dorchester to Henley.[60] This latter road could be reached from the centre of Ewelme village via Days or Fords Lane and it ran through the neighbouring settlement of Benson, continuing eastwards to London and westwards towards the west midlands and Wales, via Oxford or Abingdon.[61] For travellers approaching from the south, the elevated heights of the approach road would have allowed those approaching to glimpse the settlement as they descended towards it. The ease of access to London via road was no doubt made the location appealing for a high-status individual such as Alice, as it was close enough to the capital to allow regular appearances at court.[62] The River Thames, located approximately four miles to the west of the settlement, was crossed at Crowmarsh Gifford, with a 900ft bridge providing access to the royal centre and market town of Wallingford on the other side.[63] In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, this was also the main crossing point for travellers heading to the Midlands and Wales, although the building of a new double stone bridge at Abingdon and Culham between 1416 and 1420 also provided an alternative route. Instigated by the Abingdon Guild of the Holy Cross, the funds for the construction of these bridges was raised from alms and the generosity of donors.[64] In 1415, Alice's father had joined the guild by virtue of buying Sir Richard Adderbury II's Berkshire estates and it is thus possible that the injection of a wealthy patron into the guild at this time provided the impetus and financial means required to divert the movement of people and goods through the local landscape.[65] The commission and the improvement of the roadway between these bridges and Dorchester-on-Thames that followed shows that by the time of Alice's influence in the area, it was one of considerable activity, with effective routes for communication desired by the local populace. To the east of Ewelme, the ancient Icknield Way stretched along the chalk escarpment, eventually giving access to Norfolk to the north-east and Wiltshire to the south-west, although by the later middle ages this was no longer a major road.[66] The location thus gave ease of access in all directions, enabling the successive owners of the manor house to reach the royal court in London, as well as more local supplies and resources (see fig. 19).

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[59] *VCH, Oxon*. XVIII, p. 194; R. Peberdy, 'Late Medieval Communications', in K. Tiller and G. Darkes (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Oxfordshire* (Chipping Norton, 2010).

[60] *VCH, Oxon*. XVIII, p. 194.

[61] Ibid, p. 195.

[62] It seems more likely that those travelling from Oxford to London did so by road, not river. See R. Peberdy, 'Navigation on the River Thames between Oxford and London in the Late Middle Ages: A Reconsideration', *Oxoniensia*, LXI (1996).

[63] 'The Borough of Wallingford: Introduction and Castle', *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol3/pp517-531, (05 August 2015).

Social Factors

In his later account of Ewelme, John Leland describes how William de la Pole spent much time at Alice's properties in Oxfordshire and Berkshire for the love his wife.[67] While Leland's post-medieval, romanticized account must be treated with caution, Alice certainly appears to have had a strong attachment to Ewelme. The above discussion has already indicated that she had an array of residences to choose from. Ewelme, however, was the location of her ancestral family seat, and was ideally located for her to access her other lands and properties, particularly those of her parental inheritance in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. As an heiress, Alice no doubt felt a strong sense of obligation to continue her family's local influence, which she owed to her maternal inheritance and to her father's strategic and tireless efforts to carve out a strong and visible familial presence in the region. Alice would have been acutely aware of her importance in securing her family's future, and she would have also recognised that the central aim of her property was to promote the success and standing of her family.[68]

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[64] G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 199-202.

[65] Rawcliffe, 'Chaucer, Thomas', *ODNB*.

[66] *VCH Oxon.*, XVIII, p. 194; Stenton, 'The Road System of Medieval England', p. 3.
The importance of the Icknield way as a late medieval route has more recently been questioned. See S. Harrison, 'The Icknield Way: Some Queries', *Archaeological Journal*, 160/1 (2003);
P. B. Hindle, *Roads and Tracks for Historians* (Chichester, 2001); P. B. Hindle, *Medieval Roads* (Aylesbury, 1982).

[67] M. Anderson, 'Alice Chaucer and her Husbands', *PMLA,* 60/1 (Mar. 1945), p. 38.

Alice's preference for Ewelme is most powerfully evidenced by her commission of the still extant Chaucer family chantry chapel in the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin. The chapel, which is dedicated to John the Baptist, is located on the south side of the church, adjacent to the choir and the chancel. Alice was responsible for relocating her parents' tomb to the chapel, and it is here that her own magnificent alabaster funerary monument is also located, directly next to the chancel. The chapel is richly decorated with heraldry and familial insignia, among which the Burghersh lion of Alice's mother and the Roet wheel of her paternal grandmother, Philippa, are prominently displayed.[69]

After her husband's death, Alice could have easily made the De la Pole family seat in East Anglia her principal realm of influence and final resting place. This certainly appears to have been William's intention, as in his will he commissioned for a double tomb to be created at the Carthusian monastery at Hull, which was to include his own image and that of his ‘best beloved’ wife.[70] Alice, however, had other plans. The fact that she chose to return to Ewelme and live out her final days there attests to her longstanding attachment to both the place and to the memory of her natal family.

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[68] R. Lange Friedrichs, 'Heiresses', in M. Schaus (ed), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopaedia* (New York and Oxford, 2006), p. 357.

[69] Their significance is discussed further in chapter four.

Margaret Beaufort and Collyweston Palace

Margaret Beaufort acquired Collyweston palace in 1487, two years after her son Henry VII’s accession to the throne.[71] The palace, which had previously been home to a former treasurer of England, Ralph Lord Cromwell, was one of several properties granted to Margaret by her son shortly after he became king. When Henry was crowned, Margaret was granted the Honour of Richmond lands, the majority of which were located in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire.[72] Through her inheritance, successive marriages and son’s accession, the countess acquired property and lands which were widely distributed across England and Wales, but which mainly centred on the midlands and the southern counties.

Location

Collyweston is situated in the heart of the midlands, three miles south-west of the market town of Stamford and fourteen miles north-west of Peterborough. Located in the north-eastern tip of the county of Northamptonshire, Collyweston lies close to border with the neighbouring counties of Rutland and Lincolnshire.[73] The parish itself is bordered to the west by the River Welland, and the land rises steeply and sharply upwards from a height of approximately thirty to seventy-five metres, to meet a plateau on which the core of the village is situated (fig. 11).[74] The layout of the village follows a rectangular pattern, with the majority of the buildings clustered around two parallel roads, Back Lane and the High Street, which both gently descend from east to west.[75] The medieval parish church of St. Andrew stands at a distance from the High Street, on the north eastern side of the village and to the south of Back Lane.

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[70] *North country wills*, 1, ed. J. W. Clay, *Surtees Society*, 116 (1908), 50–51.

[71] M. K. Jones, ‘Collyweston- An Early Tudor Palace’, in D. Williams (ed), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987).

[72] *The King’s Mother*, p. 265-6.

[73] G. Foard, D. Hall and T. Partida, *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape* (Northampton, 2009), p. 191*; VCH, Northants*., VI, p. 30.

Margaret Beaufort's palace, a structure framed around three courtyards and built of brick and stone, was located to the west of the village, set back from the main approach road (the modern day A43) on the site now occupied by Park Farm and its neighbouring buildings. The house was situated on one of the highest points in the hundred, on the crest of a hill which still today offers spectacular views over the Welland valley and river (see fig. 12).[76] The undulating terrain directly to the west of the residence provided the location for the deer park and gardens. The main gatehouse to the residence is believed to have been situated less than half a mile west of St. Andrew's church and faced north-east into Back Lane.[77] There is no evidence to suggest the site was moated, although its position next to a spring enabled the creation of a series of sizeable fishponds to the west of the palace, the earthworks of which are still visible, and which will be discussed in further detail in chapter two.

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[74] 'Collyweston House', Gatehouse Record http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/English%20sites/4323.html (14 July 2016); Foard, Hall and Partida, *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early Modern Landscape*, p. 191.

[75] VCH, *Northants*. Vol.VI, pp. 30-36.

[76] VCH Northants., Vol. II, p. 550.

[77] A. Tasker, 'The Royal Palace at Collyweston', *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, XXVIII (1906). Tasker states that papers relating to the house were kept in a box in the Parish church, yet these were subsequently destroyed.

Collyweston's History as a High-Status Site

The first known individual to have built a residence on the site occupied by Margaret Beaufort was Sir William Porter, a local man and social parvenu who acquired Collyweston manor sometime in or shortly after 1412.[78] Almost nothing is known about the appearance of Porter's house, although a sculptural representation of his crest, which is displayed above the door of the neighbouring church of St. Andrew's, was reportedly salvaged from the manor house when it was demolished.[79] In 1441, the house and land were sold to Ralph Lord Cromwell, treasurer of England and twice Chamberlain of the Household to Henry VI, who held the property until his death in 1455. By the late fifteenth century, the residence was in the hands of the Crown, the next notable owner after Cromwell being Margaret Pole's father, George, Duke of Clarence.[80]

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[78] M. K. Jones, 'Collyweston', p. 132.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

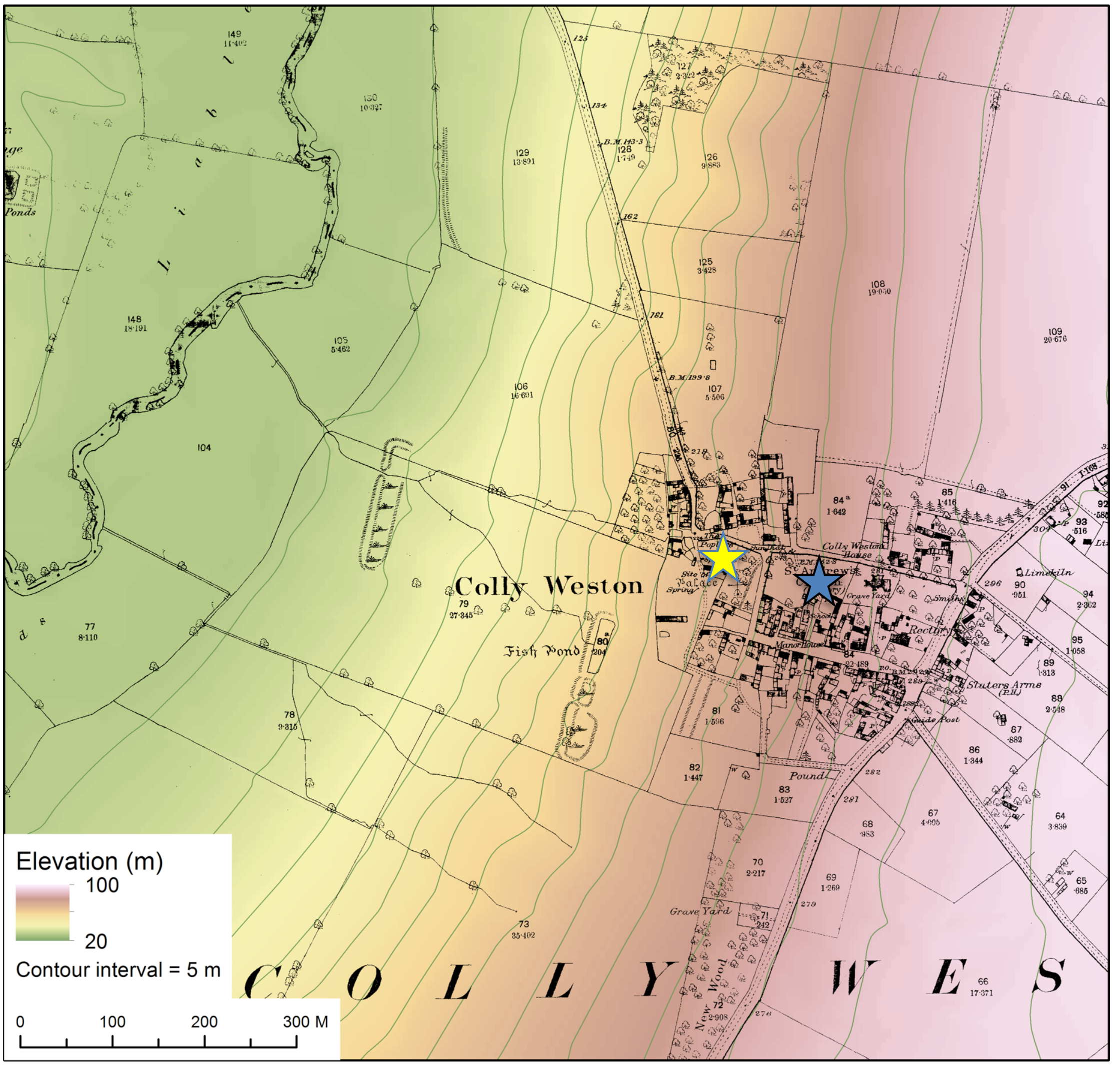
Elevation (m)
100
20
Contour interval = 5 m
0
100
200
300 M
Colly Weston
Fish Pond
Colly Weston House
Grave Yard
Manor House
Rectory
Smithy
Limekiln
Slaters Arms (P.H.)
Guide Post
Pound
Spring
Ponds
New Wood
COLLY WESTON

Figure 11. Site map of Collyweston. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1886 edition, Rutland. The yellow star marks the site of the house and the blue star marks the site of the church.

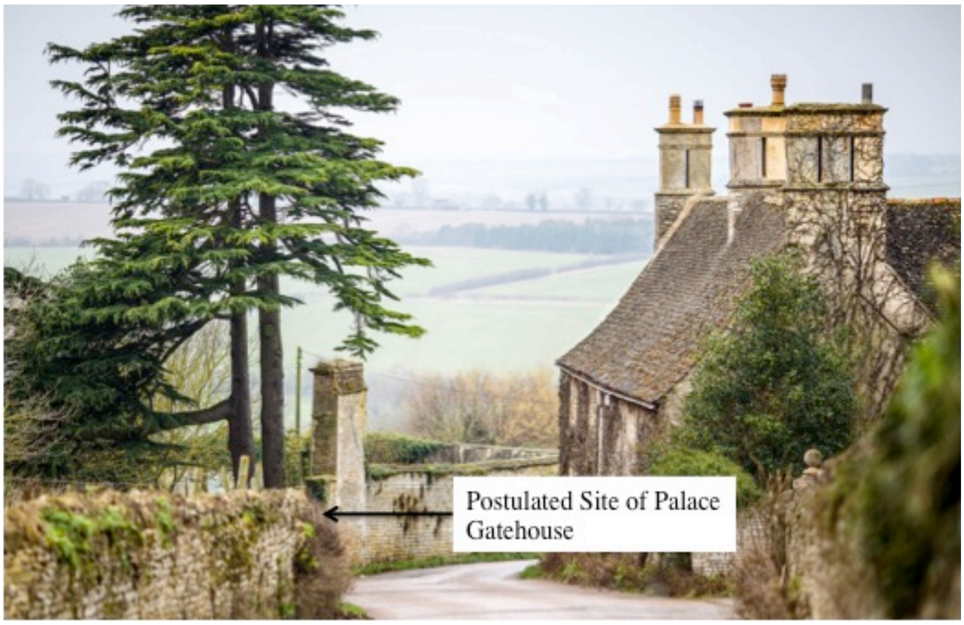

Figure 12. View from Back Lane looking West over the Welland Valley. The Palace was located to the left of the road. Image: All rights reserved: Gerry Gutteridge. Reproduced by kind permission of the author.

Communications

Collyweston sat at the heart of a busy network of roads which brought people and goods to and from the area. Directly east of the residence, Stamford Road (the modern day A43) gave access to the regional centre of Stamford, where major routes including the Stamford to Northampton Road and the Great North Road from London to Edinburgh could be joined. The ease of access to these roads made the site an ideal stopping point for royal itineraries, evidenced by the fact that in 1503, the wedding progress of Margaret's granddaughter, Margaret Tudor, resided there for two weeks, before continuing on their journey northwards to Edinburgh.[81] Just south of the residence,

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[81] John Young, 'The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest daughter of King Henry VIIth to James King of Scotland: Together with her Departure from England, Journey into Scotland, her Reception and Marriage there, and the great Feasts held on that Account', in J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (6 vols, 1774), IV; For a discussion of the wedding progress see, P. Tudor-Craig, 'Margaret, Queen of Scotland, in Grantham, 8th – 9th July 1503', in B. Thompson (ed), *The Reign of Henry VII: The Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1995); L. G. Barrow, "The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart' Marriage, gift exchange, and politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV, 1502-13', *Parergon*, 21/1 (January, 2004).

Stamford Road diverged to give access to Kettering to the south-west and Wansford to the south-east, with the latter route also intersected by the local road from King's Cliffe to Easton. Margaret herself used the approach to Collyweston via Kettering during the royal progress of 1498-9, when she returned to her residence via Northampton and Kettering.[82] While the Stamford Road appears to have been the principal approach to the residence, access was also provided from the quarry town of Ketton to the north-west, via the local road which crossed the Welland at Collyweston bridge. This bridge was one of five crossing the river during the middle ages, in addition to those at Stamford, Duddington, Wakerley, and Harringworth.[83] It is also likely that this particular bridge was visible from the residence. Views onto bridges were important symbolic markers of lordship, and Creighton has shown that great residences were often placed to provide views onto the point at which two route ways intersected.[84]

Margaret also played an active role in facilitating routes through the regional landscape. Her accounts show that she paid the substantial sum of £9 towards the repair of a bridge which crossed the River Nene at Wansford in Cambridgeshire, approximately six miles south-east of Collyweston.[85] She also made a contribution to the repair of a bridge between Northampton and Stowe, approximately fifty miles away.[86] The connection between bridges, their repair, and lordship was an important one, as these structures were expensive to maintain and often required the investment of a wealthy donor, as seen with the abovementioned example of Thomas Chaucer and the double bridge at Abingdon.

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[82] For Margaret's full itinerary see, Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, pp. 260-1.

[83] *VCH, Northants*. Vol. VI, p. lxxi; D. F. Harrison, *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society, 400-1800* (Oxford, 2004), p. 43; P. Goodfellow, 'Medieval Bridges in Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, 7 (1985-6).

[84] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, p. 42.

[85] SJC D91.20, p. 153.

[86] Ibid, p. 80.

Unlike at Greenwich, where the Thames played an important role in the delivery of goods and people, the Welland was unnavigable beyond Stamford and thus served an aesthetic, rather than a practical function. Nonetheless, the presence of overland routes and the close proximity of Collyweston to Stamford meant that resources and people could easily travel overland from the town to the palace (see fig. 19).

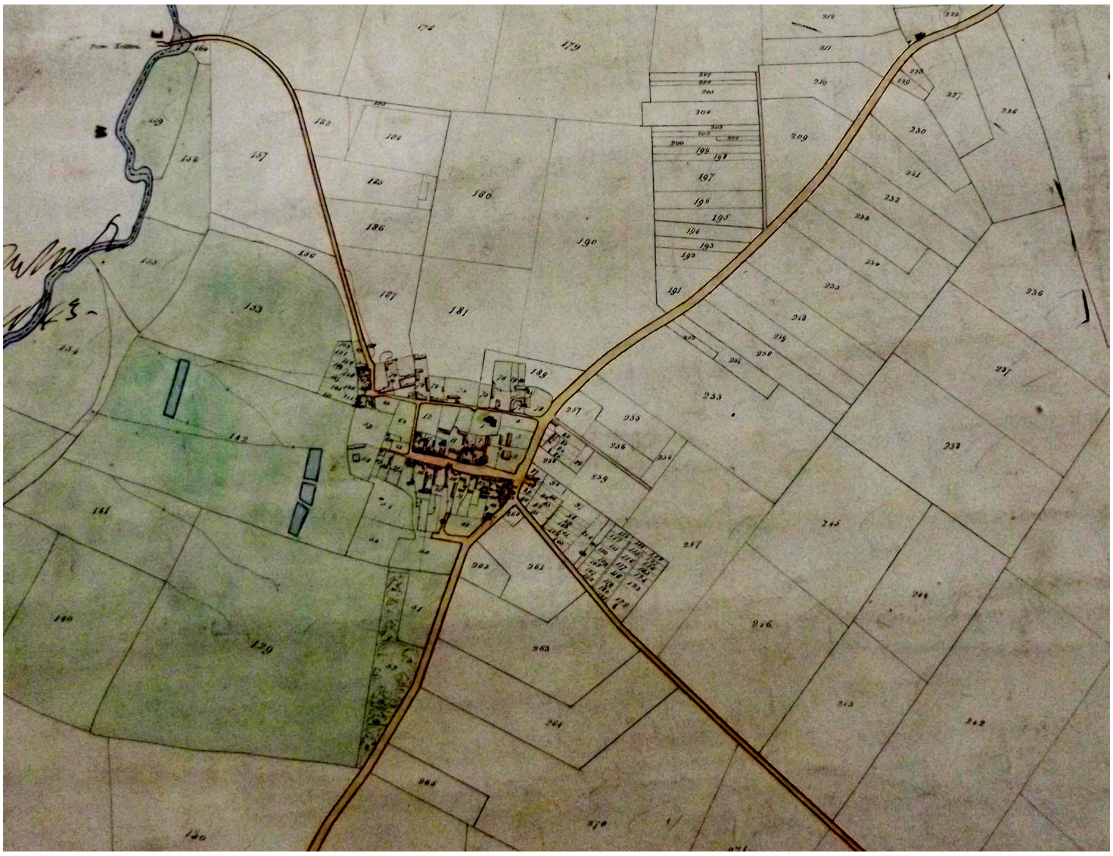

Figure 13. Tithe map of Collyweston (Parish), Northamptonshire, 1842-3. TNA, IR 30/24/34. The Map shows the network of roads radiating from the settlement and the fishponds and River Welland to the west of the settlement. Image not to scale. Original scale 1 inch to 6 chains.

Social Factors

By the point she acquired the residence at Collyweson, Margaret was already familiar with the midlands, having spent much of her childhood at her mother's lands and properties in the region, the principal seat of which was Maxey Castle in Northamptonshire. Margaret had inherited Maxey, which stood approximately ten miles north-east of Collyweston, as part of her maternal inheritance. Moreover, during her third marriage to Henry Stafford, the couple had established Bourne in Lincolnshire as one of their principal residences, the other being Woking in Surrey. By the time Margaret came to acquire Collyweston, she and her family thus already had considerable influence within the region.

Margaret's establishment of a strong presence in the midlands was also greatly advantageous to the infant royal dynasty, and to the cultivation of her own image as the matriarch of it. At the time of Henry's accession only ten of eighty-six residences that had one time or another belonged to the kings of England were in royal hands, and most of these were clustered around London.[87] The establishment of a satellite court in the centre of England enabled the extension of royal influence beyond London and the fact that this was governed by his closest family member and most trusted ally undoubtedly gave Henry peace of mind. Vivienne Rock has highlighted that when Henry gained the throne, he was an unmarried twenty-eight year old with no siblings or children and few direct relatives.[88] In seeking to promote and extend his influence as monarch, Henry thus needed to exploit his mother's familial connections.

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[87] T. Beaumont James, *The Palaces of Medieval England, c. 1050-1550: Royalty, Nobility and the Episcopate and their Residences from Edward the Confessor to Henry VII* (London, 1990), pp. 16, 153.

[88] V. Rock, 'Shadow Royals?' The Political Use of the Extended Family of Lady Margaret Beaufort', in R. Eales and S. Tyas (eds), *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, *Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, IX (Donington, 2003), p. 193.

At the time of his accession, Margaret had six surviving half-siblings, many of whom by this point also had families of their own. Throughout her life, Margaret remained dedicated to her half-siblings, the St. Johns and the Welles families, furthering their social advancement through the arrangement of notable marriages and appointing them within her household.[89] Both these families had considerable influence in the regions close to Collyweston; her half-brother, John St. John, had inherited their mother's property of Bletsoe in Bedfordshire, while the Welles enjoyed influence in Lincolnshire. Indeed, Jones and Underwood have highlighted that when Henry became king, it was envisaged that Lincolnshire would effectively become a royal powerbase guarded by Margaret Beaufort and her half-brother John Welles.[90] During Henry's years of exile, Margaret had actively and tirelessly campaigned for Henry's cause, and it is thus likely that this was also a plan collaboratively devised by both mother and son. The close proximity of Collyweston to the lands of Margaret's maternal family was thus to the advantage of both mother and son, enabling Margaret to promote the interests of her maternal family and Henry to advertise an image of his legitimacy through his maternal line. The most powerful evidence for this is provided by Margaret Tudor's wedding progress. When the royal wedding party descended upon Collyweston in 1503, the guests were lodged between Collyweston and Margaret's mother's house at Maxey. The use of space thus celebrated the successes of the royal dynasty through three generations of women, all of whom were named Margaret.

For the Yorkist dynasty, Fotheringhay, which was located less than ten miles to the south east of Collyweston, had been the centre of royal power in the Midlands (see fig. 14).[91] When Henry became king, Fotheringhay was still in the hands of the Crown, yet he granted it not to Margaret, but to Elizabeth, his queen consort. Despite this, Margaret regularly took up residence at Fortheringhay, and she commissioned an extensive building programme there.[92] Given its close proximity to Collyweston, it is striking that Fotheringhay did not remain the centre of royal power in the midlands. One explanation is that historically, Fotheringhay was so closely tied to Elizabeth's family, the Yorkists, that it was considered more appropriate to build a new centre of royal influence at a nearby, yet distinct location. At the time of Henry's accession there was still some anxiety surrounding his tenuous claim to the throne and that his queen and her relatives were in fact the legitimate heirs. By granting Fotheringhay to Elizabeth and Collyweston to his mother, Henry ensured that the focus of royal authority in the region shifted from his marital to his maternal kin. The fact that the king's mother and wife held these two extremely important regional residences made for a locality controlled by royal women. It is apparent that Collyweston was a matriarchal powerbase, from which Margaret could exert both her own and her son's influence.

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[89] Ibid, p. 198.

[90] Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 125.

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[91] For the collegiate church established by the Yorkists at Fotheringhay, see J. C. Cox, 'The College of Fotheringhay', *Archaeological Journal*, 61/1 (1904).

[92] For the works commissioned by Margaret on Fotheringhay see SJC D91. 22.

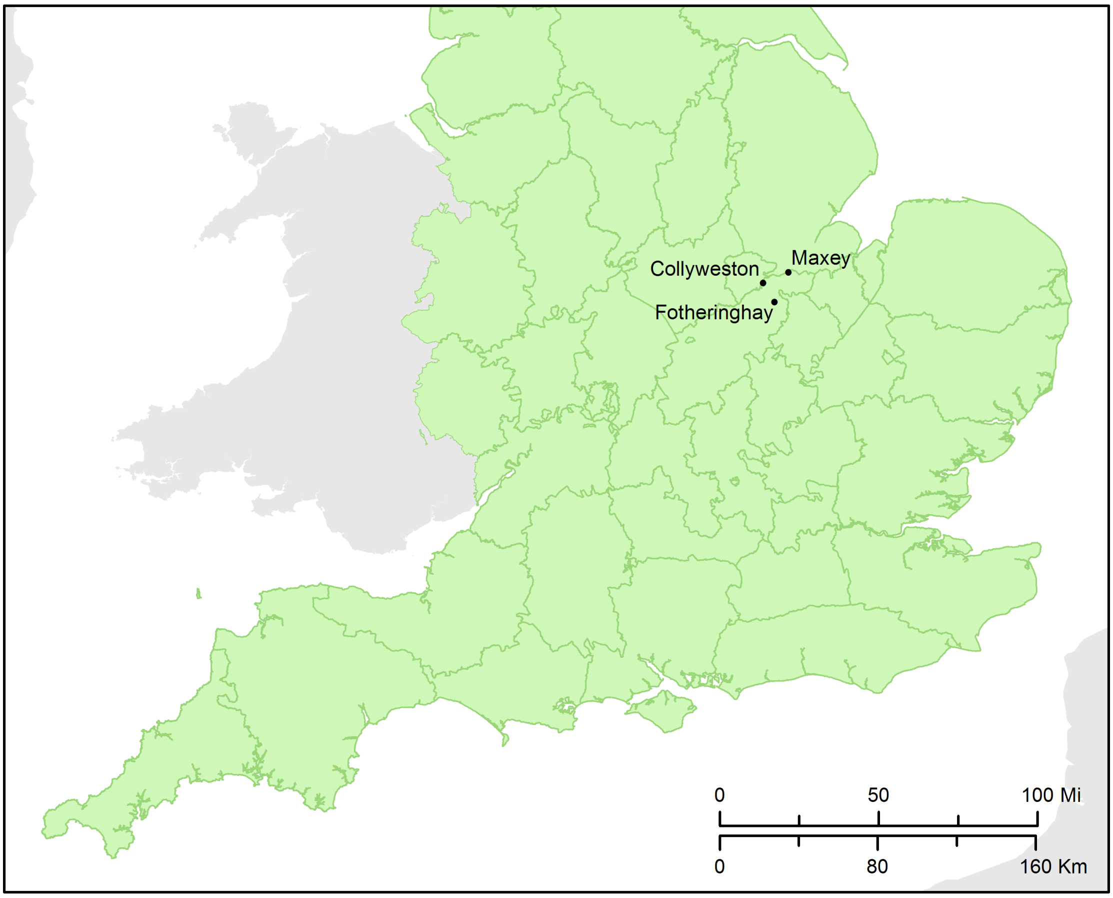

Figure 14. Outline map of England showing Collyweston in relation to Maxey and Fotheringhay.

Katherine Courtenay and Tiverton Castle

Katherine Courtenay established her own household at Tiverton Castle in 1512, shortly after Henry VIII restored the estates of the earldom of Devon to her for life.[93] The residence had formerly been the principal seat of Katherine's marital family, the Courtenays, and much like Alice Chaucer with Ewelme, she was thus already familiar with the house when she returned to it during her widowhood. As the daughter of Edward IV, Katherine had held strong claims to the lands of the earldom of March. In 1511, however, she had entered into an agreement with her nephew, Henry VIII, by which she renounced her claims to her natal inheritance in exchange for the reversal of her husband's attainder and his restoration to the lands of the earldom of Devon.[94] After her husband's death, the lands Katherine inherited were thus primarily situated within the county of Devon, although a valor of her lands taken shortly after her own death shows that she also had lands and properties in Somerset, Dorset, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.[95] From 1512, however, Katherine, who took a vow of chastity after her husband's death, largely resided at her residences in Devon, particularly Columbjohn in Broadclyst, Colyton and Tiverton, the last of which was to be her principal residence until her death in 1527 (see fig. 15).

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[93] Westcott, 'Katherine, Countess of Devon', *ODNB*.

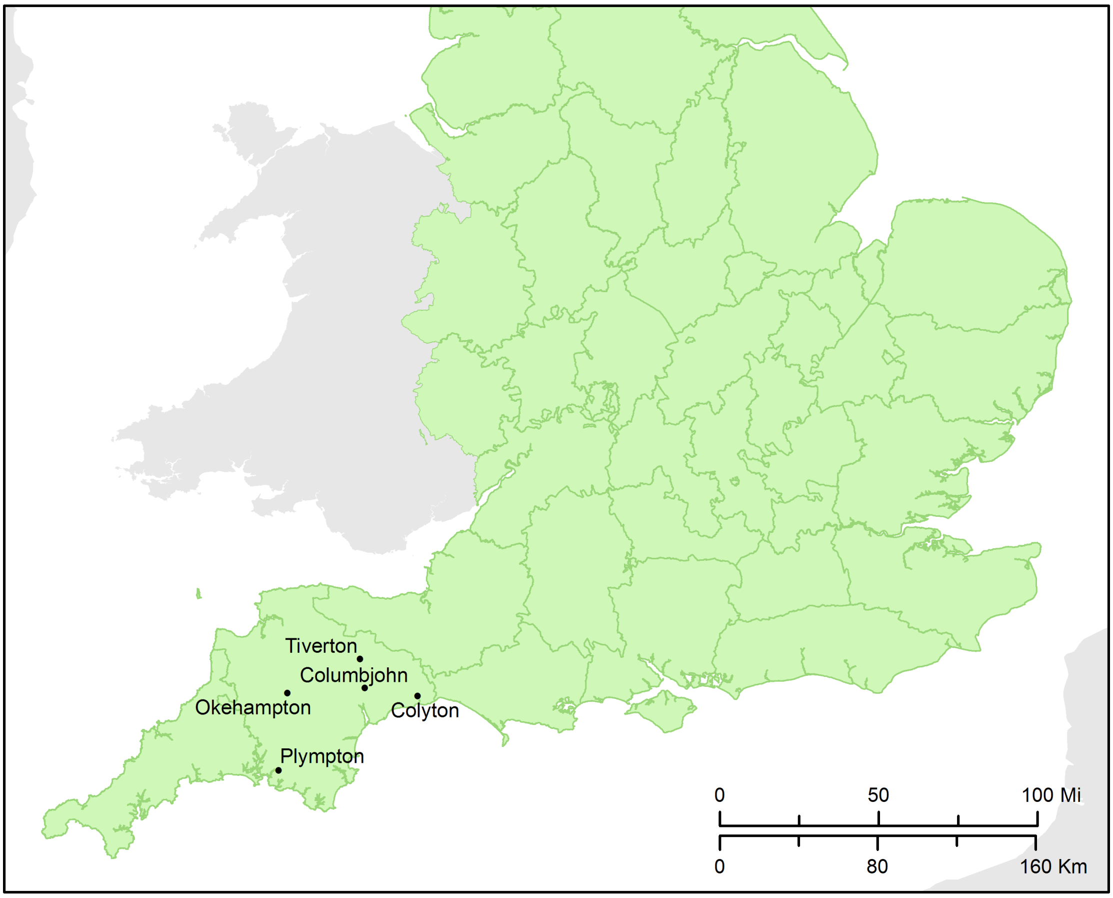

Figure 15. Outline map of England showing Katherine Courtenay's main residences.

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[94] Ibid.
[95] TNA, *Close Rolls,* C 54 396.

Location

The large parish of Tiverton sits on the border between east and mid Devon, approximately thirteen miles north of Exeter and 167 miles west of London.[96] The market and borough town of the same name occupies the land between two fords, from which it takes its name (originally Twi-ford town).[97] The River Exe borders the settlement to the west and the Lowman to the east.[98] At the settlement's lowest and most southernmost point the rivers converge to give the settlement its triangular shape, with the land between the two rivers rising sharply northwards.[99]

The castle inhabited by Katherine still stands today, albeit in a much altered state and is located to north-west of the settlement, surmounting a cliff approximately eighty metres high and overlooking an easterly bend in the River Exe (see fig. 16). Unlike Ewelme and Greenwich palaces with their low-lying locations, Tiverton Castle occupies a more traditionally defensive position and commands the hill between the two rivers. Today only part of a single medieval courtyard survives, and comprises a combination of buildings and ruins, which are variously built of sandstone, limestone and rubble. The east and south fronts of this courtyard were formerly surrounded by a moat, yet this has long been filled in. A second outer courtyard once also existed, but this is now completely destroyed.[100] Immediately south of the castle is the parish church of St. Peter's and its churchyard, the latter of which formerly housed the now-destroyed Courtenay family burial chapel. The church and castle thus form a distinctive grouping away from and on higher ground than the town, which is located to the south east.

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[96] M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 53; R. Polwhele, *The History of Devonshire: Vol II,* (2nd edition, 1977) p. 338.

[97] Polwhele, *The History of Devonshire, II*, p. 338.

[98] Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, *I*, p. 1.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, pp. 650-654.

Tiverton's History as a High Status Site

While the earliest standing remains of Tiverton Castle date to the fourteenth century, a castle was first built on the site in 1106, when Henry I made Richard de Redvers Earl of Devon and granted him the manor of Tiverton, including the Great Park of Tiverton and Ashley Park.[101] The De Redvers family owned the castle until the end of the thirteenth century and the town benefitted considerably from their presence. By 1200, the town had a weekly market, held on Mondays, and three annual fairs.[102] The regular line of de Redvers succession, however, ended in the late thirteenth century, with the death of Isabella de Fortibus (also known as Forz) in 1293, and her daughter Avelina just a year later. Isabella in particular had been an active presence in the area.[103] At one point the wealthiest woman in England, Isabella was responsible for bringing a fresh water supply to Tiverton in the form of the town leat, the perambulation of which still continues today.[104] She also commissioned a weir in the River Exe just south of Exeter, in an area that is still named 'Countess Wear' in her honour. Her mother, Amicia de Redvers (de Clare) had claimed the manor and lordship of Tiverton as part of her dower, and had also been an active presence in the locality. She claimed and was granted the power to hang, draw and quarter within her manor of Tiverton, and she also famously built and endowed Buckland Abbey, north of Plymouth.[105] By the time Katherine

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[101] M. Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton, I* (Tiverton, 1836), p. 3.

[102] Ibid.

[103] B. English, 'Forz, Isabella de, suo jure countess of Devon, and countess of Aumale (1237-1293)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004). See also M. Mate, 'Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz (1260-92)', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, 33/3 (Aug., 1980).

[104] Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton*, *I*, p. 7

[105] W. Harding, *The History of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, II* (London, 1845), p. 27; Dunsford, *Historical Memoirs of Tiverton, I*, pp. 7, 9.

Courtenay came to preside over the castle in the early sixteenth century, it thus already had a significant history of female ownership.

The connection between the Courtenays, Katherine's marital family, and Tiverton began in 1297 when Hugh de Courtenay, second baron of Okehampton and great grandson of Robert de Courtenay through his marriage to Mary, daughter of William Rivers de Vernon, inherited the earldom of Devon, including the lordship and manor of Tiverton.[106] The Courtenays peaceably held the manor until the mid-fifteenth century, but this senior branch of the family line ended when three successive lords of the manor were killed in during the Wars of the Roses.[107] After the battle of Tewkesbury, the manor came under the ownership of the Crown and only reverted to the Courtenays (albeit a junior line) upon Henry VII's accession, when Katherine's future father-in-law, Edward Courtenay of Boconnoc was made eighth Earl of Devon.[108] Edward's inheritance comprised over sixty manors, eight boroughs and nine hundreds, which centred on the honours of Okehampton and Plympton.[109] The estates mostly centred on Devon and castles stood at Okehampton, Plympton, Tiverton and Colyton, of which Tiverton was to be the principal Courtenay seat (see fig. 15).[110]

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[106] Ibid, p. 11.
[107] Westcott, 'Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon', pp. 18-9.
[108] Ibid, p. 19.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

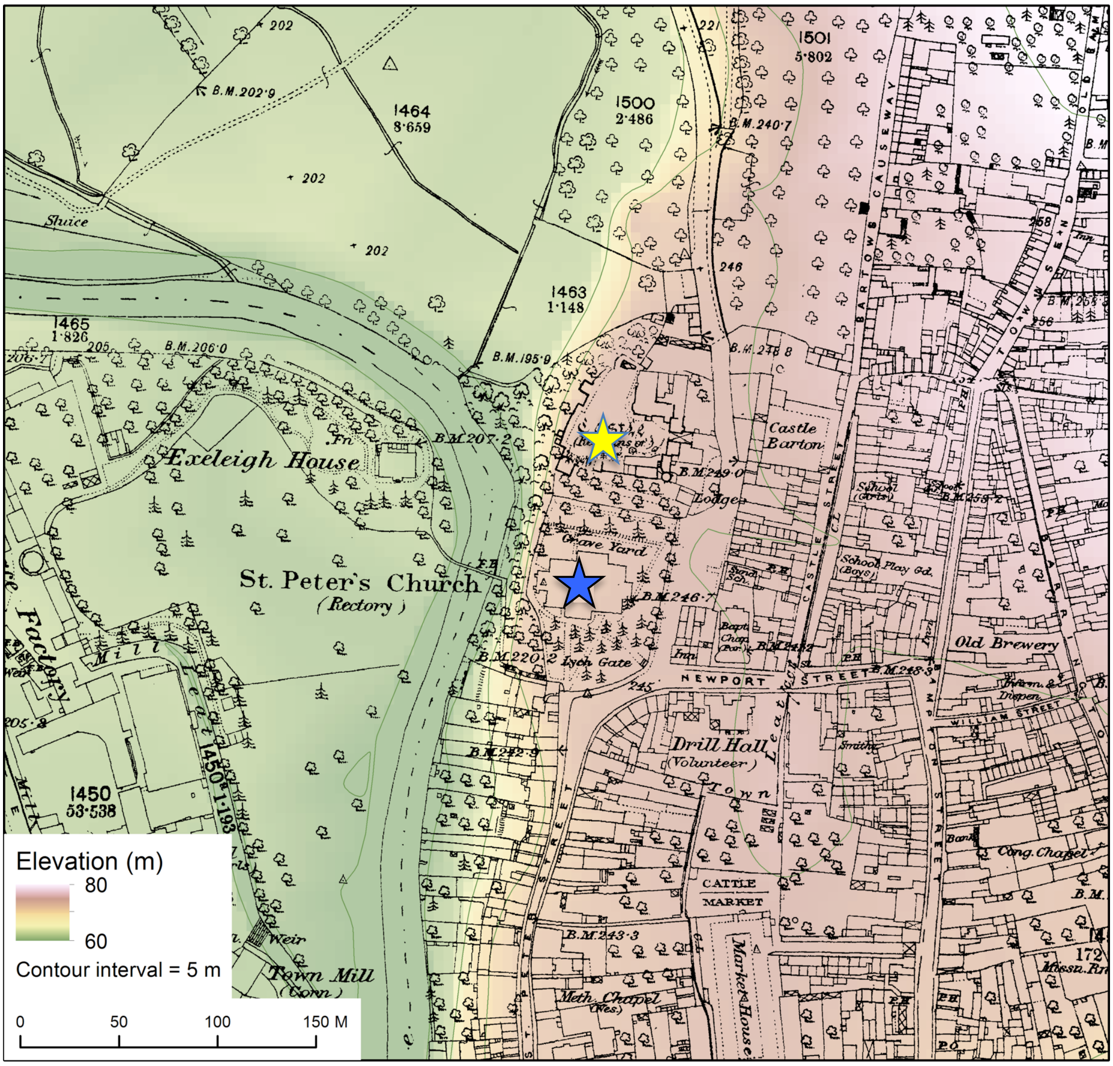
Elevation (m)
80
60
Contour interval = 5 m
0
50
100
150 M
Exeleigh House
St. Peter's Church
(Rectory)
Grave Yard
Lych Gate
Castle Barton
Lodge
Newport Street
Drill Hall (Volunteer)
Cattle Market
Market House
Old Brewery
Cong. Chapel
Meth. Chapel (Wes.)
Town Mill (Corn)
Weir
Factory
Sluice
1464
8·659
1500
2·486
1501
5·802
1463
1·148
1465
1·826
1450
53·538

Figure 16. Site map of Tiverton. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1890 edition, Devon. The yellow star marks the site of the castle and the blue star marks the site of the church.

Communications

The choice of Tiverton as the *caput* of the Courtenay family, and as Katherine Courtenay's own principal seat, finds some explanation in the fact that the castle was the most accessible of those properties that were part of the earldom of Devon. One of the two main routes into Exeter from the east was via the Bristol Road, which ran directly through Tiverton and provided access into Exeter, located to the south of Tiverton and the largest town in the county, and its administrative and ecclesiastical centre (see fig. 19). From Exeter, routes to the rest of the county and Cornwall could be reached, while Bristol gave access to London. The settlement was also close to the county border with Somerset (see fig. 1).

Tiverton's close proximity to Exeter and its trading port contributed towards the settlement's rapid growth during the later middle ages. The speed of this growth meant that by the time Katherine recovered the estates of the earldom of Devon, the economic landscape of Tiverton had changed dramatically. Due to the to the patronage of the De Redvers and the Courtenays the town had never been poor, but from the late fifteenth century onwards, the development of Exeter into one of England's provincial ports and the success of the Devon and Cornwall ports as key exporters of fish brought considerable wealth to the area.[111] By the early sixteenth century, the county had earned its status as the fastest growing economy in England, renowned for the production of tin and cloth.[112] Tiverton's proximity to Exeter brought many prosperous merchants to the town, who set up their homes there and contributed towards its economy and character.[113] Tiverton's location on the Exe also meant that much mercantile work could be carried out within the town, and riverside mills were used to power the production of cloth and wool. When Katherine assumed her position as head of the Courtenay family seat she thus returned to a town that was both familiar and unfamiliar, with a recognisable landscape now populated by a new and prosperous urban elite.

Social Factors

The confiscation of the lands of Katherine's natal inheritance by Henry VIII makes it impossible to know whether Tiverton would have been the countess's first choice of principal residence had this not occurred. Her seal, which proclaims her as the daughter and aunt of kings, suggests her great pride in her royal connections through her natal kin and indicates that had she not renounced the lands of the earldom of March, she may have established herself at a site more befitting of her royal status. That said, it is evident that the estates of the earldom of Devon held especial importance for her own offspring, as on her death they were to pass to her and William's heirs. By locating herself at Tiverton, Katherine was thus able to re-establish the Courtenay family's connection to that particular location, and to style herself as the matriarch of the Courtenay family and a royal figure within the region.

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[111] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade*, p. 37.
[112] Ibid, p. 74.
[113] Ibid, p. 50.

It is evident that during her widowhood, Katherine centred her attentions on Devon, rarely making appearances at the royal court in London and mainly splitting her time between Tiverton, Columbjohn and Broadclyst. When she died, Katherine chose not to be buried in the Courtenay chantry chapel to the north of St. Peter's, Tiverton, but rather within the church, 'in the new chapel lately edefyed and bylded in the southe syde'.[114] To date, the developments made to the south side of the church have been attributed solely to the Tiverton merchant and the countess's contemporary, John Greenway, whose own lavish chantry chapel lies to the south of the nave, and directly east of the main porch. Katherine's own chapel and tomb, of which there is no surviving trace, were most likely located at the eastern end of the south aisle, next to the chancel. It has recently been suggested that Katherine's tomb, which was most likely destroyed along with the Courtenay family chapel later in the sixteenth century, stood on the site now occupied by the tomb of the merchant, John Waldron (d. 1579).[115]

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[114] 'The will of Katharine, Countess of Devon'.

[115] Michael Martyn, a local historian at Tiverton, believes that Waldron's tomb rests on the plinth of Katherine Courtenay's former tomb, evidenced by a change in the architectural style of the monument.

It would seem that Katherine's decision to establish herself at Tiverton was driven by a combination of personal and familial factors. Much like Alice Chaucer, the countess acted to preserve her family, and particularly her son's, inheritance, yet also like Alice Chaucer, she turned the locality into a site of personal glorification. At Ewelme, Alice's life-size alabaster monument is far grander than the memorial brasses of her parents, and it appears that Katherine Courtenay also commissioned a monument that celebrated her position as the matriarch of her family and as a leading figure within the locality. It is striking that both women also commissioned their tombs on the south side of the respective churches. In her study of gendered seating within the parish church, Margaret Aston has indicated that most parish churches employed gendered seating arrangements, placing women to north and men to the south, or, more unusually, men at the front and women at the back.[116] By occupying a position to the south of the church, and also at the front of the building, close to the altar, both Alice and Katherine occupied a position usually reserved for elite men. The women's choice to place their funerary effigies to the south of the chancel thus spoke of their power as the dominant elites within their respective localities and their roles as holders of a masculine office.

Margaret Pole and Warblington Castle

Margaret Pole's creation of her chief seat at Warblington occurred under similar circumstances to those under which her cousin, Katherine Courtenay, established her principal residence at Tiverton. Henry VIII restored Warblington to the widowed Margaret in 1514, along with the other lands and properties that collectively comprised

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Martyn highlighted this on a guided tour of the church, which formed part of the Courtenay Society meeting held there on 25th October 2015.

[116] M. Aston, 'Segregation in the Church', in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 27 (Oxford, 1990).

her Salisbury inheritance.[117] Upon being restored to her lands, Margaret assumed her position as one of the wealthiest and most influential landowners in Early Tudor England. Her estates were worth over £2,000 and spanned seventeen counties, and she also owned properties in St. Nicholas Parish in Calais. Margaret had main residences at Bisham in Berkshire, Clavering in Essex and Le Erber in London (see fig. 17). In 1517, just three years after she had been restored to her estates, she chose to establish her principal residence at Warblington, which was to be her seat of power and her main place of residence until her arrest and execution in 1539.

Location

The settlement of Warblington, historically part of the Bosmere Hundred and the parish of Warblington, is situated in East Hampshire, less than a mile from the coast and close to the historic county border with Sussex (today West Sussex, see fig. 1).[118] The settlement is approximately ten miles west of Chichester and seven miles northeast of Portsmouth. To the north, the parish is densely wooded, but the settlement in the southern part rests on low-lying pasture, which gently extends towards the sea.[119] The historic village of Warblington was clustered around crossroads, with one road leading north towards Eastleigh, and the other, Pook Lane, extending southwards to Langstone Harbour on Hayling Island.[120]

Margaret Pole's residence, usually referred to as Warblington castle on account of its crenellated appearance, was a single courtyard structure, built of brick and stone and enclosed with a moat. The residence stood at a distance from the settlement, to the southeast of Pook Lane, where it formed a distinct grouping with the Saxon parish church of St. Mary the Virgin (today dedicated to Thomas Becket) and enjoyed direct proximity to an unusual cluster of springs (see fig. 18).[121]

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[117] Pierce, 'Margaret Pole', *ODNB*.
[118] *VCH, Hants*. III, p. 134.
[119] W. Page (ed), *A History of the County of Hampshire: III* (London, 1908), pp. 134-139.
[120] Ibid.

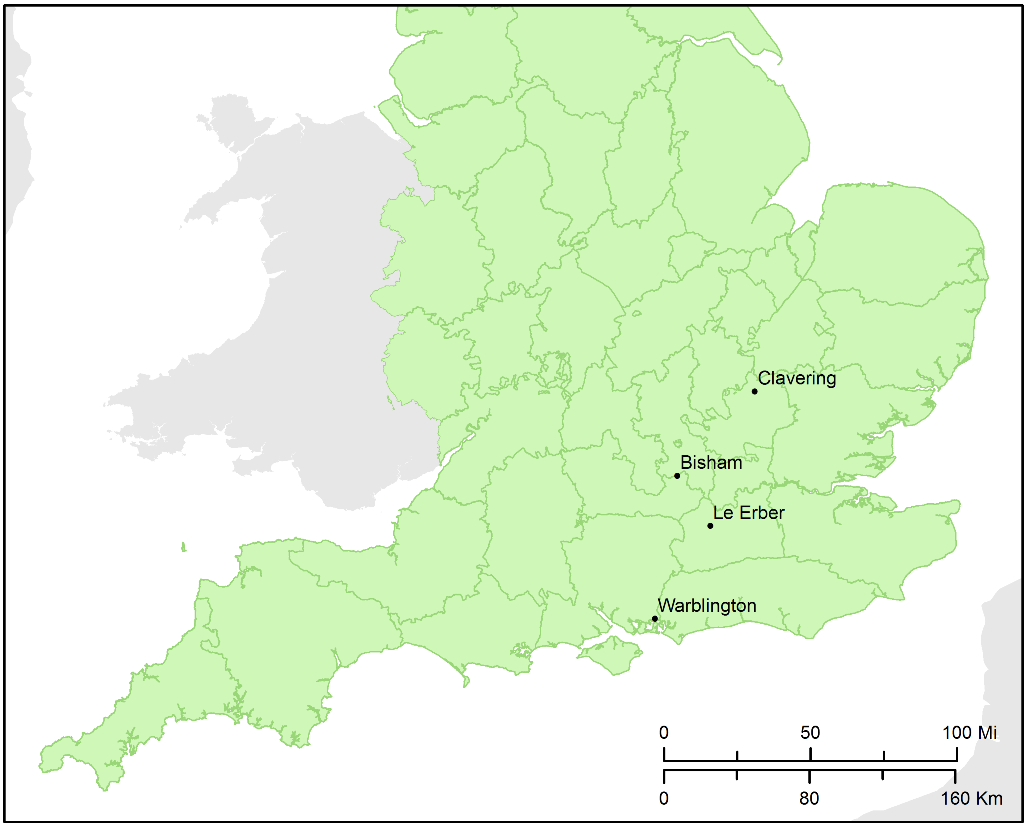

Figure 17. Outline map of England showing Warblington in relation to Margaret Pole's other main residences.

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[121] A. Reger, *A Short History of Emsworth and Warblington* (Portsmouth, 1967), p. 6.

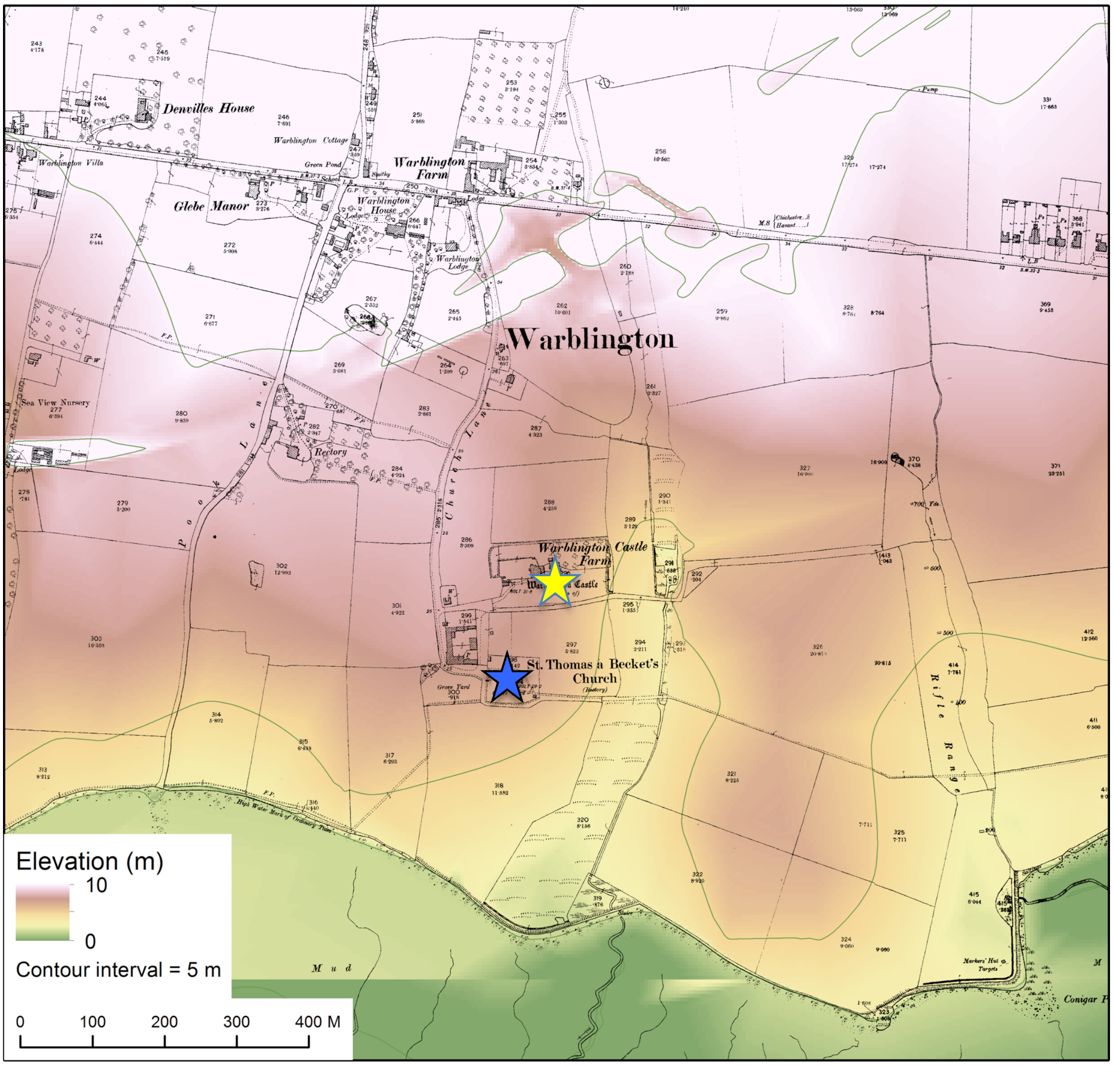
Denvilles House
Warblington Villa
Glebe Manor
Warblington Farm
Warblington House
Warblington Lodge
Warblington
Sea View Nursery
Rectory
Pook Lane
Church Lane
Warblington Castle Farm
Castle
St. Thomas a Becket's Church
Rifle Range
Mud
Elevation (m)
10
0
Contour interval = 5 m
0
100
200
300
400 M

Figure 18. Site map of Warblington. Adapted from OS 25-inch County Series, 1867 edition, Hampshire. The yellow star marks the site of the house and the blue star marks the site of the church.

Warblington's History as a High Status Site

Although the bishop of Chichester obtained a licence for a deer park in 1231, the first mention of a manor house at Warblington dates from 1341 when Thomas Monthermer, the son of Ralph and Edward II's sister, Joan of Acre, assumed ownership of the site.[122] The castle may have been built on an earlier, undocumented manor house, although it is also possible that it was erected on the site of, or next to, an Anglo-Saxon monastery that had been endowed and built in Warblington during the tenth century at the command of King Edgar and Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester.[123] Whether or not a monastery still existed at the site during Thomas' period of lordship, he appears to have shown an interest in the fabric of the parish church, which was extensively remodelled in the first half of the fourteenth century.[124] After Thomas' death the manor of Warblington passed to his widow, Margaret, until 1349, and then to her daughter, also Margaret, until 1394-5. On her death Margaret's son and heir, John, who later became the Earl of Salisbury, inherited the manor. It was through his son, Thomas, that the manor later passed to Margaret Pole's maternal great-grandmother, Alice Montacute, who inherited it upon her marriage to Richard Neville, father of 'The Kingmaker'. Between 1447-8 the manor came into the possession of Alice and Richard's granddaughter and Margaret's mother, Isabel, duchess of Clarence, but it was removed from her hands during the minority of her son, Edward, and subsequently gifted to a string of nobles loyal to the crown, before being restored to Margaret in the early sixteenth century.

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[122] It has often been assumed that Thomas received a licence to crenellate in 1340, although more recent scholarship has failed to corroborate this assertion with the sources. See: 'Gatehouse Record: Warblington Castle, Havant', http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/English%20sites/1299.html (18 August 2015).

Communications

Warblington was located close to the county border with Sussex (see figs. 1 and 19) and its location on the main road from Southampton to Chichester enabled successive lords ease of travel between the settlement and their other estates (see fig. 19). The castle and settlement also directly benefited from their close proximity to Emsworth.

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[123] 'St Thomas à Becket Information: A Brief History of the Church' http://warblingtonwithemsworth.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/BriefHistoryofChurch.pdf (18 August 2015).

[124] *VCH, Hants*. Vol. III, p. 137.

This was part of the same parish and could be easily accessed from Warblington castle, either via the Roman road or along the coastal path leading directly from the church.

During the mid-fourteenth century, Emsworth expanded considerably, becoming a key port for the trade of foreign wines. The high profits earned from fishing also formed a core part of the revenues of Warblington manor, and a fishery is mentioned at Warblington as early as the twelfth century.[125] From the mid thirteenth century, the lords of Warblington also held a weekly market and an annual fair at Emsworth, which directly supplied the castle.[126] Along with Emsworth, the ports of Portsmouth and Southampton were also within easy reach of Warblington. The stone delivered from Caen in Normandy for building Margaret's own residence, for example, was delivered to Portsmouth and Southampton, before being delivered to the site by barge.[127]

Social Factors

Margaret's selection of Warblington as her principal seat made sense from the perspective that many of her lands and properties were concentrated in the southwest, making her the principal elite and also the principal military power in the region.[128] Indeed, it was Margaret's perceived military power in the southwest that contributed, as Janice Liedl has argued, towards increased Crown control and defence in the region following the countess's arrest and execution for treason in 1539.[129] The choice of a coastal location also made sense for Margaret given that a third of her properties were located on the Devon, Dorset, Essex, Hampshire coastlines, and she also owned property on the Isle of Wight and in Calais.[130]

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[125] Reger, *A Short History of Emsworth and Warblington*, p. 12.

[126] *VCH, Hants*. Vol III, p. 136.

[127] TNA E 101/490/12; Reger, *A Short History of Emsworth and Warblington*, p. 18.

[128] J. Liedl, '"Rather a Strong and Constant Man": Margaret Pole and the Problem of Women's Independence', in J. A. Chappell and K. A. Kramer (eds), *Women During the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identities* (London, 2014).

[129] Ibid.

Beyond the practical advantages of the location, Margaret may have also chosen Warblington for its historic connections to her natal family. The previous ownership of the castle by Margaret's mother and her maternal grandmother enabled her to claim a longstanding connection to the site, and provided the opportunity for a display of power based on matrilineal ties. Further evidence of Margaret's fondness for the Hampshire coast is seen in her commission of a chantry chapel at Christchurch Priory, located approximately forty miles west of Warblington. It is also notable that the manor and castle of Christchurch formed part of Margaret's maternal inheritance. The chantry chapel, which is built of Caen stone and is believed to have been designed by the Italian sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano, is still today a powerful testament to Margaret's wealth and influence within the region.[131]

Conclusion

The sites of late medieval castles and great residences, as illustrated through the example of the literary landscape of Tourmaday at the beginning of this chapter, were topographies devised to give expression to lordly masculinities by elite men. The placement of castles and great houses in the landscape were physical manifestations of the social, economic and spiritual privileges of the male aristocracy. By exploring the principal sites occupied by the five women in this study, this chapter has considered how secular elite women responded to the innate maleness of lordly landscapes, and how the women's attachments to specific locations both reflected and created their power as female lords.

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[130] Ibid, p. 34.

[131] VCH *Hants. and the Isle of Wight,* V (London, 1912), p. 103.

Can we speak of a typology of elite female landscapes? A comparative analysis of each of the five sites indicates that, topographically, the types of locations chosen by the women for their principal residences varied considerably. While Margaret of Anjou, Margaret Beaufort and Katherine Courtenay all occupied residences that stood close to rivers, for example, their aspects could not be more different. While at Greenwich Margaret of Anjou's residence stood on low-lying land and offered direct access to a navigable river, at Tiverton the castle's elevated and strategic position surmounting a cliff overlooking the Exe, offered a very different outlook. Equally, while Alice Chaucer and Margaret Pole both created moated houses on flat, more adaptable sites, the sheltered Chiltern foothills and the Hampshire coastline are very different landscapes. While the sites offered a variety of different outlooks, however, it is nonetheless apparent that all five houses were ideally located to convey the women's spiritual and social privileges as the dominant elites within their respective localities, and as prominent figures within late medieval England.

All the residences were located on the edge or at a distance from their respective settlements, and all stood within half a mile of their respective parish churches. The spatial proximity between church and residence was most pronounced at Tiverton and Warblington, where the two buildings formed a distinctive grouping away from the settlements in both cases. These observations generally accord with those made by McDonagh and Campbell discussed above, namely that during the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries, great houses were routinely located at a distance from their associated settlements, but nevertheless enjoyed close proximity to the local church, symbolizing the lord's social and spiritual privileges. It would thus appear that the advertisement of lordly privilege as expressed through the physical relationship between residence, church and settlement, was a spatial ideology of lordship that was shared by men and women. The emphasis on piety and separation, however, may have taken on different meanings for female lords. As the following chapters will illustrate, piety played a crucial role in female constructions of power. Privacy was also a gendered concept, which for women was closely tied to matters of sexuality. While the ambivalent gendering of different landscape features will be explored in further detail in chapter two, it is evident that the women in this study, as wives, matriarchs and widows, would have benefited from a spatial arrangement which advertised their piety and chastity.

Unlike their religious female counterparts, all the women in this study inhabited locations which provided them with access to major communication routes and resources. All the residences considered in this study were located close to county boundaries and gave ease of access to major communication routes, including Roman roads. Margaret Beaufort's contributions towards the repair of bridges in the surrounding locality and Margaret of Anjou's creation of a wharf at Greenwich attest to the women's active use of these route ways for their personal gain, while Margaret Pole's proximity to the coastal ports of Portsmouth and Southampton meant that she could display her purchasing power by importing the luxury material of Caen stone for her residence. The fact that all the houses were located either in or within five miles of market towns also meant that materials and goods for the household could be easily sourced. While Gilchrist concluded that nunnery landscapes marked religious women's isolation and dependence, in the case of secular women, it would seem that the locations were instead ones which gave the women symbolic separation and independence.

With respect to social factors, all the women inhabited sites that had longstanding histories as topographies of lordship. The women's roles as wives, daughters and mothers appear to have played a pronounced role in shaping their choices. For Margaret of Anjou, the choice of Greenwich, poised between the continent and the capital, symbolized the queen's status as the daughter of an illustrious European dynasty and her role as a gatekeeper to the king. For Alice Chaucer and Margaret Pole, Ewelme and Warblington respectively formed part of the women's inheritance through the female line, thus making for female landscapes of authority based on matrilineal ties. For Margaret Beaufort, Collyweston was both a site of matrilineal and matriarchal authority, which not only allowed the countess to re-establish her ties to the region and her mother's seat at Maxey, but to also exploit those connections for the advertisement of her own role as the matriarch of the house of Tudor. It is notable that Collyweston's close proximity to the Yorkist seat of Fotheringhay also celebrated a cross-generational relationship between Margaret Beaufort and her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, thus making for a local landscape, which proclaimed the strength of the royal authority through the female line. While Katherine Courtenay was deprived of her natal family's inheritance, it is evident that she actively exploited the pre-existing connections of her marital family to Tiverton in order to fashion herself as the matriarch of the Courtenay family. This is most powerfully seen in the position of her tomb, close to, yet distinct from the Courtenay chapel, and located in a prime position next to the altar of St. Peter's parish church.

While the women thus inhabited physical topographies which advertised their lordly privileges in a manner akin to their male counterparts, it is evident that the social factors governing their choices spoke of distinctly feminine priorities. By inhabiting sites which spoke of their roles as mothers, wives and daughters, the women were able to celebrate their authority through reference to their very femininity. How they in turn cultivated these matriarchal landscapes of lordship for the projection of their own authority will be considered in the next chapter.

Figure 19. ‘Map showing all five sites in relation to the major roads, navigable rivers and towns of England and Wales’ originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of Copyright. The original image was sourced from J. F. Edwards and B. P. Hindle, ‘The Transportation System of Medieval England and Wales’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17/2 (1991), p. 132.

Chapter Two: Elite Female Landscapes

‘Thistorye sayth & certifyeth that whan the lady had ended the terme of her childbed …the feste was made grete…And that same tyme the lady Melusyne bylded bothe the Castel & the toune of Melle. Also she did doo make Vouant & Mernant. And after she made the bourgh & toure of saynt Maxence, and bygan the Abbey there’.[1]

‘The second yere after folowyng she had a sone that was named Guyon…And that tyme Melusyne bigged and fownd many a fayre place thrughe the lande of Poytou unto the duchie of Guyenne, She bilded the Castel & pe burgh of Partenay so strong and so fayre without comparison. After that she dide doo make pe Toures of Rochelle & the Castle also, & bygan a part of the toune, and thre leghes thens was a great toure & bigge whiche Julius Cesar dide doo make…That toure made the lady to be walled & fortyfyed round aboute with gret toures machecolyd, and made it to be called the Castel Eglon’.[2]

In the French romance *Melusine*, translated into Middle English around the year 1500, the female protagonist of the same name is presented as an active shaper of the landscape. Melusine, as Jan Shaw has put it, ‘is a prolific builder: she builds towns, castles, a dominion, a family, and a dynasty’.[3] In the text, Melusine’s building projects are closely interwoven with the birth of her ten sons, so as to suggest an inextricable link between her motherhood and her contributions to the built environment and the ordering of the landscape. In her analysis of the romance, Shaw contrasts Melusine’s relationship to geographical space with that of her husband, Raimonsin. She argues that unlike Raimonisin, ‘who flits across the surface of geographical space in a feast of busy activity, Melusine’s footprint runs deep. She is more inextricably bound to the landscape, literally grounded into the surface of the earth, with every new stone fortress she builds’.[4] Melusine makes each of the places she inhabits her own. This is most powerfully indicated by the castle of Lusignan, which she commissions and gives her own name.[5]

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[1] J. D’Arras, *Melusine*, p. 103.
‘The history says and certifies that when the lady had ended the term of her childbed, there was a great feast. And at the same time the lady Melusine built both castle and town of Melle. And she also made Vouvant and Mervent. And after she made the borough and the town of Saint- Maixent and began the abbey there’. Translation my own.

[2] Ibid. ‘The second year after following she had a son that was named Guyon…And time Melusine built and founded many fair places throughout the land of Poitou unto the Duchy of Guyenne. She built the castle and the burgh of Parthenay so strong and so fair without comparison. After that she did make the towers of La Rochelle and the castle also and began a part of the town and three leagues thence was a great and large tower, which Julius Caesar had made…that tower the lady walled and fortified fully with great towers machicolated, and made it to be called the Castle Eglon’. Translation my own.

Melusine’s building projects– fortified castles and towers, great towns and roads – are not obviously ‘feminine’ in their design and appearance, yet her actions are nevertheless framed with reference to her female body and her experiences of motherhood. With each child she gives birth to, a new city, castle or abbey is founded. It is also striking that in her role as place-maker, Melusine not only creates new buildings, but also ties her own and her family’s identity to ancient buildings and landscapes, epitomised by her renovations to the great tower reportedly built by Julius Caesar.

This chapter develops the discussion in chapter one, by considering how real lordly women, like the literary Melusine, shaped the medieval landscape for the projection of their authority. The main introduction to this thesis highlighted the increased importance of the landscape agenda to castle studies, with landscape historians and archaeologists are now in agreement that late medieval elites routinely manipulated or re-organised the landscape environs around their residences to make statements of their wealth, power and status.[6] Although there has been much debate over what to call such landscapes, it is now widely recognised that the advertisement of lordly exclusivity through space was not limited to within the castle walls, but extended beyond the castle gate.[7] Through the enclosure of their residences within moats and walls, elites demarcated the lordly from the vernacular landscape and altered the ways in which people perceived and moved through the locality.[8] By creating composite landscapes including parks, gardens, orchards and watery settings, the aristocracy advertised their monopoly on the local landscape and their privileged access to resources.

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[3] J. Shaw, *Space, Gender, and Memory in Middle English Romance: Architectures of Wonder in Melusine* (New York, 2016), p. 91.

[4] Ibid. p. 112.

[5] J. D’Arras, *Melusine,* p. 64.

While landscape approaches to expressions of lordly authority are now well established, considerations of women and outdoor space have remained fragmentary, and have tended to focus on individual settings within such landscapes, rather than considering elite landscapes in their entirety.[9] By focusing on the women's enclosure of their residences and the landscapes they created within the walls, this chapter explores how far and in what ways the women shaped and utilised the landscape environs around their residences for the projection of their domestic authority, and considers whether landscapes ordered by female agency reflected and expressed distinctly feminine concerns and priorities.

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[6] Taylor, Everson and Wilson-North, 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex'; P. Everson, 'Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: a Fourteenth-Century Designed Lanscape', in D. Morgan Evan, P. Salway and D. Thackray (eds), *The Remains of Distant Times: Archaeology and the National Trust* (Woodbridge, 1996); Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land*; Idem, 'Castle Studies and the 'Landscape' Agenda; Taylor, 'Medieval Ornamental Landscapes', *Landscapes*, 1 (2000); P. Everson, 'Delightfully Surrounded with Woods and Ponds: Field Evidence for Medieval Gardens in England', in P. Patterson (ed), *There by Design*, BAR British Series 267 (Oxford, 1998); Liddiard, "Landscapes of Lordship"; Idem, Castles in Context; Idem (ed), *Medieval Parks: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007); Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, esp. Chapters 3 & 6.

[7] For a consideration of the term 'designed landscape', see page six of the main introduction. Also, S. Mileson, 'Royal and Aristocratic Landscapes of Pleasure', in C. Gerrard and A. Gutierrez (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Archaeology* (Oxford, Forthcoming, 2018).
In this study, 'pleasure grounds' will be used to refer to the landscape environs reserved for the lord's recreation and leisure (i.e. parks, gardens, orchards etc.), while the term 'elite landscapes' will be used more broadly, to also include the surrounding locality.

[8] T. Williamson, 'Understanding Enclosure', *Landscapes*, 1/1 (2000).

Enclosure & Separation

For male elites, the implementation of physical boundaries around the residence was a prime means of demarcating the centre of lordship from the surrounding vernacular landscape.[10] While features such as moats, walls, ditches, and fences were initially devised as practical structures of defence, they also increasingly assumed a symbolic significance as indicators of lordly prestige and exclusivity. Such features signalled lordly privilege by acting as physical barriers, distancing the head of household from the neighbouring community and investing them with increased control over access to and from the residence. They were also prime markers of wealth and status, being expensive, time consuming and disruptive to implement.

It has long been recognised, however, that in medieval and early modern thought, enclosure was gendered.[11] While enclosure was a symbol of lordship and domination for men, for women, it was more closely tied to concepts of chastity, sexual fidelity and virtue. In her work on the subject, Roberta Gilchrist has drawn attention to the dual symbolism of castle architecture, arguing that 'female fidelity, and its display through the physical confinement of women, became essential to the perpetuation of successful lineage'.[12] Debates as to whether women were passively socialised or empowered by enclosure still loom large in medieval scholarship, although - as the main introduction to this thesis highlighted - there remains a prevailing tendency to view elite women's enclosure as a sign of their lack of power and control. As Jean-Marie Kauth has put it, 'the person who inhabited the body was not necessarily the person who possessed it. Aristocratic men retained hegemonic control over towers and fortress walls as well as over their wives and daughters'.[13]

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[9] This is typified by scholarly attention to enclosed gardens, and, more recently, deer parks and questions of female power and agency. See Richardson, "Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana'; Eadem, 'Beyond the Castle Gate'.
These works will be discussed in further detail in the relevant sections below.

[10] J. N. Croom, 'Courts, Yards and Houses: Enclosing, Enhancing and Servicing the Medieval and Early Modern Great House, c. 1050-c. 1750', *The Local Historian*, 44/2 (April 2014).

[11] R. Gilchrist, 'Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body', in S. Kay and M. Rubin (eds), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994); See Mark Wigley's discussion of Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On the Art of Building*: M. Wigley, 'Untitled: The Housing of Gender', in B. Colomina (ed), *Sexuality and Space* (New York, 1992); P. Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The

Yet, what about instances when enclosure was the result of female agency? The previous chapter indicated that all the residences stood on the edge of their respective settlements. All the houses in this study were also enclosed through various means, and in many cases the walls, moats and fences surrounding the residences were implemented at the women's own commission. At Greenwich, Margaret of Anjou paid a certain John Hayland for 60,000 bricks, which were in part used for the construction of a wall between the palace and The Thames.[14] This either extended or replaced the earlier stone wall that had been constructed by Duke Humphrey around the residence. The position of the wall between the river and the palace would have given Margaret heightened control over access to the residence from the Thames, and no doubt

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Body Enclosed', in M. W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan and N. J. Vickers (eds), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986).

[12] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 112. See also, Eadem, 'Medieval Bodies in the Material World'.

[13] J. Kauth, 'Barred Windows and Uncaged Birds: The Enclosure of Woman in Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France', *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 46/2 (2010), p. 37.

[14] TNA D28/1/11.

complemented her creation of the wharf and pier to the west of the palace, mentioned in the previous chapter. Enclosure thus gave Margaret heightened control over the movement of people and goods through the local landscape, thus marking her power, and not her passivity.

Enclosure could also adopt a more obviously defensive form. At Tiverton, the castle benefitted from the presence of the original curtain walls, whilst at Warblington, a twelve-foot high earthen rampart surrounded the residence. The walls and rampart at Tiverton and Warblington would have served a defensive purpose, no doubt due to the castles' locations close to the coast, and thus contributed to a martial spatial ideology of lordship.

Three of the residences in this study, namely Ewelme, Tiverton and Warblington, were either entirely or partially surrounded by moats. While initially devised as defensive structures, moats acquired significance as a means through which belonging and exclusion were signalled in the landscape. In the case of Warblington, Margaret Pole is known to have commissioned the construction of the moat around her residence, and it is also likely that Alice and William de la Pole first commissioned the moat at Ewelme as part of their extensive building programme there. The moat at Tiverton Castle, which framed only the east and south sides of the residence most likely pre-dated Katherine's ownership of the property and appears to have formed part of a larger and earlier series of defensive structures protecting the site.

Moats invested the head of household with the power to include and exclude at their will, and were also associated with a historic, feudal ordering of space.[15] From the fourteenth century onwards, however, the number of moats was declining due to the considerable effort and cost required to create and maintain them. At the same time as Margaret Pole created her moat at Warblington, for example, Thomas Wolsey paid the princely sum of £523 for the implementation of a partial moat around his residence at Hampton Court.[16] The creation and continued maintenance of moats in late medieval England thus expressed the head of household's authority by evoking associations with the historic ordering of bodies according to status, and by showcasing their wealth. At Ewelme, Tiverton and Warblington, this sense of separation was made even more pronounced by the fact that only the inner courtyards of each of these residences were contained within moats. This meant that only the highest status rooms, including the head of household's personal apartments, the great hall and the chapel, were protected by the moat, to the exclusion of the more functional ancillary buildings, which stood beyond. In these instances, the moats thus not only separated the residence (and by association, the head of household) from the outside world, but were also used to reflect and reinforce divisions according to status within the domestic complex.

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[15] E. Johnson, 'Moated Sites and the Production of Authority in the Eastern Wield of England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 59/1 (2015), p. 248.

It is striking that both Alice Chaucer and Margaret Pole created moats at a point when such features were considered old-fashioned. While the above discussion has indicated that their actions were statements of wealth and conspicuous display, it is possible that they were also used to project an image of familial longevity. Matthew Johnson has argued that during the sixteenth-century, elites manipulated symbolic structures relating to the feudal past, including moats and crenellated towers, to lend ideological support to the Tudor social order.[17] Studies of women's architectural patronage in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries have also identified that women in particular exploited and visibly advertised their families' longstanding connections to specific places through the deliberate use of old-fashioned architectural styles. Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676) is a case in point.[18] Rather than commissioning new residences that adhered to contemporary fashions, Anne instead chose to occupy and renovate the medieval seats belonging to her natal family. Much like the literary Melusine, Anne claimed Roman heritage, naming the twelfth-century castle keep at Appleby in Cumbria 'Caesar's tower'.[19] The previous chapter indicated that both Ewelme and Warblington were matrilineal landscapes of power. Through the enclosure of their residences with moats, it is thus possible that Alice Chaucer and Margaret Pole exploited this historic ordering of space in order to make highly visible statements about their longstanding familial connections to the area. In the case of Warblington, this was reinforced by the castellated style of the residence, which although built of fashionable brick, incorporated characteristically medieval elements such as battlements, a drawbridge and arrow slits.

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[16] M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (London, 1987), p. 47.
[17] Johnson, 'Meanings of Polite Architecture in Sixteenth-Century England'.

The placement and enclosure of parks was another means through which distance between lord and community was created.[20] While the importance of parks as elite spaces will be considered in more detail below, it is apparent that the creation of hunting grounds could also physically distance the house within the landscape. In the earlier middle ages, parks often stood away from their residences, yet as the previous chapter highlighted, the fifteenth century saw a heightened trend for creating parks which were located next to, or entirely encompassed their associated houses.[21] Of the sites considered in this study, Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington conformed to this spatial arrangement. At all three of these sites, the parks, of 200, 108, and 180 acres respectively, were located directly behind the residences, on the opposite side to the gatehouses, where they were spatially at the innermost or – to use a term used by architectural historians- 'deepest' points of the domestic complex.[22] At Collyweston and Warblington, this was a spatial arrangement implemented by Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole respectively. At Greenwich, Margaret of Anjou inherited this spatial arrangement from her predecessor, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and his wife Eleanor.

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[18] J. A. A. Goodall, 'Lady Anne Clifford and the Architectural Pursuit of Nobility', in K. Hearn and L. Hulse (eds), *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th–Century Britain* (Leeds, 2009). Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury (1527-1608) also chose to retain the early Tudor Old Hall at Hardwick when she built her newer residence.

[19] Ibid, p. 82.

[20] A more detailed discussion of parks can be found below. See pp. 93-104.

It is evident that the enclosure of parks could alter the ways in which local inhabitants and those travelling through the landscape perceived and experienced it. In the seventeenth century, a local inhabitant at Collyweston recalled how the former park 'did serve for a pasture for the countess of Richmond's geldings when she did lodge at Collyweston, who caused it first to be enclosed'.[23] While the park's location to the west of the residence did little to alter the topographical relationship between residence, church and settlement, its enclosure nevertheless appears to have altered the ordering of the landscape and the movement of people through it. Surviving ridge and furrow indicates that Margaret's deer park was taken in from open-field furlongs and was most likely created from a block manorial demesne.[24] The shape of Ketton road, which connects Collyweston with settlements to the west, is also indicative of a redirected route. Rather than following a straight line from east to west, the road instead appears to follow the former park's northern boundary, projecting northwards, before curving back westwards to cross the Welland at Ketton Bridge (see fig. 13). My own commission of a geophysical survey on a small area of the southern part of the site revealed the existence of a buried road, which also seems to support the hypothesis for a redirected route.[25] It was certainly not unusual for park creation to result in the diversion of routes through the landscape. At Greenwich, the creation of the park by Margaret of Anjou's predecessors, Duke Humphrey and his wife Eleanor, resulted in the enclosure of a road, which was 136 perches long. In 1434, Humphrey and Eleanor were instructed to replace the route, resulting in the present-day Maze Hill, which traces the park's eastern boundary.[26] While the principal route to Greenwich palace was via river, any visitor approaching the settlement or the palace via road would have been required to take a circuitous route around the park before reaching the main gatehouse, which faced north onto the river. The presence of raised banks encompassing the park, surmounted by hedging and paling, would have, in both the cases of Greenwich and Collyweston, further reinforced this sense of separation between the elite and vernacular landscape.

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[21] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*.

[22] See Richardson, 'Corridors of Power'; Eadem, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces'.

[23] NRO SG 116.

[24] Foard, Hall and Partida, *Rockingham Forest,* p. 192.

Recent revisionist attention to gender and deer parks has indicated that the creation of smaller parks, which stood in close proximity to the residence not only facilitated women's increased involvement in the hunt during the later middle ages, but also provided a spatial arrangement that gained especial popularity with female park makers. Amanda Richardson and others have highlighted the increased evidence for so-called 'little' or 'lady parks' from the fourteenth century onwards, typified by 'Le park de Madame', which was most likely created for Anne of Burgundy at her husband, John, duke of Bedford's property at Penshurst (Kent), or the 'lady park' at Lathom (Lancashire), believed to have been created when Thomas Stanley married Eleanor Neville in the 1470s.[27] Indeed, Richardson has also raised the possibility that the park at Greenwich was created at the request of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's wife, Eleanor Cobham, highlighting the timing of the park's creation, which occurred shortly after the couple's marriage in date, and the presence of Eleanor's name in the patent rolls as evidence for her involvement.[28] While on the one hand scholars have viewed women's involvement in a previously male-dominated activity as evidence for their power and agency, on the other there has been a tendency to interpret the emergence of little and lady parks as 'a continuing restriction along gender lines expressed through enclosure'.[29] Yet, to singularly equate enclosure with women's inferiority and powerlessness ignores the fact that in contemporary thought, enclosure was also associated with female power. In her *City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan likens the female sex to an orchard without a wall, which has been left vulnerable to the cruel words of men. She urges women to build an enclosed city, in which they will be protected, powerful and self-sufficient.[30]

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[25] The survey, however, did not reveal the date of this road and further work would be required to confidently assert this conclusion. Ainslie, 'Collyweston Palace'.

[26] Richardson, 'Greenwich's first Royal Landscape', p. 59.

To say that smaller parks were singularly 'feminine' would also be to obscure a more complex and nuanced reality at play. By the fifteenth century, both men and women were creating parks that were located close to or entirely surrounded their residences, meaning that it would be impossible to tell from the evidence on the ground alone whether these parks were created and owned by male or female lords. The literary evidence supports this. In the late medieval romance, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,

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[27] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, p. 41; Richardson, 'Riding like Alexander', p. 260.
[28] Richardson, 'Greenwich's first Royal Landscape', p. 53.
[29] Mileson, 'Royal and Aristocratic Landscapes of Pleasure'.
[30] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 11.

Bertilak’s castle, which is presented in the romance as an idealised seat of masculine, lordly authority, is set within a meadow and park enclosed by a palisade. The increased desire for privacy or separation among male elites during the later middle ages thus complicates binary readings of gender and space. Nevertheless, it is possible that female park owners and creators exploited this to their advantage, as it was a spatial arrangement which allowed them to showcase both their lordly magnificence and feminine chastity.

The evidence considered here suggests that elite women, in their capacity as the heads of their own domestic establishments, used enclosure to signal lordly exclusivity in a manner akin to that of their male counterparts. The previous chapter argued that while for religious women isolation was a marker of their dependence, for secular women it was symbolic, as the women still enjoyed access to communication routes and resources. Enclosure, it is argued here, worked to similar effect. The women were not trapped within the walls of their residences; rather they actively used walls, moats and park paling in order to make highly visible statements of their lordly authority, and to control the movement of goods and people to their own advantage. Enclosure for these women was active, not passive, a point that will be considered in more detail in the discussion of pleasure grounds below, and in the following chapter.

While the evidence on the ground suggests that both men and women enclosed their residences in a like manner, it is apparent that female heads of household may have also exploited the ‘feminine’ associations of enclosure to their advantage. For all the women in this study, their status and authority as the heads of their own households was closely bound to matters of sexuality. For Margaret of Anjou, the performance of queenship was inextricably linked to Marian ideals of femininity, while the vowesses and widows in this study were required to maintain a chaste appearance in order to sustain their authority. It is thus possible that women harnessed both the masculine and feminine associations of enclosure, using separation as a means through which to signal both their lordly privileges and feminine chastity.

Pleasure Grounds

Having considered the creation of boundaries around the residence, the discussion will now turn to the landscapes within the walls. It has already been highlighted that scholars have grouped together different landscape settings intended for recreation and leisure – hunting grounds, gardens, orchards, water features- under various headings. In this study, the term 'pleasure grounds' will be used to describe such landscapes, which appear to have been deliberately cultivated for displays of lordly power and largesse.[31] This section addresses each of the individual components of lordly landscapes in turn, yet in doing so remains attentive to the fact that the divisions between these spaces are in many respects artificial. Gardens, for example, were often created within parks, and features such as watery settings and terraces were also common to more than one of these settings. It is also important to highlight that these various settings were not created or experienced in isolation; rather they, much like the rooms within the residence, formed part of a larger sequence of spaces, which conveyed differing yet complementary messages regarding the owner's status, wealth and power to others.

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[31] For a discussion, see Mileson, 'Royal and Aristocratic Landscapes of Pleasure'.

Hunting Reserves

Spaces for the hunt, namely parks, forests and warrens, have long interested writers and scholars of a variety of disciplines.[32] While early medieval magnates hunted in large-scale forests, by the fourteenth century parks, which typically comprised between 100 and 300 acres, had become the main settings for the hunt.[33] These spaces were commonly enclosed with ditches and paling and were used for a variety of purposes besides hunting and the breeding of deer, including livestock grazing and wood production.[34] Smaller animals, such as hawks were also kept in parks, while the commonplace presence of fishponds provided food for the head of household's table, and also added to the grandeur of the setting.

Deer Parks

While the discussion has already indicated the impact that park creation could have on the movement of people through the local landscape, the creation and ownership of parks also warrants consideration in its own right. Of the spaces comprising the elite landscape, deer parks have received the most scholarly attention in recent years, with these spaces now recognised as central to the projection of lordly power and status.[35] While park-making had filtered down to the upper echelons of the gentry by the end of the middle ages, the creation of a park remained an important statement of the owner's wealth and status, in theory requiring royal permission in the physical form of a letter of charter. This, as Stephen Mileson has identified, placed park creation in the same bracket as acquiring a licence to fortify a residence.[36] By portioning off large swathes of land and by reserving that land for the enactment of long-established aristocratic rituals such as the hunt, elites made a powerful and highly visible statement of their lordly and royal privileges. Game also provided food for the elite table and hunting-related gifts were popularly exchanged between elites as a means of forging and celebrating networks and alliances.[37]

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*; See the collected essays in Liddiard. *The Medieval Park*.

Parks have long been understood as spaces of masculinity and of homosocial bonding and competition between men. In his study of ecclesiastical deer parks, for instance, Andrew Miller argues that parkbreak and poaching were a prime means through which secular men emasculated their clerical contemporaries.[38] In the late medieval romance, *Sir Degrevant*, the deer park is presented as a site of competition between secular men of differing social status, namely the Earl and the knightly protagonist, Degrevant.[39] The Earl's act of breaking into Degrevant's deer park and slaughtering all the animals within it is presented as a threat to Degrevant's lordly masculinity, and he responds by challenging the earl in another masculine household space, the great hall. The author's use of these spaces to illustrate the competition between the two men indicates a cultural understanding of the deer park and the great hall as spaces where competing masculinities were played out.

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[36] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, p. 102.

[37] Barrow, "The Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a grett tame Hart'; C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37/1 (2011).
Venison in particular carried connotations of privilege and status. J. Birrell, 'Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England', in C. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson, and T. Waldron (eds), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006). Hunting-related gifts will be discussed further in chapter five.

[38] A. G. Miller, 'Knights, Bishops and Deer Parks: Episcopal Identity, Emasculation and Clerical Space in Medieval England', in J. D. Thibodeaux (ed), *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2010).

[39] 'Sir Degrevant', in *Sentimental and Humorous Romances*, ed. E Kooper (Kalamazoo, 2005).

The discussion above, however, has already shown that during the later middle ages, women are increasingly visible as users and owners of deer parks. While the creation of smaller, enclosed parks suited contemporary gender ideologies that emphasised women's enclosure, the type of hunting carried out within parks was also more conducive to female involvement. In the earlier middle ages, the predominant form of hunting had been the hunt *par force,* which was carried out across open terrain, and the dangerous and highly strenuous nature of which precluded women's participation. By the fifteenth century, however, bow-and-stable hunting had replaced the hunt *par force* as the favoured form of hunting among aristocrats. This form of hunting, which required the participants to shoot the deer at close range as they were driven into view, was more suited to smaller hunting grounds, and also provided opportunities for female involvement.[40] Amanda Richardson has also highlighted hawking as another form of hunting which appears to have gained considerable popularity among women, and which provided opportunities for female demonstrations of power and agency both within and beyond the park pale.[41] While the women's uses of their parks will be considered in more detail in chapter five, it is important to highlight here that parks were not the exclusively male spaces they were once thought to be.

Of the five residences considered here, two of the women, namely Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole are known to have made new parks when they acquired their residences at Collyweston and Warblington respectively. While a park existed prior to Margaret Beaufort's ownership of Collyweston, the countess was responsible for creating and enclosing a new park, which, as mentioned above, was located directly behind her residence, to the west.[42] The land on which Margaret's park was situated is still relatively well preserved, being used today as pasture for Manor Farm. The area of the park is recorded twice in the early sixteenth century as 108 acres, which is close to the 112 acres shown in a map made of the park in 1692 (fig. 20). The contemporary evidence reveals that the western side of the park was forty-eight acres and abutted water meadows, which were gated and hedged up until Ketton Bridge.[43]

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[40] Richardson, "Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana', p. 257; Eadem, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape', p. 53.

[41] Ibid. See also E. Standley, 'Ladies Hunting: A Late Medieval Decorated Mirror Case from Shapwick, Somerset', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 88 (2008).

The building accounts for Margaret Beaufort's developments to Collyweston provide considerable information about the park's appearance. The 'nether' part of the park is recorded as having contained ponds, which are still visible as earthworks today are most likely those marked 'd' on the 1975 RCHME survey of the site (fig. 21). At Margaret's commission, workmen enclosed these ponds with paling and created a series of walkways or 'alleys' around them.[44] In 1504, a summerhouse or hunting lodge was also added, which measured twenty-eight feet in length and twelve in width, and which stood next to the ponds.[45] The inclusion of a bedstead also suggests the building's purpose as a site of reception or lodging for guests.[46] On the 1842-3 Tithe Map of the site, there is also a narrow field beneath the lower pond, which runs east to west across the site and becomes wider at its western end (see fig. 13). While this may have been an enclosure, it is also possible that this was an early deer course, a platform designed for the enactment of the more ceremonial aspects of the hunt, such as greyhound racing and the kill.[47] The upper part of the park, which was located on higher ground, close to the house, also contained gardens. In the building accounts for 1504, these gardens are listed as being next to 'three new ponds', and are most likely those garden earthworks labelled 'b' on the RCHME survey.[48] The terraces marked 'a' are also most likely the former 'walks', which were devised around these new ponds.[49] Records for the creation of doors and locks also show that the park was connected to a variety of other spaces within the landscape. The creation of a 'great door' between the park and the orchard suggests that a rather elaborate portal connected these two spaces.[50] The fact that a lock and key was also made indicates that access between different settings was tightly regulated, a point that will be considered in more detail in chapter five. Another door made between the park and the poultry yard was most likely a more functional, utilitarian point of access. The 1692 map also shows several gates around the park boundary, which may represent earlier entry and exit points to and from the landscape.

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[42] SJC, D91.13, p. 103; D91.14, p. 148; D91.22, p.16; D102.9, p. 87.
[43] SJC D91.14, pp. 131, 148-9.
[44] SJC D91.13, pp. 57, 59; D91.22, pp. 12, 35; D102.9, pp. 166, 168, 169.
[45] SJC D91.13, pp. 19, 79, 84, 98; D91.22, p. 12.
[46] SJC D91.13, p. 79.

Later building documents relating to the site under Elizabeth I's ownership indicate that the great chamber at Collyweston provided views onto the park.[51] The lodging and chamber described in these documents bears remarkable resemblance to the new lodgings commissioned by Margaret Beaufort for her great-granddaughter's wedding progress in 1503, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Elizabeth was no great builder and her improvements to Collyweston were minimal. It is thus seems highly likely that the lodging described was in fact that implemented by the queen's great grandmother, and that Margaret and her guests also enjoyed views onto the park from the great chamber. Looking over her park, the river and the road to the west, Margaret would have thus enjoyed a vista of a lordly landscape befitting her male contemporaries.[52]

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[47] R. M. Delman, 'The Garden and its Social Significance in Fifteenth Century England, with Particular Reference to Lady Margaret Beaufort's Ornamental Landscape at Collyweston, Northamptonshire' (Unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012), p. 19. For a discussion of deer courses see C. Taylor, 'Ravensdale Park, Derbyshire, and Medieval Deer Coursing', *Landscape History*, 26/1 (2004).

[48] SJC D91.13, p. 57.

[49] Ibid.

[50] SJC D91.14, pp. 118, 148; D91.22, p. 16.

[51] TNA LR/2/64. For further repairs to Collyweston made during Elizabeth's reign see also TNA E101/542/25.

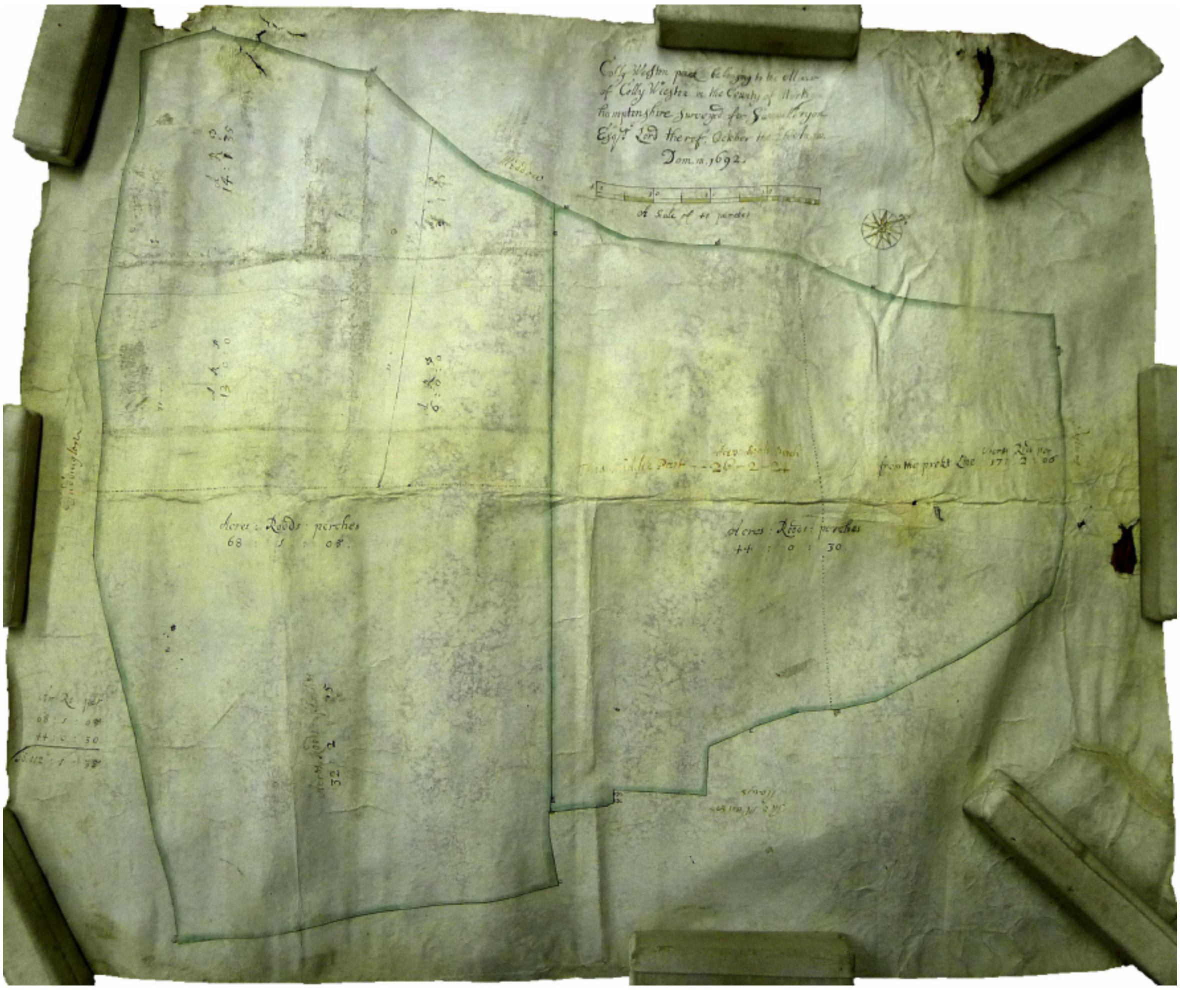
Colly Weston park belonging to the Manor
of Colly Weston in the County of North
hamptonshire surveyed for
Esqr Lord thereof October
Dom. 1692.
Acres : Rodds : perches
68 : 1 : 08
Acres : Rodds : perches
44 : 0 : 30

Figure 20. The Boundaries of Collyweston Park (facing Northwest) in 1692. Burghley Estates, Ex Map 368, Map of Collyweston Park, 1692. Photo: Burghley Estate Office.

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[52] Note that gendered views and lordly looking will be treated in further detail in chapters three and five.

Figure 21. ‘The earthworks at Collyweston’ originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of Copyright. The image was sourced at RCHME, *North-East Northamptonshire* (London, 1975), p. 31.

Although a park existed at Warblington during the thirteenth century, the building accounts for Margaret Pole's ownership of the residence show that when she acquired the site, the countess created a new, enclosed park, which also contained two meadows.[53] This was most likely situated to the east of the residence, as shown in John Norden's early seventeenth-century map of the county (fig. 22). The park's location to the east is also supported by the information given in the 1632 inventory, which details the later distribution and sale of a number of pieces of land surrounding the residence.[54] By this point the park had been disparked and converted into arable land and pasture, yet the inventory helpfully indicates which parcels of land had formerly comprised the hunting ground. In a number of cases, the inclusion of the post-Tudor field names also allows these parcels of land to be pinpointed on the nineteenth-century Tithe Map. 'Warren close' and 'pond close', for example, are both said to have formed part of the park, and 'pond field', 'pond meadow', 'warren piece' and 'warren rough wood' can also be located to the north, east and south-east of the residence on the eighteenth-century Tithe Map (see fig. 23). In total, the numerous parcels of land formerly comprising the park amount to 184 acres, indicating that Margaret Pole's park was a smaller hunting ground, of a similar size to that created by Margaret of Anjou's predecessors at Greenwich. As highlighted above, the spatial relationship between house and park appears to have been very similar to that of Collyweston, as the park's location, to the east of the castle, positioned it behind the building, where it was located away from the gatehouse and was overlooked by Margaret's personal rooms, which were most likely located in the southeastern tower of the complex, as will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter. Much like her contemporary, Margaret Beaufort, Margaret Pole would have also enjoyed views onto a lordly landscape.

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[53] The 1632 inventory also refers to 'two lithe meadows' at Warblington. See PCRO, 906A, f. 14.

[54] Ibid.

Figure 22. 'Detail from John Norden's Map of Hampshire (1607) showing Warblington castle with its enclosed deer park to the east' originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of Copyright. The image was sourced at 'Old Hampshire Mapped' http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/hantsmap/hantsmap/norden1/norden1.htm

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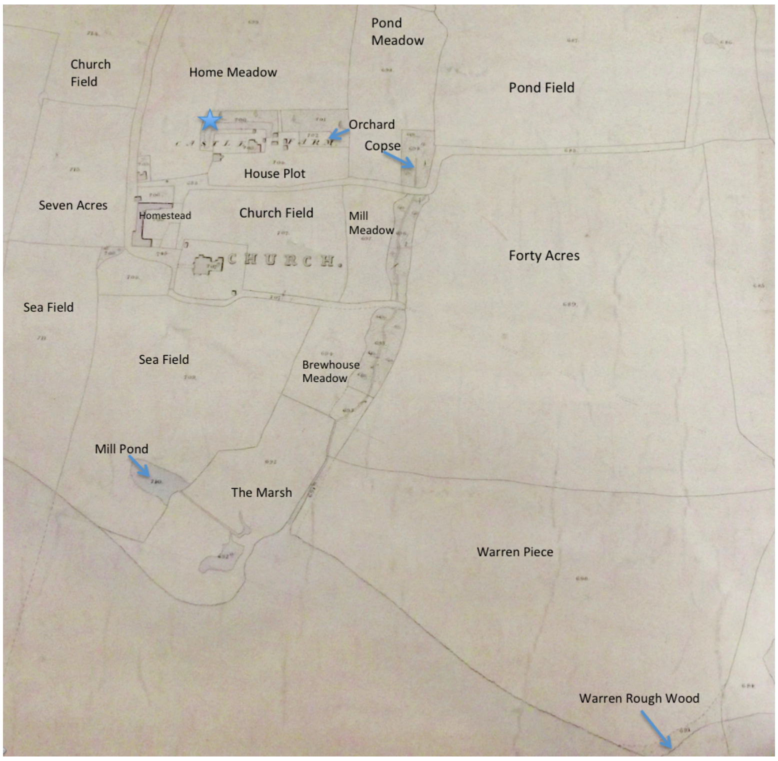
Church Field
Home Meadow
Pond Meadow
Pond Field
Orchard
Copse
House Plot
Seven Acres
Homestead
Church Field
Mill Meadow
CHURCH.
Forty Acres
Sea Field
Sea Field
Brewhouse Meadow
Mill Pond
The Marsh
Warren Piece
Warren Rough Wood

Figure 23. Adapted from Tithe Map of Warblington (Parish), Hampshire, 1841. TNA IR 30/31/265. The map shows the former site of the castle and church. The names are added from the contemporary apportionment (TNA IR 29/31/265) and the blue star marks the site of the castle. Image not to scale. Original scale: 1 inch to 3 chains.

The discussion has already indicated that Margaret of Anjou inherited a park of 200 acres at Greenwich, which had been created and enclosed by her predecessor, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and his wife Eleanor shortly after their marriage. As with Collyweston and Warblington, the park was located behind, or to the south of, the residence. Unlike at Collyweston and Warblington where the parks occupied lower ground, however, the park at Greenwich was located on higher ground than the residence itself (for the elevation, see fig. 3). As part of their commission, Humphrey and Eleanor had also created a park tower, which was retained by Margaret and stood on one of the highest points within the park landscape. The elevated position of this building is conveyed in Wyngaerde's 1543 panorama of London, in which it appears beacon-like, towering above the palace and its neighbouring settlement (see figs. 6 & 7).

In contrast to the smaller parks found next to the residences at Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington, the parks at Ewelme and Tiverton were larger and stood at a distance from the residences. The deer park at Ewelme was situated approximately three miles southeast of the residence at Swyncombe. As highlighted in the previous chapter, it is believed that Alice's father, Thomas Chaucer, created this park, which by the Tudor period covered approximately 895 acres of ground. In contrast to Alice's residence, which was situated on the valley floor, the park occupied higher ground of over 200 metres above sea level. By Queen Elizabeth's reign the park contained a hunting lodge, although it is uncertain whether this was a medieval or later addition.

Two parks were attached to Tiverton, which together comprised over 1,600 acres.[55] The first of these parks covered 600 acres and was located approximately a mile and a half southwest of the castle, at Ashley, with the River Exe forming its eastern boundary.[56] The location of the second park is less certain, being variously named 'Home park', 'Castle Barton', 'Guddesber' and later, 'Nuepark', in the documentary evidence.[57] It is likely that its location had changed by 1537, when the term 'Nuepark' is first used. The fact that the term 'Nuepark' first occurs only ten years after Katherine's death suggests that the countess may have been responsible for the relocation of this second park during her fifteen-year period of residency at the site. Katherine's interest in hunting is certainly suggested by the payments made towards the sport in her household documents, which will be discussed further in chapter five. The location of this second park is not certain but one possibility is to the north of the castle, on the steep land which rises to meet Chesttiscombe (once the boundary of Chettiscombe manor), a little under two miles away.[58] This is supported by the road names 'Park Hill' and 'Park Street', which project northwards from the site of the castle.

This section has established that the women in this study were both inheritors and creators of deer parks. While it seems that Alice Chaucer and Margaret of Anjou did little to change the location or appearance of their parks, Margaret Beaufort and

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[55] 'Exeter Archaeology, *Archaeological Assessment of Proposed Development at Cowley Moor, Tiverton* (Exeter, 2001)' http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MDV16967&resourceID=104 (18 Sept. 2017).

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid. A certain Richard Milton is described as the 'parker of the parks of Assheley & Guddesber, in the Manor of Tiverton, County Devon'. See P. A. Rabbitts, *Richmond Park: From Medieval Pasture to Royal Park* (Stroud, 2014).

[58] Ibid.

Margaret Pole and are visible as transformers of the landscape through their creation of new deer parks at Collyweston and Warblington respectively. It is also possible that Katherine Courtenay created the new park at Tiverton, although it seems that the countess nevertheless also maintained her more distant hunting ground at Ashley.

In three of the five examples, namely Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington, the women's parks conformed to a strikingly similar spatial arrangement, whereby their parks were located behind each of the residences. In the cases of Collyweston and Warblington, both Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole enjoyed views onto their hunting grounds from their principal apartments. While Margaret of Anjou was not personally responsible for creating this spatial arrangement, the fact that she did not alter it upon inheriting it (as she did with other areas of outdoor complex) suggests that it suited her needs.[59] While both men and women were increasingly responsible for creating parks that stood next to or encompassed their residences, it is possible, as discussed above, that the women's creation of these smaller parks reflected distinctly feminine priorities, and it is particularly striking that both women who are visible as creators of parks chose to adopt this spatial arrangement.

How then do Alice Chaucer and Katherine Courtenay, with their larger, more distant parks fit into this picture? It is evident that neither of these women lacked the means or status to create or alter the parks historically attached to their residences. While the location of the women's parks may have merely been a matter of personal preference, it also possible that they purposefully retained a historic ordering of space in order to make statements of their families' longstanding connections to Ewelme and Tiverton respectively. Both women, as the discussion in chapter one highlighted, associated themselves with locations that had historic familial connections, in Alice's case the principal seat of her natal family and in Katherine's the seat of her marital relations. Alice, as has already been highlighted, was an heiress, who would have no doubt been made acutely aware of her obligations to her family from a young age. The park attached to the residence at Ewelme was also associated with her father's presence within the locality. This is encapsulated in John Lydgate's verse, which conveys the widespread sorrow felt at Thomas' departure to France during the Hundred Years' War. In it he bids farewell to 'huntyng and hawkyng both thweyne,/And farewel nowe cheef cause of your desport'.[60] Given Alice's other actions to commemorate her family within Ewelme, such as her creation of the family chantry chapel and her display of heraldic devices on her residence and school, it seems highly possible that her preservation of this park formed part of a broader commemorative scheme. Likewise, the parks attached to Tiverton could be traced back to the twelfth century and it is possible that Katherine kept one, if not both of these parks as a means of preserving a historic ordering of the landscape associated with Courtenay family lordship.

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[59] Margaret's alterations to other parts of the landscape at Greenwich are discussed in further detail below.

This section has shown that deer parks were an integral part of the spatial ideology of female lordship. Much like their male counterparts, women created and utilised parks for the projection of their seigneurial authority of power through the landscape. While the two park makers in this study, Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole, created smaller, nearby parks that could be said to have offered a 'feminine' spatial arrangement, it is evident that women, as evidenced by the cases of Alice Chaucer and Katherine Courtenay, also owned larger more distant parks, preserving a historic ordering of the landscape associated with their natal and marital families respectively.

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[60] Schirmer, *John Lydgate*.

Warrens

The warren was a space in which the lord of the manor could hunt smaller animals, such as rabbits, hares, foxes, wild cats, badgers, pheasants and partridges.[61] Of these, rabbits especially were much-prized animals, being highly valued for their meat and fur. By this point, rabbits had not yet adapted to living in the wild and the only way of sourcing them was from a domestic warren.[62] The creation of a warren also in theory required a grant from the king, and thus the ownership of such a feature, much like the park or dovecote, was a tangible marker of the lord of the manor's privilege and status. Accordingly, pillow mounds were often placed in highly visible positions within the landscape.

Warrens were a feature of at least three of the landscapes discussed in this study, with evidence for their existence present at Ewelme, Collyweston and Warblington. In 1440, Alice and William de la Pole added lands in Nuffield to their estates in Ewelme and Swyncombe, where they are believed to have created a warren. Field names are also indicative of such features, as indicated by 'Rabbit Hill field' located directly south of the residence at Ewelme (fig. 9). At Collyweston, no mention is made of a warren in the documentary evidence, yet the presence of pillow mounds to the south of the former site of the residential complex indicates that a warren once formed part of the park (see fig. 21). At Warblington, the presence of such a feature is again indicated by field names, which include a warren piece and warren rough wood (see fig. 23). Of the examples discussed here, it is likely that the pillow mounds at Collyweston were visible from a set of stepped terraces to the south of the house, and possibly also from the approach road.

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[61] Mileson, 'Landscapes of Pleasure'

[62] M. Bailey, 'The Rabbit and the Medieval East Anglian Economy', *Agricultural History Review*, 36/1 (1988); D. Gould, 'The Distribution of Rabbit Warrens in Medieval England: an east-west divide?', *Landscape History,* 38 (2017).

Rabbits were symbols of both fertility and piety.[63] In a book of hours commissioned for or by Margaret Beaufort around the year 1500, there is an illumination of the burning bush (see fig. 24).[64] Widely recognised as an allusion to the Virgin birth, this version of the image also includes depictions of rabbits, which emerge from the ground beneath it. Beneath the scene the arms of Margaret Beaufort's mother and father are represented. The rabbits, with their connotations spirituality and fecundity, thus provide an ideal accompaniment to an image that celebrates the piety, lineage and fertility of the Beaufort family.

The growing spiritual significance of rabbits in the later middle ages and the early modern period has been highlighted by David and Margarita Stocker, who, through their multi-disciplinary line of enquiry, argue that the rabbit increasingly came to be associated with the salvation of the soul.[65] Highlighting the example of a thirteenth-century wall painting above the door of the parish church in Hailes in Gloucestershire, they argue that the painting, which shows a group of rabbits seeking shelter from a pack of hounds, provides a metaphor for the Christian soul, seeking refuge within the walls of the church. The notion of the rabbit as a valued commodity and symbol of piety is also seen in the exchange of the animals as gifts between religious and secular female elites. In 1502, for example, the abbess of Syon sent Margaret Beaufort's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, gifts of rabbits and quails for her table.[66] The inclusion of warrens and their accompanying pillow mounds within the medieval and early Tudor landscape thus not only proclaimed lordly privilege and favour by the Crown, but could also further enhance the spiritual dimension of the landscape.

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[63] D. Stocker and M. Stocker, 'Sacred Profanity: the Theology of Rabbit Breeding and the Symbolic Landscape of the Warren', *World Archaeology*, 28/2, *Sacred Geography* (Oct., 1996).

[64] Alnwick Castle MS 498. For an analysis of the iconography of this book see, Backhouse, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours at Alnwick Castle'.

[65] Stocker and Stocker, 'Sacred Profanity'.

Dovecotes

Dovecotes are known to have existed at two of the sites discussed in this thesis, namely Greenwich and Collyweston. Since the Norman period, the right to keep doves had been a privilege reserved exclusively for manorial lords, and a consequence of this was that dovecotes came to be associated with lordly prestige and status. Taking the form of either circular or square structures, with distinctive, pointed roofs, elite lords often commissioned dovecotes in highly visible points in the landscape, where they might be easily seen by members of the community and those travelling through the locality.[67] Common locations were on the edge of the residential complex, or on the peripheries between the vernacular and lordly landscapes. At Greenwich, for example, the dovecote Margaret of Anjou commissioned was located next to the main gate, where it would have been highly visible to those on the approach upriver.[68] At Collyweston, the location of the dovecote is less easy to determine, as the only mention of the structure in the documentary evidence is with reference to work on the roof, with no further details given as to its location.[69] One possibility, however, is that it stood on the site now occupied by a converted tithe barn and dovecote. Both the structures bear the monogram of Elizabeth I (E. R.) and a date of either 1570 or 78. On account of this, they have been dated to Elizabeth's reign, yet datestones are not always indicative of new buildings, and it is possible that the dates celebrate renovations to older structures. It is thus not impossible that the dovecote, with its 300 nesting boxes, was a product of Margaret's earlier building programme on the site, or that the later structure stood in the same place as the previous one. If this were the case, the dovecote at Collyweston would have been located on the southern edge of the residential complex, where it would have been visible from the High Street.

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[66] *Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 13. Gifts of food between lay and religious women will be discussed in further detail in chapter five.

[67] Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land*, pp. 106-109.

[68] TNA D28/1/11.

[69] SJC D91.22, p. 32.

Doves and pigeons were valued for their meat and as high-status gifts. Much like the rabbit, the dove also had religious connotations. In late medieval art, the Holy Spirit was often represented as a dove. In Margaret Beaufort's aforementioned book of hours, the hours of the Virgin include an image in which a dove emerges from a flowering tree within moated *hortus conclusus* (see fig. 25).[70] This allusion to the Annunciation includes the arms of Margaret and Edmund Tudor, so as to have the effect, as Janet Backhouse has argued, of drawing a flattering parallel between the mother of god and the mother of the first Tudor monarch.[71] The presence of a dovecote thus not only advertised lordly wealth and privilege, but also contributed to the landscape's spiritual dimension. For female heads of household especially, the dove's Marian connotations may have given the dovecote a heightened gendered significance, with the presence of such a feature within the landscape assisting displays of female authority through reference to the Virgin Mary.

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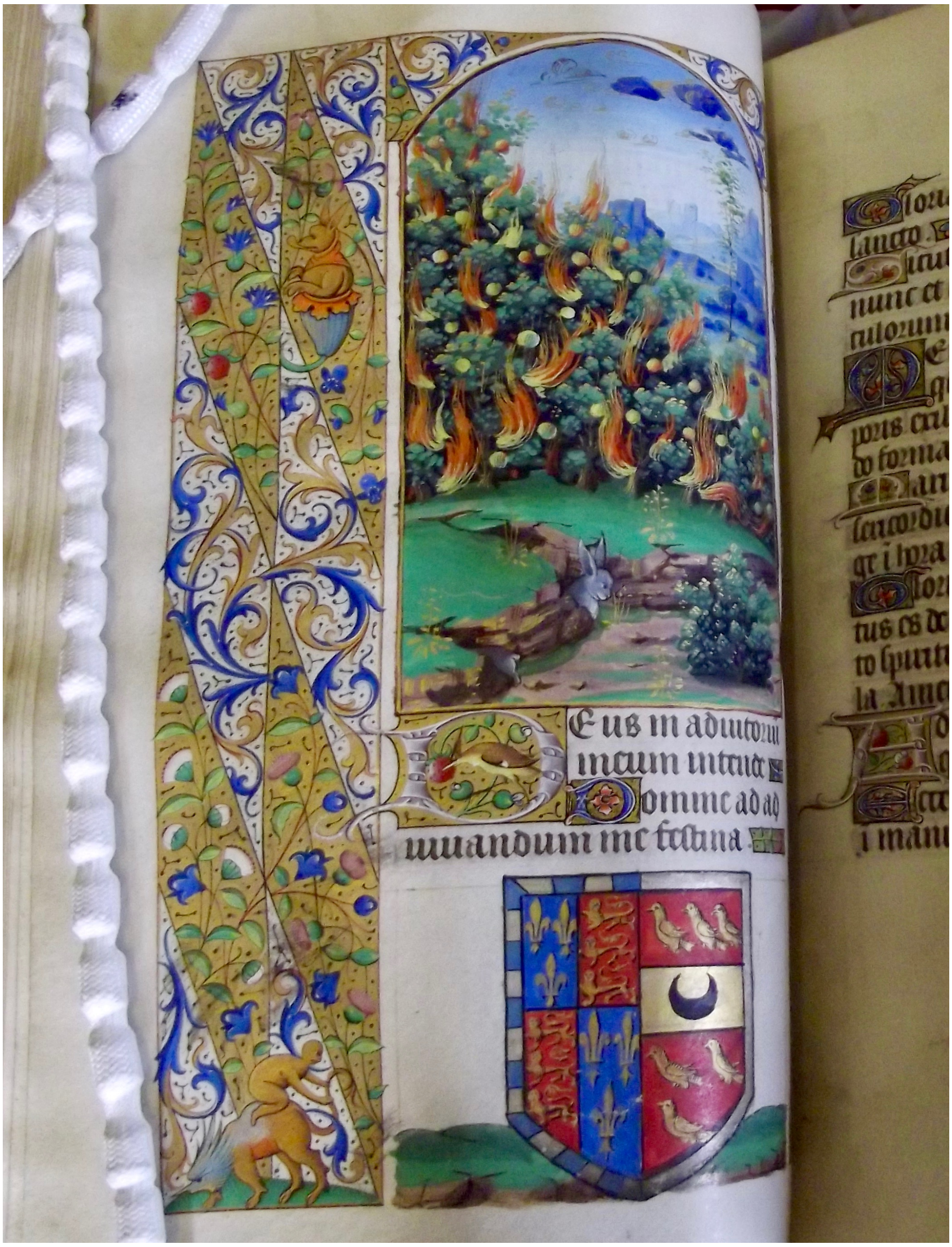
[70] Alnwick Castle MS 498.

[71] Backhouse, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours at Alnwick Castle', p. 339.



Deus in adiutoriu
meum intende
Domine ad ad
iuuandum me festina

Figure 24. Detail from the Hours of the Virgin in Margaret Beaufort's Prayer Book, Alnwick Castle MS 498. Note the rabbits emerging from the ground beneath the burning bush. Image: Author's own by kind permission of Alnwick Castle Archives.

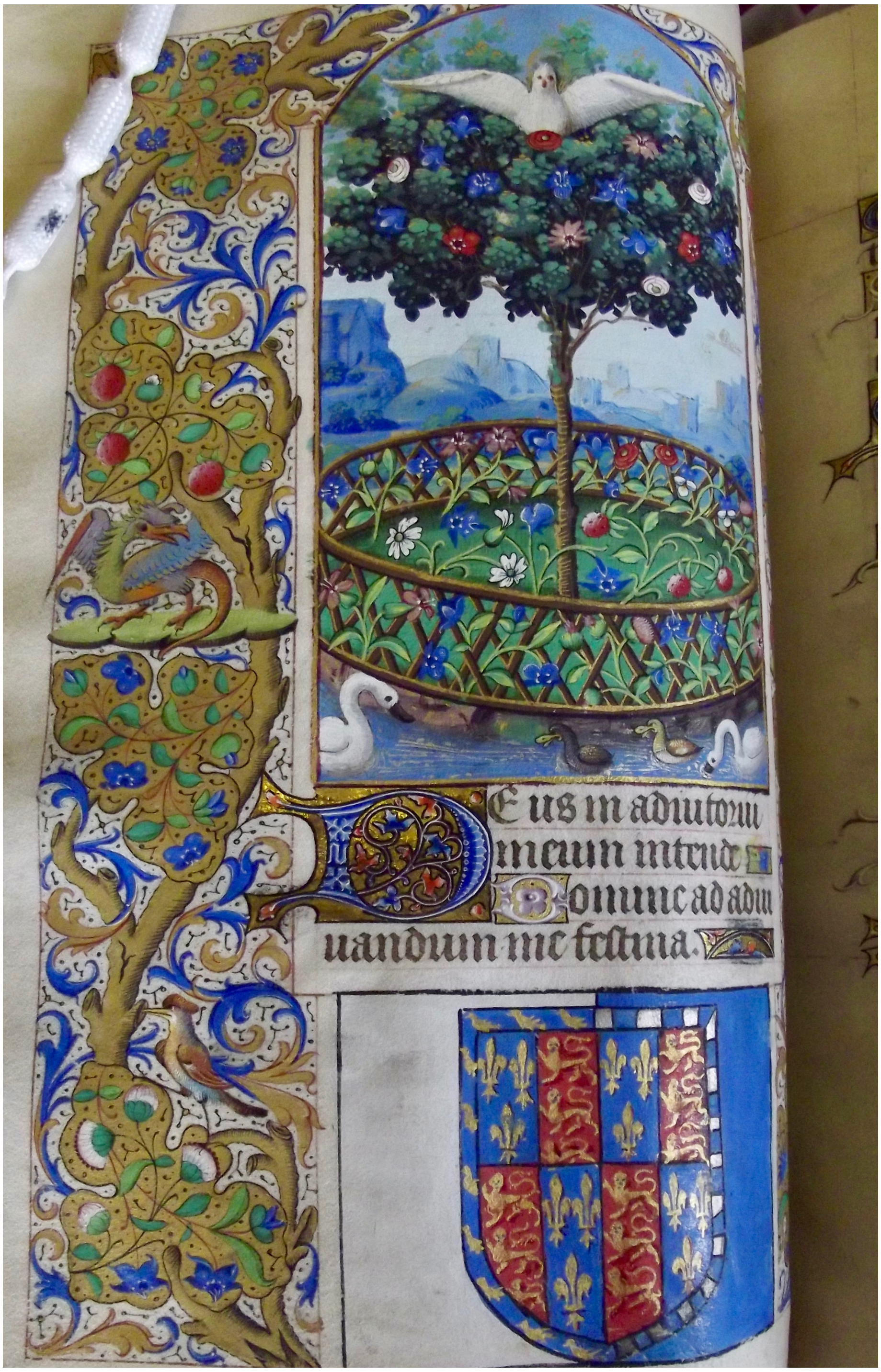

Deus in adiutoriu
meum intende
Domine ad adiu
uandum me festina.

Figure 25. Detail from the Hours of the Virgin in Margaret Beaufort’s Prayer Book, Alnwick Castle MS 498. Note the dove emerging from the moated *hortus conclusus*. Image: Author’s own by kind permission of Alnwick Castle Archives.

Gardens & Orchards

It has long been recognised that one outdoor space in particular, the enclosed garden, was gendered feminine in medieval discourse. Just as deer parks were not exclusively used by men, gardens were not spaces exclusively used by women. Yet, in houses under male lordship, the apartments of queens and noblewomen – as the main introduction to this thesis highlighted —were routinely placed to overlook and provide access into such spaces. In late medieval art and literature, the garden is also associated with the chaste female body, with the Virgin Mary and the female saints often presented in and likened to such settings. The enclosure of gardens and their placement within the innermost reaches of the elite domestic complex has resulted in a prevailing view that such spaces were sites of female entrapment and passivity, and as spaces in which women's movements were policed, contained and surveyed by men.[72] Amanda Richardson has also argued that the contrasting views from male and female apartments reflected and reinforced contemporary gender ideologies, with women's outlook onto enclosed, fertile spaces closely linked to feminine concepts of motherhood and piety.[73] In this respect, enclosed gardens have been interpreted as tangible expressions of the imbalance of power between elite men and women, and as part of a larger landscape designed to signal male power and control. Yet, as we have already seen, enclosure was not necessarily a sign of female inferiority.

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[72] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, esp. Chapter 6; R. Magnani, 'Policing the Queer: Narratives of Dissent and Containment in Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale'*, *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 50/1.

[73] Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces', pp. 148, 163.

At Greenwich, Margaret of Anjou commissioned two main gardens, a great garden and a little garden, both of which had their own gardeners.[74] The first of these was located next to the great parlour and also Margaret's own apartments, which were located above.[75] It was planted with vines, and a certain John Aleyn was paid for bringing six loads of rails for the purpose of training them.[76] The smaller of the two gardens was newly created during Margaret's ownership of the property and enclosed with a hedge. Within, a paved parlour with bay windows and a tiled floor was created for Margaret's personal use, and another new lodging was constructed and glazed with three arms of the king and queen. The lodging was also fitted with two beds carried from London, and these were reserved for the use of the king's half-brothers, Edmund and Owen Tudor. While the reception rooms of Margaret's apartments gave views from a gallery onto the great garden, Margaret's bedchamber enjoyed views onto the privy garden. Aside from these two gardens, there were also great and small vegetable gardens (orto).[77] The larger of these two spaces was paved and enclosed. The spatial arrangement created by Margaret of Anjou conforms to a feminine spatial ideology common to queen consorts in houses under male lordship, whereby views onto and access into gardens were commonplace.

The gardens at Collyweston were seemingly the most elaborate of all those discussed in this study. Created over a five-year period, they were located to the west and south of the residence, where significant garden earthworks are still visible today. In 1500, a new garden was created, with sand, turf and rails carried to the residence for the construction of various alleys and walkways.[78] Two years later, new side walls were made for the great garden.[79] One of these abutted the washing house and was seven-foot high and twelve feet long. The wall on the opposite side was the same length, but only two feet high with a wooden partition or trellis surmounting it.[80] This arrangement most likely allowed views from the space onto the surrounding landscape. By 1504, the aforementioned gardens had been created next to the ponds in the park, and a further set had also been constructed for cultivating and supplying produce to the household. Enclosed gardens were made for the cook and kitchens, while a garden for the saucery (the office responsible for supplying sauces to the table in the great household) was created next to the woodyard.[81] Margaret's personal physician, William Hylmer also had his own garden, which was connected to the 'nether' or outer court via a door.[82] Aside from these functional gardens, others were also made for the enjoyment of particular groups and individuals. In 1505, a new garden was made for Margaret's almsmen and women, which was again enclosed and entered via a door.[83] Margaret's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, had her own garden, which could be accessed via a stairway from her personal chambers. These gardens were planted with a rich array of plants and herbs, including roses, violets, wood betony, rosemary, thyme, strawberries and saffron.

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[74] TNA D28/1/11; Cotton in ed. Myers, *The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou,* pp. 416-17.
[75] TNA D28/1/11.
[76] Ibid. p. 34.
[77] TNA D28/1/11.

The variety of gardens at Collyweston suggests that these spaces served both recreational and utilitarian purposes. The plants grown in the gardens there would have formed part of the conspicuous display of Margaret's household. Saffron in particular, as Christopher Dyer has highlighted, was in a league of its own when it came to edible luxuries, being extremely expensive and prized.[84] The sheer amount of space needed to grow saffron plants was considerable and approximately fifty of the flowers were needed to produce one tablespoon of the spice. The setting of saffron in the gardens and orchards at Collyweston was a time consuming and costly operation, taking two weeks to carry out and involving a total of ten workmen.[85] The expense and time taken over the implementation of saffron within Margaret's landscape was thus a highly visible statement of the countess's wealth and monopoly on resources, which showcased her purchasing power and belonging to an aristocratic elite.

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[78] SJC D102.9, p.55; D91.13, p. 61, D91.22, p. 16.
[79] SJC D91.14, p. 133.
[80] Ibid.
[81] SJC D91.13, pp. 45, 49.
[82] SJC D102.9, pp. 175, 177, D91.13, pp. 45, 104.
[83] SJC D91.22, p.17.

An orchard was already established at Collyweston by 1500, although another 'new' orchard was created in 1504.[86] The first of these orchards was planted with apple trees and herbs, and both were enclosed. A certain Friar Lovid was called upon to gather sets for the gardens and orchards and the parson of the nearby settlement of Blatherwyke was called in to advise on the planting of apple trees.[87] Margaret's enlistment of the help of religious advisors suggests that she may have been aware of the orchard's spiritual connotations. In *The Orcherd of Syon*, a text devised for the nuns at Syon Abbey on the outskirts of London, the allegory of an orchard is presented as a structural framework for the nuns' devotions.[88] The thirty-five chapters of the work are re-imagined as thirty-five alleyways through which the nuns might walk, and the author encourages the female readers to observe and enjoy the flowers and herbs, which represent the words of the text. Margaret's close links to Syon Abbey and the influence of textual ideas on the women's use of space will be discussed further in chapters four and five, yet it is important to note here that the orchard had an especial significance for female devotion, and was closely linked to ideas of female spirituality and sexuality. The above discussion, for example, has already highlighted Christine de Pizan's comparison of the female sex to an orchard in need of a wall. In the same work, Christine also recounts the story of the 'virtuous, chaste and beautiful' Florence of Rome, who one night falls asleep in the orchard and receives a vision of the Virgin Mary, who tells her to gather the herb that grows beneath her head and to make her living as a healer.[89] The associations between orchards and gardens, the Virgin Mary, and women's roles as healers will be considered in further detail in chapter five, yet it is important to note here that orchards were spaces associated with female piety in the late medieval imagination. The second of Margaret Beaufort's orchards contained a 'little house', the location of which, on the 'further side' of the enclosure, most likely provided a space of refuge from the busyness of the household and an ideal setting for prayer and contemplation.[90]

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[84] C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 63. See also V. Schier, 'Probing the Mystery of the Use of Saffron in Medieval Nunneries', *The Senses and Society*, 5/1 (2010).

[85] SJC D91.13, pp. 74-6 lists nine labourers employed for the setting of saffron heads. The tenth is John Burton of Linton who appears to have supervised the work over the course of two weeks.

[86] SJC D102.9, pp. 55; D91.13, pp. 61, 13, 76; D91.22, pp. 16, 38; D91.20, p. 175

[87] SJC D102.9, p. 55, D91.13, pp. 61, 13, 76, D91.22, pp. 16, 38, D91.20, pp. 175.

[88] Catherine of Siena, 'The Orcherd of Syon', ed. P. Hodgson and G. M. Liegey, *EETS* (London, 1966). For female readers of *The Orcherd* see C. A. Grisé, '"In the Blessid Vyneȝerd of oure Holy Saucour": Female Religious Readers and Textual Reception in the *Myroure of Oure Ladye* and the *Orcherd of Syon*', in M. Glasscoe (ed), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, 6* (Cambridge, 1999).

The evidence for gardens and orchards at the other three sites considered in this study comes from later surveys. The 1538 description of Tiverton made eleven years after Katherine Courtenay's death, for example, describes the castle as having 'fair gardens', yet no comment is made regarding their location.[91] The fact that the rest of the description is concerned with detailing the house's outer appearance, however, indicates that these gardens stood within the immediate vicinity of the residence. Payments to gardeners in Katherine's household documents indicate that she kept gardens at her lesser residences. A payment for the digging of the ground at Columbjohn for planting mustard seed, for example, suggests that these served a utilitarian purpose, supplying produce for the household.[92]

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[89] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 161.
[90] SJC D91.13, pp. 14, 16, 65, 80, 104
[91] TNA E 315/384/1.

An inventory of Warblington made in 1632 describes a fair green court in front of the house, which contained two acres of land, along with a 'very spacious garden with pleasant walks adjoining the house containing to acres of ground'.[93] If the gardens were located next to Margaret's apartments and the great hall, as was usually the case for residences of this period, then they would have been located on the eastern side of the complex. The inventory also details groves of trees and two orchards, although fails to offer details of their location. While the inventory was taken approximately one hundred years after Margaret Pole's death and therefore must be treated with caution, it is evident that many of the other features described accord with those mentioned in the building documents relating to Margaret Pole's creation of the building and its landscape, and it is thus not unreasonable to suggest that this was the original location of the gardens at Warblington. Indeed, Margaret appears to have had a fondness for gardens. At her London residence, The Erber, she had her own 'place' or arbour reserved in the Little Garden there, and her Great Chamber overlooked the garden, in a style reminiscent of the abovementioned arrangement made for Margaret of Anjou at Greenwich some years earlier.[94]

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[92] TNA SP 1/28.

[93] PCRO MS 906A.

[94] Kingsford, 'On Some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period', p. 30.

Little is known about the gardens and orchards at Ewelme. A record of 1649 stipulates that the orchard located to the west of the residence contained ten identical fishponds, which survived until 1817 and are represented in a map from that year.[95] It is thus impossible to know whether gardens and orchards were part of the spatial arrangement of outdoor space when Alice Chaucer was in residence at Ewelme. As a patron of John Lydgate, the granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer and an owner of Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies*, however, Alice would have been well aware of the elite, religious and Marian connotations of gardens and orchards in contemporary discourse.

Watery Settings

Watery settings were also common to late medieval high-status sites.[96] The discussion has already highlighted the prominence of water to the projection of status, with several of the residences considered in this study located close to rivers or enclosed by moats. From the thirteenth century onwards, elites also began to surround their residences with ponds, fountains and large expanses of water for ornamental effect, a trend that intensified towards the end of the middle ages and one which continued into the early modern period.[97] Large expanses of water could enhance the grandeur of the house at their centre and create elongated approach routes, thus enhancing the impression of lordly magnificence. Frequently cited examples of sites where water was used to this effect include Bodiam Castle in East Sussex, Kenilworth in Warwickshire and Leeds

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[95] VCH *Oxon.* XVIII, p. 205.

[96] Taylor, 'Medieval Ornamental Landscapes'; Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate*, pp. 19-54.

[97] C. K. Currie, 'Fishponds as Garden Features, c. 1550- 1750', *Garden History*, 18/1 (Spring, 1990).

Castle in Kent.[98] The consumption of freshwater fish also carried connotations of aristocratic status.[99]

The religious symbolism of both water and fish were also widely recognised in late medieval society.[100] Bishop's palaces were commonly set within watery landscapes, as evidenced by the examples of Stow in Lincolnshire and Somersham in Cambridgeshire, the latter of which Gerald of Wales described in the as 'delightfully surrounded by woods and ponds'.[101] Chris Woolgar has also indicated that fish consumption was not only linked to an elite diet, but to a virtuous, Christian one.[102]

Water also had especial associations with the feminine.[103] In contemporary medical thought, women's bodies were understood to be cold and moist, in contrast to those of men, which were hot and dry.[104] This chapter began with the example of the literary Melusine, a water spirit and the legendary founder of the house of Lusignan, who each Saturday retired to her chamber to bathe, where she would take on her half-human, half-serpent form. The work of Harriet Howes has also recently shown that late medieval religious writers frequently associated women with water.[105] A characteristic feature of late medieval devotional texts is their appeal to their female readers to respond emotively to the suffering of Christ and his mother through their tears.[106] For Roberta Gilchrist, the close connection between female spirituality and water provides one explanation for the watery topographies of nunneries.[107]

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[98] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, p. 79; C. Coulson, 'Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex', in C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (eds), *Medieval Knighthood, 4: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990* (Woodbridge, 1992).

[99] D. Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, 'Fish Consumption in Medieval England', in C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds), *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006); C. Dyer, 'The Consumption of Freshwater Fish in Medieval England', in Idem, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994); Currie, 'Fishponds', pp. 23-4; Johnson, 'Moated Sites', p. 248.

[100] Dallas, 'Elite Landscapes in Late Medieval and Early Modern East Anglia', p. 21.

[101] Taylor, 'Medieval Ornamental Landscapes'; Everson, "Delightfully Surrounded by Woods and Ponds".

[102] C. M. Woolgar, 'Food and the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36/1 (2010).

[103] Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate*, p. 46.

[104] For an overview see K. Perk, 'Medicine and Natural Philosophy: Naturalistic Traditions', in J. Bennet and R. Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013).

[105] H. E. Howes, 'In Search of Clearer Water: An Exploration of Water Imagery in Late Medieval Devotional Prose Addressed to Women' (PhD Thesis, University of London, 2016).

Water was a major component of Margaret Beaufort's landscape at Collyweston. The discussion in this chapter has already indicated that within the park, there were two sizable sets of ponds ('c' and 'd' in fig. 21). The survey shows that a spring-fed pond supplied water to the three upper ponds, and that these in turn supplied water to the lower ponds via artificially created streams. Margaret did not create this watery landscape from scratch. The building accounts relating to her predecessor, Ralph Lord Cromwell's ownership of Collyweston shows that a water system had already been established by the time Margaret acquired the residence.[108] These earlier documents record that two days were spent planting each end of an aqueduct with willows.[109] This aqueduct is most likely the northernmost of the four runnels shown on the RCHME survey, as this is the only stream which does not originate from the three upper ponds newly created by Margaret in 1504 (see fig. 21). Margaret's creation of these additional ponds and the runnels, however, shows that she took active measures to enhance the watery setting of the Collyweston landscape. One of the runnels Margaret created is recorded as spanning the length of a twenty-three acre field and was six-feet wide and three-feet deep. The new summerhouse next to the ponds in the lower part of the park must have made for a particularly impressive setting. Indeed, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, elites increasingly created garden lodges and banqueting houses that stood in close proximity to water, as typified by the gloriette at Leeds Castle in Kent, or the Pleasaunce in the Marsh created by Margaret's grandfather, John of Gaunt, at Kenilworth in Warwickshire.[110] The ponds and runnels at Collyweston would have also been complemented by the river, which bordered Margaret's Collyweston pleasure ground to the west.

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[106] Ibid, p. 13; E. Ross, '"She wept and cried right loud for sorrow and pain": Suffering, the Spiritual Journey, and Women's Experience in Late Medieval Mysticism', in U. Wiethaus (eds), *Maps of Flesh and Light: Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics* (Syracuse, NY, 1992); V. Olison, '"Woman, Why Weepest Thou?" Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary and the Transformative Power of Holy Tears in Late Medieval Devotional Painting', in M. A. Erhardt, and A. M. Morris, *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Leiden and Boston, 2012).

[107] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 66.

[108] H. B. Sharp, 'Some Mid Fifteenth-Century Small-Scale Building Repairs', *Vernacular Architecture*, 12 (1989).

[109] Ibid.

In contrast to the extensive watery landscape created at Collyweston, the evidence for large-scale watery landscapes at the other residences is slight. While Ewelme, Tiverton and Warblington were enclosed within moats, there is little evidence for the manipulation of water features to aesthetic effect. The interior landscape at Tiverton is simply described as having 'fair gardens', yet no information is given as to whether these gardens contained water features. The 1632 survey of Warblington describes a 'fair fishpond' in the vicinity of the landscape.[111] This may have stood within the park, as in the eighteenth-century tithe map of Warblington, a field named 'pond meadow' is located to the east of the residence, indicating that there were most likely ponds in the park (see fig. 23).

The evidence considered here suggests that the women in this study adopted the late medieval fashion for watery landscapes with varying levels of enthusiasm. While moats and/or fishponds were most likely a feature of all the landscapes considered in this study, the large-scale watery landscape found at Collyweston appears to have been a unique case. Margaret's use of water to ornamental effect would not only have enhanced the magnificence of the setting, but would have also complemented a larger landscape which appears to have been at least in part devised to construct the countess's authority in spiritual terms, a point to which we will return in chapter five. While on the one hand, Margaret's access to freshwater fish and impressive watery settings showcased her wealth and magnificence and allowed her to partake in the rituals and conspicuous display enjoyed by her male contemporaries, on the other, it provided her with a spiritual setting akin to that enjoyed by her religious female counterparts, thus suiting the construction of her authority as a pious matriarch.

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[110] For Leeds see, J. A. Ashbee, "The Chamber called Gloriette': Living and Leisure in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Castles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 157 (2004). For Kenilworth see M. W. Thompson, 'Reclamation of the Waste Ground for the Pleasance at Kenilworth Castle', *Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1964); Idem, 'Two levels of the Mere at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965); E. Jamieson and R. Lane, 'Monuments, Mobility and Medieval Perceptions of Designed Landscapes: The Pleasance, Kenilworth', *Medieval Archaeology*, 59/1 (2015).

[111] PCRO, 906A.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that late medieval female lords, much like their literary counterpart, Melusine, actively altered and shaped the landscape for the projection of their power and authority. Building on the discussion of distance and separation in chapter one, this chapter has demonstrated that enclosure and separation was a spatial ideology common to the houses of male and female elites in fifteenth and early-sixteenth century England. While enclosure has long been understood as a marker of power for men and of passivity for women, it is apparent that both male and female lords enclosed their residences in order to project messages of power within the local landscape. Enclosure could also take different forms and carry multiple meanings. While the ramparts and curtain walls at Tiverton and Warblington conveyed messages of martial authority, the enclosure of deer parks spoke of Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole's wealth and status as courtly elites, and their ability to alter the landscape for the purposes of their own leisurely pursuits. The women's alterations to landscape also showcased their power by transforming the ways in which local inhabitants and those travelling through the local landscape experienced and perceived it. This is most evident at Collyweston, where Margaret Beaufort's creation of a park and elaborate water gardens to the west of the house appears to have altered routes through the settlement. While enclosure was a spatial ideology common to both men and women, however, it is evident that the act of enclosing the residence may have taken on a heightened gendered significance when the principal occupant was female. While the evidence on the ground suggests that there was very little difference in terms of the physical arrangement of lordly landscapes created and inhabited by men and women, it is evident that contemporary associations between female sexuality and enclosure may have shaped the ways in which the women, and their contemporaries, perceived and thought about female elite landscapes. While it has long been assumed that enclosure was a marker of female passivity, the discussion here has shown that enclosure was also presented in contemporary thought as a symbol of female strength and virtue. By enclosing their residences with walls, moats and fences, the women were thus able to harness and utilise both the masculine and feminine associations of enclosure to their advantage, fashioning themselves as pious matriarchs and lordly elites.

This chapter has also established that all five women in this study created or owned elite landscapes or pleasure grounds. While the women are visible to varying degrees as shapers of the landscape environs around their residences, it is evident that they all altered outdoor space in order to mark their privileges and to suit their personal needs. Through their creation and ownership of pleasure grounds including enclosed gardens, orchards, warrens, dovecotes, fishponds and watery settings, the women showcased their economic, social and spiritual privileges in a manner akin to their male counterparts. These settings offered stages for entertainment and hospitality, provided edible luxuries for the elite table and for gift-giving, and contemplative settings for spirituality. A discussion of moats and deer parks has also shown that a number of the women, in particular Alice Chaucer, Margaret Pole and Katherine Courtenay, exploited a historic ordering of the landscape or created deliberately old-fashioned features for the projection of their own, and their families' authority. While male elites during this period also employed archaic architectural styles and exploited the historic ordering of the landscape for the projection of their lordship, it is possible that female builders were especially keen to showcase their familial connections through spatial and material references to the past, as scholarship on later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century female builders has shown that women often adopted deliberately old-fashioned styles for the preservation of their own and their families' memories. The idea that late medieval women celebrated the memories of their families through a domestic architectural and landscape context also aligns with scholarship on gender and memory in the medieval period, which has shown that women played key roles in preserving their families' memories through oral testimony and the commemoration of the dead.[112]

The discussion has also shown that while pleasure grounds were in their entirety appurtenances to male lordship, the meanings of individual settings within them were not singular or static. Indeed, this chapter has established that many of these settings carried both masculine and feminine connotations. While orchards and watery settings spoke of lordly abundance and magnificence, they were also associated with female piety, chastity and virtue. In the case of Margaret Beaufort in particular, we see a landscape cultivated for the display of both royal magnificence and for the advertisement feminine spirituality. While the summerhouse and deer park gave Margaret settings in which to showcase her wealth and status through entertainment and lordly rituals, the watery landscape and the little house in the orchard provided ideal settings for prayer and contemplation.

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[112] See footnote 29 of chapter one. Also E. M. C. Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Basingstoke, 1999); Eadem, *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300* (London, 2013); J. Nelson, 'Thematic Reviews: Gender, Memory and Social Power', *Gender and History*, 12/3 (November, 2000).

This chapter began by arguing that while Melusine's building projects – towns, roads and fortified towers- cannot in any way be described as distinctly feminine, they are nevertheless framed with reference to her maternal female body. The reader's knowledge of the direct link between Melusine's motherhood and her role in shaping the landscape thus guides our interpretation of her place-making. This chapter has argued that this was also the case for real late medieval women. While the enclosure of great residences and the creation of pleasure grounds or elite landscapes was a spatial ideology of lordship shared by elite men and women, it is possible that the women's actions took on a heightened gendered significance in light of idealised contemporary gender ideologies that equated enclosure and certain aspects of the landscape, such as gardens, orchards and watery settings, with female piety and chastity. While the evidence on the ground suggests that there was no physical difference in the ways in which the women expressed their authority through the landscape, it is evident that elite women may have exploited the ambivalent gendering of particular settings within those landscapes to their advantage.

Chapter Three: Within the Walls: Ground Plans of Female Authority

‘So you see, my dear daughter, that you alone of all women have been granted the honour of building the City of Ladies. In order to lay the foundations, you shall draw fresh water from us three as from a clear spring. We will bring you building materials which will be stronger and more durable than solid, uncemented marble. Your city will be unparalleled in splendour and will last for all eternity’.[1]

The subject of late medieval and early Tudor women as patrons of domestic architecture is a sorely neglected area of historical scholarship. This is especially surprising given recent forays into the subject by scholars of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] The greater appeal of early modern female patrons finds some explanation in the greater and richer source material for the later period, and as Anne Laurence has also pointed out, historians are more inclined to write about sites where architectural remains are still visible.[3] The lack of attention given to female architectural patronage in late medieval England can equally be attributed to a prevailing assumption among historians that unless there is substantial evidence to suggest otherwise, the patron of a castle or great residence must have been a man.[4] In cases where they are attentive to women's architectural patronage, historians are also only really interested in women who commissioned 'exceptional' buildings, or those who diverged from contemporary norms. The unusual ground plan of Bess of Hardwick's residence at Hardwick Hall, for instance, or the deliberately medieval style of Anne Clifford's residences at Brougham and Appleby, have been lauded as prime examples of women's agency through architectural patronage, reflecting the priorities and ambitions of their female patrons. Such approaches, however, suggest that gender is only a relevant category for analysis when there is evidence for a difference between the ways in which men and women did things. This chapter adopts the standpoint that while evidence for differences on gendered grounds is important, so too is evidence for gender similarities. A woman commissioning a space traditionally thought of as masculine, for example, is just as revealing of the gender norms of a given society and female experiences as an example of a woman who defied them. The conclusions drawn from such studies are also often lacking in depth. All too often, it is merely asserted that the woman was either a forceful patron or simply not interested in architectural fashions and trends, with little thought given to how such conclusions might be contextualised as part of broader discussions of women's roles and the exercise of power in their contemporary societies.

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[1] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 12.

[2] These discussions have mostly centred on Anne Clifford and Bess of Hardwick. See Friedman, ‘Architecture, Authority and the Gaze’; S. French, ‘A Widow Building in Elizabethan England: Bess of Hardwick at Hardwick Hall’, in A. Levy (ed), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003); G. White, ‘“That Whyche ys Nedefoulle and Nesesary’: The Nature and Purpose of the Original Furnishings and Decoration of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire’, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2. Vols, University of Warwick, 2005); Goodall, ‘Lady Anne Clifford and the Architectural Pursuit of Nobility’; A. M. Myers, ‘Construction Sites: The Architecture of Anne Clifford’s Diaries’, *ELH*, 73/3 (2006); E. Chew, ‘“Repaired by me to my exceeding great Cost and Charges:’ Anne Clifford and the Uses of Architecture”, in H. Hills (ed), *Gender and Architecture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003); Eadem, ‘Si(gh)ting the Mistress of the House: Anne Clifford and Architectural Space’ in S. Shifrin (ed), *Women as Sites of Culture: Women’s Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot, 2002); T. Cocke, ‘Repairer of the Breach’, *Country Life* (25th October 1990). See also the collected essays in H. Hills (ed), *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003).

[3] A. Laurence, ‘Women Using Building in Seventeenth-Century England: A Question of Sources?’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (Dec., 2003).

Architectural historians' preoccupation with aesthetic value has also caused them to dismiss female architectural patronage as inferior due to women's limited exposure to continental architecture and architectural treatises.[5] While it is broadly true that elite women were on the whole less mobile than their male counterparts, the suggestion that medieval and early modern women were part of a cultural backwater on account of their sex is both misleading and inaccurate. The fact that women commissioned such works in itself indicates that they instructed builders and craftsmen, thus exerting considerable agency in determining the appearance of the finished product.[6]

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[4] Ibid, p. 301.

[5] For a discussion see Laurence, 'Women Using Building in Seventeenth-Century England'.

The women in this study were far from ignorant of continental ideas. Margaret of Anjou and Alice Chaucer, for example, had first-hand knowledge of the French court. While the other three women in this study spent their lives mostly or entirely on English soil, this does not mean that they were unaware of prevailing architectural fashions and trends. All the women were major and longstanding players at the English royal court, where they encountered the latest developments in music, art, literature and architecture. The reign of Katherine Courtenay's father, Edward IV, for example, saw the introduction of Burgundian style architecture into England, while Margaret Beaufort commissioned her developments to Collyweston Palace at the same time as her son was building his architecturally innovative palace at Richmond.[7] Chapter one highlighted that the fine craftsmanship of Margaret Pole's chantry chapel within Christchurch Priory has been attributed to the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano on account of its sophisticated design.[8] Torrigiano has been accredited with introducing renaissance architecture into England and was also responsible for designing Margaret Beaufort's tomb in Westminster Abbey.[9] While there is now a rich body of literature that engages with women's patronage of literature and the visual arts, scholars remain oddly silent regarding medieval and early Tudor women's patronage of domestic architecture. To quote one scholar, 'men are more apparent as builders of castles, whereas women owners of illuminated prayer books'.[10]

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[6] Ibid, p. 301.

[7] S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 31; M. Vale, 'England and the Burgundian Dominions: Some Cultural Influences and Comparisons', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes*, 35 (1995).

[8] VCH *Hants. and the Isle of Wight,* V (London, 1912), p. 103.

[9] For Torrigiano see P. Lindley, "Una Grande Opera Al Mio Re': Gilt-Bronze Effigies in England from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143/1 (1990).

There are undoubtedly a number of challenges to studying women's domestic building in pre-modern England. The uneven source survival and the absence or much-altered state of many of the buildings makes such investigations far from straightforward. Yet, biographical approaches to pre-modern domestic architecture can be problematic regardless of whether the patron was a man or a woman. While there is admittedly more evidence for male castle builders than female ones, castles and great houses of the later medieval period were rarely built in one phase, but were instead developed, altered and rebuilt over time. Locating agency can thus often be challenging, even when gender is not the category of analysis. Of the five residences addressed in this study, Margaret Pole's house at Warblington is the only house known to have been constructed in one phase. It is possible that Alice Chaucer and William de la Pole were responsible for re-building Ewelme Manor in its entirety, although this is not known for certain. Documentary evidence is of paramount importance for attributing particular architectural features to specific patrons. For this study, there are fortunately surviving building accounts for three of the residences addressed, namely Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington.[11] The absence of such documents for Ewelme and Tiverton make it harder to detect evidence of Katherine Courtenay's and Alice Chaucer's influence, although as will be shown, this is not to say that the women did not have any input in the physical design of the residences. It must also be remembered that regardless of whether the women made an active contribution to the fabric of the buildings or not, their inhabitation of those spaces involved active choices and thus the spatial layout of those buildings took on meaning for the women's demonstrations of their own authority, as will be discussed further in the final chapter of this thesis.

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[10] L. Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III, 1216-1377* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 7.

[11] See main introduction, p. 23.

This chapter takes the layouts of the five residences as its principal focus. Given that most of the houses discussed in this study have been subject to very little scholarly enquiry, this chapter discusses each of the houses in turn, in order to establish their spatial layouts at the point when the women were living in them. Key points for consideration include the women's visibility as shapers of interior space, the materials they used to construct their houses, and the placement of their personal rooms within the domestic complex. The previous chapter argued that while an ideology of lordship, as expressed through outdoor space, was shared by elite men and women, the emphasis on enclosure may have taken on a heightened gendered significance when the principal occupant was a woman. This chapter considers the extent to which the spatial arrangements of great houses presided over by elite men and women differed, and what this reveals about the gendering of authority in the late medieval great household. In addressing this topic, this chapter marks the first scholarly attempt to seriously engage with elite women's domestic patronage in late medieval England, and to explore an ideology of secular female lordship as it was articulated through domestic space.

The Late Medieval Great Residence: Expected Layouts

In order to know whether the five women conformed to or deviated from a 'masculine' spatial ideology of lordship, it is necessary to first establish the usual layouts of great residences headed by elite men. While factors such as personal preferences, the location of the residence and the availability of materials determined the appearance of individual sites, it is fair to say that the rooms one would expect to find in the high-status domestic complex and their layout had more or less crystallised by the later middle ages.[12]

The great residence was a tangible and highly visible statement of the (usually male) owner's wealth, status and lineage. During the later middle ages, the shift away from a largely itinerant lifestyle saw elite lords focus their attention on a fixed number of residences. The attention given to a select number of sites warranted their expansion, and over the course of the later middle ages, the residences of elite lords increasingly grew into sites of comfort and luxury. This is most obviously evidenced by the emergence of single-purpose chambers, as well as accommodation blocks for guests and also the more the more permanent members of household staff. From the thirteenth century onwards, great residences were commonly framed around either one or two quadrangular courtyards, depending on the size of the household. By the fifteenth century, however, the double courtyard design had become the preferred blueprint for the great residence, with the earliest known double courtyard plan being Dartington Hall in Devon, which was built around 1388.[13] Other examples include Caister Castle, built by John Fastolf in Norfolk (1432-45) and Wingfield Manor, built by Ralph Lord Cromwell in Derbyshire (c. 1439-56).[14] The concept of a residence framed around two courtyards owed its origins to earlier the earlier defensive function of fortresses, in which the outer courtyard had provided a protective buffer for the inner sanctum of the residence. In the late medieval household, the outer courtyard continued to be the more permeable or readily accessible of the two and contained the functional offices and ancillary buildings necessary for the day-to-day running of the household. Access to the inner courtyard, by contrast, was more tightly regulated and this area contained the more ceremonial rooms, such as the householder's personal apartments, the great hall and the household chapel. Occasionally, the separation between the inner courtyard and the rest of the domestic complex was made even more pronounced by the former's enclosure within a moat, and the previous chapter showed that this was the case at Ewelme and Warblington. Other late medieval houses conforming to this spatial arrangement were Sir Edward Dalyngrigge's castle at Bodiam and Sir Roger Fiennes' manor house at Herstmonceux (both in East Sussex).

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[12] For an overview of these developments see, Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*; M. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London, 1965); C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London, 1999).

[13] C. K. Currie, N. S. Rushton and J. Allen, 'Dartington Hall and the Development of the Double-Courtyard Design in English Late Medieval High-Status Houses', *Archaeological Journal*, 161 (2004); A. Emery, 'Late Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', p. 151.

[14] Emery, 'Late Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', p. 151. For Caister see, A. Hawkyard, 'Sir John Fastolf's 'Gret Mansion by me Late Edified': Caister Castle, Norfolk', in L. Clark, *The Fifteenth Century V: Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2005). For Wingfield see A. Emery, 'Ralph, Lord Cromwell's Manor at Wingfield (1439-c. 1450): its construction, design and influence', *Archaeological Journal*, 142 (1985).

The focal point of the inner courtyard was the great hall.[15] From the Anglo- Saxon period, this had been the central hub of the household, where the lord received guests and where official business was conducted. In the earlier middle ages the hall was a physically separate building, yet by the end of the period it became fully incorporated into the residential complex, being adjoined to the services (i.e. the kitchen, buttery and pantry) at its lower end and to the householder's personal chambers or apartments at the upper or dais end (see fig. 26).[16] The great hall's importance as a site of lordly hospitality was conveyed through its position within the domestic complex. Located directly opposite the gatehouse, it was immediately visible to anyone entering the residence and was thus an architectural statement of an open and welcoming household.[17]

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[15] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London, 1978), chapter two.
[16] Wood, *The English Medieval House*, pp. 49-66.

The concept of hall as a masculine space is widely attested. A. C. Spearing states that the great hall was a space where 'the household, the court, the civilized community, assemble[d]; it [was] also where the lord and his council exercise[d] their public power, stating law, delivering judgment, presiding over the communal meal, taking political decisions'.[18] Amanda Richardson has argued that during the later middle ages, the hall's association with a martial ethic intensified, a point evidenced by the use of the hall as a meeting place for chivalric brotherhoods, and also due to its popularity as a setting for male competition in romance literature.[19] In 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight' and 'Sir Degrevant', for example, the hall is couched as a site of competition between the tales' male protagonists. In her analysis of Hardwick Hall, built for Bess of Hardwick, countess of Shrewsbury in the mid-sixteenth century, Alice Friedman argues that Bess purposefully altered the typical ground plan of the great hall so as to assert her own distinctive requirements and role as a female patron.[20]

The hall continued to be the visual and symbolic heart of the great residence until the late sixteenth century, yet the later medieval period saw the lord and his family increasingly withdraw into the more secluded rooms adjoining its upper end.[21] The evidence for this is the proliferation of additional rooms devised for the lord's personal use. On the ground floor, rooms such as parlours, for example, became increasingly commonplace, and their location beyond the dais provided the householder with a more intimate setting for the entertainment of guests. Likewise, the later medieval period saw a growing tendency for heads of household to dine and receive guests in the more secluded setting of their personal rooms. While the space reserved for the lord's own use had once comprised a single first-floor room known as a solar or great chamber, by the fifteenth century, this had in larger houses expanded into a suite or apartment of rooms. In the grandest of residences, this suite was based on the royal living arrangements, and comprised a series of three horizontally arranged, interconnected chambers, namely a waiting chamber, great chamber and bedchamber (see fig. 27). In the early-sixteenth century, dining chambers also became an increasingly popular addition. At Sir William Fitzwilliam's Cowdray Castle (West Sussex) and Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham's castle at Thornbury (Gloucestershire), dining chambers were created between the great chambers and the lords' bedchambers.[22] These rooms were fitted with doors and locks, and offered increasingly levels of seclusion. In some, more unusual cases, these rooms were arranged to give increasing levels of seclusion over multiple levels. This was the case at Ralph Lord Cromwell's tower-house at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, where the bedchamber of Cromwell and his wife occupied the fifth and uppermost of the tower's vertically arranged rooms.[23]

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[17] The use of the great hall will be considered in more detail in chapter five.

[18] A. C. Spearing, 'Public and Private Spaces in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight"', *Arthuriana*, 4/2 (Summer, 1994).

[19] A. Richardson, Women, Castles and Palaces', in M. C. Schaus (ed), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2006), p. 111.

[20] Friedman, 'Architecture, Authority and the Gaze'.

[21] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, chapter two.

Of the lord's rooms, the great chamber was usually the largest, and was devised for entertainment and the reception of guests.[24] It provided a more intimate and exclusive theatre for display than the hall and parlour(s) on the ground floor. As a site of reception, the great chamber was usually fitted with a ceremonial bed and/or chair, from which the lord could receive visitors in majesty. Oriel windows featuring the lord's arms were also commonplace, as were heraldic carvings above and on the fireplace. The great chamber was a site from which the lord could showcase their status and wealth, their hospitality and their role as a dispenser of justice within the region. In the absence of a separate dining chamber, the great chamber was also a space where the lord might dine in selected company.

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[22] Thorstad, 'Living in an Early Tudor Castle', p. 165.

[23] Emery, 'Late Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', p. 154.

[24] Wood, *English Medieval House*, p. 67-80.

The innermost and most exclusive of all the rooms was the head of household's bedchamber, which routinely contained or was connected to a closet via a gallery. Though the closet was not a singularly devotional space, it was a place where the lord could withdraw from the rest of the household, to engage in prayer and contemplation. The closet's importance for the householder's devotional practices is reinforced by the fact that such rooms were often furnished with altars and devotional images, and were also routinely placed to offer the head of household privileged and uninterrupted views onto their household chapel below. This is an architectural arrangement which can still be seen at The Vyne in Hampshire, a residence built by the early Tudor courtier, William, Lord Sandys.[25]

The growth in the number of rooms devised for the householder's personal use was symptomatic of a broader shift in the mentality of the elite, whereby relative privacy and separation became an increasing marker of lordly status and privilege. This is expressed in William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, a late fourteenth-century poem in which Langland laments that 'Elyng is the hall uche daye in the wyke/There the lord ne lady liketh noughte to sytte/Now hath uche riche a reule to eten bi himselve/In a pryve parlourre'.[26] The creation of these separate rooms thus enabled the householder to physically withdraw from the rest of his household, thus marking his privilege and elevated status above its members. The lord's bedchamber was also a space to which entry was jealously guarded, and was only accessible to the lord and his chosen guests.[27] By the fifteenth century, then, the creation of a greater number of increasingly more secluded rooms was becoming an ever more common marker of lordly status and privilege, reinforcing the increased separation of the house within the landscape, as discussed in chapters one and two.

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[25] See M. Howard and E. Wilson, *The Vyne: A Tudor House Revealed* (London, 2003).

The discussion in the previous chapter already highlighted a prevailing view that privacy signalled male power, yet female subordination. The main introduction to this thesis also highlighted the work of Roberta Gilchrist and Amanda Richardson, both of whom have indicated that female apartments or chambers were routinely located in the innermost reaches of the domestic complex, away from ceremonial entrances and communal spaces such as the great hall.[28] Common characteristics of female apartments were their close spatial proximity to private chapels or chapel closets, as well as enclosed gardens or courtyards. For Gilchrist and others, these spatial arrangements marked the literal and symbolic cocooning of the female body, with the proximity of the women's chambers to religious and other enclosed spaces further highlighting the centrality of facets such as piety and chastity to elite female gender identities. Arising from this, there has been a tendency to see the placement and design of women's domestic quarters as reflective and constitutive of men's and women's differing social roles. Discussions of gender in the late medieval great residence have thus focused on the imbalance of power between men and women, seeing such spaces as sites of male superiority and female inferiority. Gilchrist has also argued that women in a position to create their own living quarters tended to reproduce the spatial arrangements, and thus the social norms, that rendered them subordinate. Yet, such arguments have thus far been based on conjecture, with little attempt made to determine whether the evidence does in fact support this hypothesis. The discussion will now consider whether these arguments hold true for the interior arrangement of space in the secular female residence.

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[26] W. Langland, Vision of Piers Plowman, cited in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 30.
[27] Emery, 'Late Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status', p. 149.
[28] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*; Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces'.

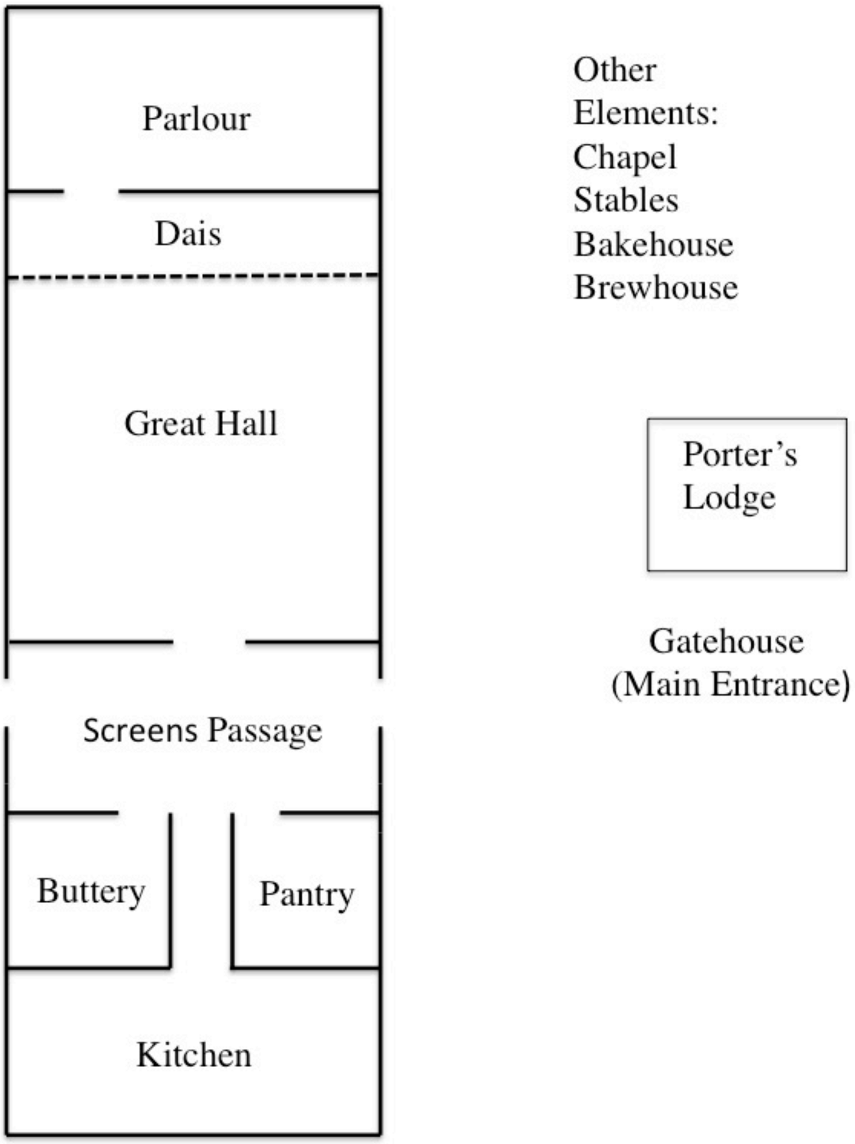
Parlour
Dais
Great Hall
Screens Passage
Buttery
Pantry
Kitchen
Other
Elements:
Chapel
Stables
Bakehouse
Brewhouse
Porter's
Lodge
Gatehouse
(Main Entrance)

Figure 26. Schematic layout of a late medieval Great Residence (inner courtyard, ground floor). Adapted from C. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, p. 49.

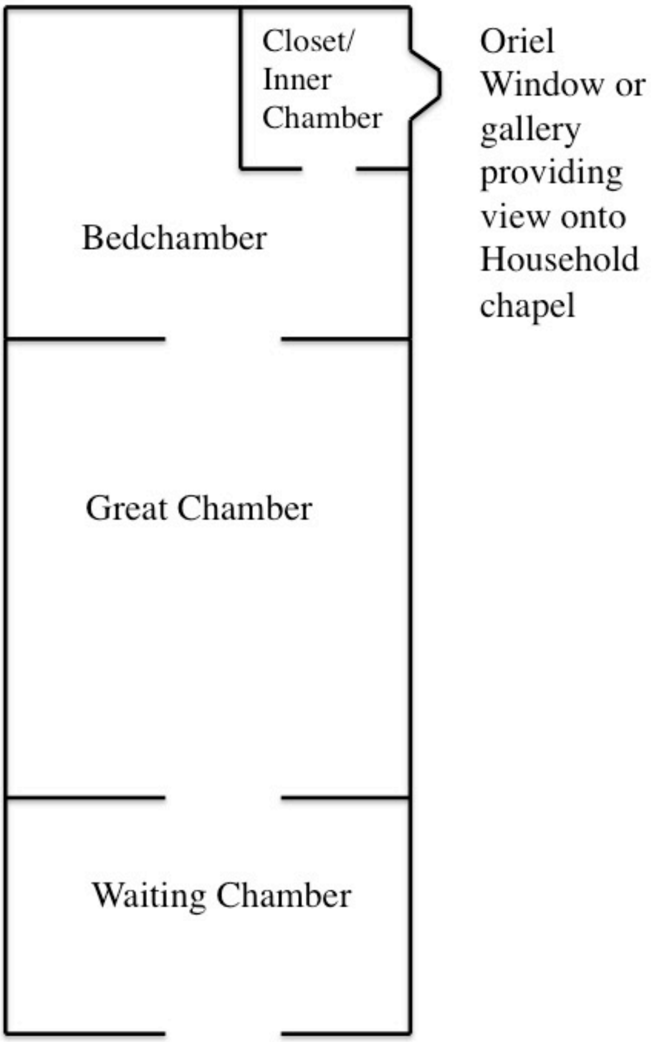
Closet/
Inner
Chamber
Oriel
Window or
gallery
providing
view onto
Household
chapel
Bedchamber
Great Chamber
Waiting Chamber

Figure 27. Schematic layout of the lord's apartments in a late medieval great household (first-floor level). These rooms were routinely located above the parlour and offered increasing levels of seclusion.

Greenwich

While Margaret of Anjou's palace at Greenwich was mostly destroyed with the construction of the Tudor palace on the site, and entirely obliterated with the later creation of the Old Royal Naval College, ongoing scholarly interest in Henry VIII's palace means that the site has been subject to more archaeological investigation than any of the others discussed in this thesis.[29]

The house that Margaret of Anjou obtained on Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's death was reputedly one of the finest residences in fifteenth-century England. During Humphrey's ownership, it had formed something a 'miniature' court, where he exchanged ideas with poets, astrologers, physicians, musicians and other great thinkers of his day.[30] Humphrey was well travelled, and it is believed that the design of the house showed evidence of Italianate influences. The buildings were suitably grand, being at least two storeys high and built of timber and fashionable brick.[31] Archaeological investigation on the site has shown that Humphrey's manor house was no modest dwelling, being approximately 21 metres long and 8.5 wide.[32]

While Humphrey's lifestyle was perhaps not as lavish after the trial and imprisonment of his wife for alleged witchcraft in 1441, it is unlikely that that his Greenwich residence was in any great state of disrepair when Margaret of Anjou seized it just weeks after his death in 1447. Set against this context, Margaret's commissioning of a five-year programme of improvements at the cost of almost £300 can be seen as a powerful statement of wealth and magnificence, as she transformed a house that was already viewed as one of the most impressive residences in England into a palace fit for a queen.[33]

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[29] See main introduction, p. 27.
[30] Harriss, 'Humphrey, duke of Gloucester'.
[31] Richardson, 'Greenwich's First Royal Landscape', p. 60.
[32] Dixon, *Excavations at Greenwich Palace*, pp. 9-14.

The building accounts reveal that between 1447 and 1453, Greenwich underwent a substantial programme of alterations and improvements. Excavations on the site indicate that during the fifteenth century, the manor house almost doubled in size, with the addition of a new court and a two-storied set of stone-built lodgings.[34] Workmen and materials were sourced both locally and from further afield, with carpenters and glaziers coming from the king's court in London, and tiles shipped from Flanders. The steady flow of workers to and from the palace, and the arrival of the finest materials over a five-year period would have undoubtedly made a powerful statement to the outside world of Margaret's importance and wealth as the new queen of England, showcasing her ability to command a substantial, specialist workforce.[35]

During her ownership of the property, Margaret extended the palace so that it included two principal courtyards or wards, one for herself and the other for the king. The walls of the residence were newly lined with wainscoting and the floors paved throughout with terracotta tiles bearing the queen's monogram. The soffits, arcades and pillars were carved with her personal emblem, the marguerite or daisy. As part of her commission, the queen instructed for the windows of the residence to be glazed, mostly by the king's glazier John Prudde, who was at this point resident at the royal palace of Westminster.[36] The effect of this must have been striking, especially given that window glazing was still a novelty in England at this point.

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[33] TNA D28/1/11; Chettle, 'Introduction: Greenwich before the building of the Queen's House'; H. M. Colvin (ed), *HKW*, II (London, 1963), pp. 949-950.

[34] Dixon, *Excavations at Greenwich Palace*, pp. 9-14.

[35] TNA D28/1/11.

[36] For Prudde see R. Marks, 'Window Glass', in J. W. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1992), pp. 280-283.

The ward devised for the queen's own use stood next to the great garden and comprised a series of rooms, which appear to have been arranged over two levels. Instructions for the paving of two 'tresaunces' or galleries under the queen's chamber with Flemish tiles suggest that these lodgings rested on arcaded walkways, in a style reminiscent of the principal's lodgings of Margaret's educational foundation of Queens' College, Cambridge (see fig. 29).[37]

On the ground floor level of the ward was a hall, which had a gallery referred to as a 'Hautpac' (high place) at its upper, eastern end. The presence of a hall in the queen's ward raises the possibility that she also had her own kitchen, in which her own meals and those of her attendants would have been prepared. The division of another building into six offices, including a spicery and a wafery, as well as references to a pantry with a bread oven, scalding house and poultry house certainly suggests that the culinary needs of Margaret and her household were adequately met, while an additional 'secret larder' provided edible luxuries for the queen's personal consumption.[38]

A payment made to a certain John Lokyer for a key to the door in the 'Hautpac' suggests that access to this gallery was tightly regulated, and that it most likely led to the more exclusive set of rooms beyond the hall. The first of these rooms was a great parlour, the substantial size of which is indicated by the fact that it contained a total of eleven windows, two of which were large bay windows overlooking the garden. Above the great parlour, at first floor level, were the queen's personal apartments. Entry to these rooms was provided via a great door, and they included a great chamber, middle chamber, the queen's bedchamber and a 'secret camera' (see fig. 28).[39] These chambers provided access onto a newly constructed gallery, which contained five windows overlooking the great garden.[40] Three of the five windows in the queen's bedchamber also offered views onto the privy garden.[41] Within, the chambers appear to have been especially spacious, with 1,600 tiles brought in to pave the middle chamber alone. A bed purchased for the great chamber measured an impressive ten feet in length and eight in width.[42] This was most likely a ceremonial bed, from which Margaret would have received guests. Payments for the installation of numerous windows suggest a light and spacious appearance. One of the ward's two bay windows was located in the great chamber, and contained fifty-one feet of white glass, which was flourished with marguerites and the arms of the king and queen.[43] Twenty-seven feet of glass was brought in for glazing an additional three windows in the room.[44] Margaret's ward also contained a closet, most likely accessed from her bedchamber, and which contained no less than three windows overlooking the chapel below. This spatial arrangement, with its emphasis on seclusion and piety, is a feminine spatial ideology we would expect to find in a royal residence under male lordship. Margaret's creation of a great hall and parlour, along with the middle and great chambers, with their access onto the gallery and their views over the great garden, however, meant that she was also equipped with 'public' rooms for the reception of guests and for the enactment of her role as lord.

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[37] TNA D28/1/11, p. 14.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid, pp. 9, 20.

The king also enjoyed his own rooms at Pleasaunce. The description of two great bay windows in the king's ward and the mention of a 'camerina' (vaulted room) in both the king and queen's wards suggests that their apartments were most likely similar in their design, if not almost identical. In contrast to the extensive works on the queen's ward, however, little mention is made of the king's ward in the building accounts, although it is possible that Henry occupied those rooms formerly inhabited by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. This hypothesis is further supported by a reference made to a library in the king's ward, which was not newly constructed, but merely paved during Margaret's ownership of the property.[45] Given Duke Humphrey's reputation as a humanist and bibliophile, it is likely that he left behind at Pleasaunce a library fit for a royal reader.[46] The presence of a library in Henry's ward also suggests that there may have been a difference between the spatial environment of the king and queen's wards, with no library mentioned in the details of the queen's ward.

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[40] Ibid, p. 12.
[41] Ibid, p 7v.
[42] Ibid, p. 14.
[43] Ibid, pp. 6v, 7.
[44] Ibid, p. 7v.

The only evidence for substantial building in the king's part of the complex is in 1452-3, when a new chapel closet was created for his personal use.[47] The closet was roofed with tiles brought from the nearby settlement of Dulwich and within it contained a fireplace and an altar made of elm wood. The room also supported a three-light window and a further bay window overlooking the chapel. The former of these windows was located above the altar and contained twenty-two feet of stained glass, its central image being a Crucifixion, with Mary and Joseph represented at the foot of the cross. Three escutcheons surrounded the scene, and showed the arms of St. George, the king and the queen. The bay window was glazed with fourteen feet of clear glass, decorated with marguerites and hawthorn buds, the latter being the king's emblem.[48] Beneath the closet a new vestry was also built, which was devised for the safekeeping of jewels. Its windows were suitably fitted with iron bars and it could be accessed from Henry's apartments via a tresaunce or gallery.

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[45] Ibid, p. 35.

[46] D. Rundle, 'Good Duke Humphrey: Bounder, Cad and Bibliophile', *Bodleian Library Record,* xxvii/1 (2014).

[47] TNA D28/1/11, p. 27.

[48] Ibid, p. 30v.

The timing of the closet's commission is striking. Following the fall of Alice Chaucer's husband, William Duke of Suffolk in 1450, Margaret had taken on a far more active role in English politics, although without a son and heir to the English throne, her influence was limited. Following many years of childlessness, in October 1453, Margaret finally gave birth to her first and only child, Edward of Lancaster. Margaret's safe delivery of a son was a sign of new hope for the ruling house, yet at the time of Edward's birth, the king had fallen into a state of mental instability. From 1453 onwards, Margaret became a highly visible champion of her husband and son's cause. Against this context, the commission of the closet, with its window celebrating salvation through the holy family, can be read as an astute piece of political propaganda. The expansion of the king's lodgings within Margaret's palace indicates the importance of Margaret's palace as a royal residence and indicates that Henry was spending increasing time there. The creation of the space was not only a celebration of Margaret's elevated status as the new mother of the heir to the English throne, but also one which advertised the strength of the royal dynasty through Margaret's maternal body.

The chapel itself appears to have remained structurally much the same as it was during Duke Humphrey's ownership of the house, and Margaret chose to retain his arms in the gable window above the altar. Further works carried out under Margaret's ownership of the property included the construction of a 'stewhouse', accessible via three doors and in which there was a bath ('bathyngfat') constructed of wainscot. This is most likely the room identified as a possible bathroom in the 1970-1 excavations, which stood on the northern side of the complex, close to the river, and contained a sloping floor for water drainage, which was paved with red earthenware tiles glazed olive green.[49] While recent work on late medieval England has shown that bathhouses in public contexts were commonly associated with licentiousness and prostitution, in France, such 'bath chambers' were luxuries commonly found in royal palaces by this point. Margaret's predecessors, Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainault, for example, both had bathtubs installed in their royal residences.[50] Margaret's inclusion of this feature thus suggests an element of cultural transfer, and provides evidence for the queen's agency over the design of the palace.

The five-year building programme at Pleasaunce also saw the construction of the two new buildings in the little or privy garden, mentioned in the previous chapter, which included a little parlour with a great window and a new set of guest lodgings. The latter of these was built to house the king's brothers and was accordingly fitted with beds and glazed with three escutcheons of the king and queen's arms.[51] Further chambers and lodgings were also created for high-status members of the household and guests. A chamber described as that of 'barbilonz', for example, was quite likely that of Barbelina Herbequyne, who was one of Margaret's unmarried ladies-in-waiting. William de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, also had his own chamber, and the creation of a pair of trestles for Alice and the couple's son, John, suggests that they might have also enjoyed chambers at the palace. As Joanna Laynesmith has highlighted, Margaret's household 'provided a vital stage in the careers of many of Suffolk's party', and it is thus unsurprising to find a chamber reserved for his use at Greenwich, although he was not able to enjoy it for long.[52]

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[49] Dixon, *Excavations at Greenwich Palace*, pp. 9-14.
[50] C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 243.
[51] TNA D28/1/11.
[52] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, p. 230.

One of the defining features that distinguished the households of the king and queen in a royal palace was that in the queen's household, chambers were not usually reserved for the use of individual servants.[53] In contrast with her predecessors, however, Margaret had a far larger body of servants, more comparable in number to those of the king than to her other female contemporaries. Given that Greenwich was also Margaret's own residence, and not a subsidiary household of the royal palace, it seems more likely that it also contained rooms for the more senior members of her household retinue. Further buildings listed in the works include a counting house and the construction of three new stables, one of which was reserved for the queen's palfreys.[54] Margaret's ownership of the property also saw works on the landscape, including the creation of the new dovecote and gardens mentioned in the previous chapter, as well as the enclosure of the woodyard.[55]

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[53] Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 227.
[54] TNA D28/1/11, pp. 20v, 30.
[55] TNA D28/1/11.

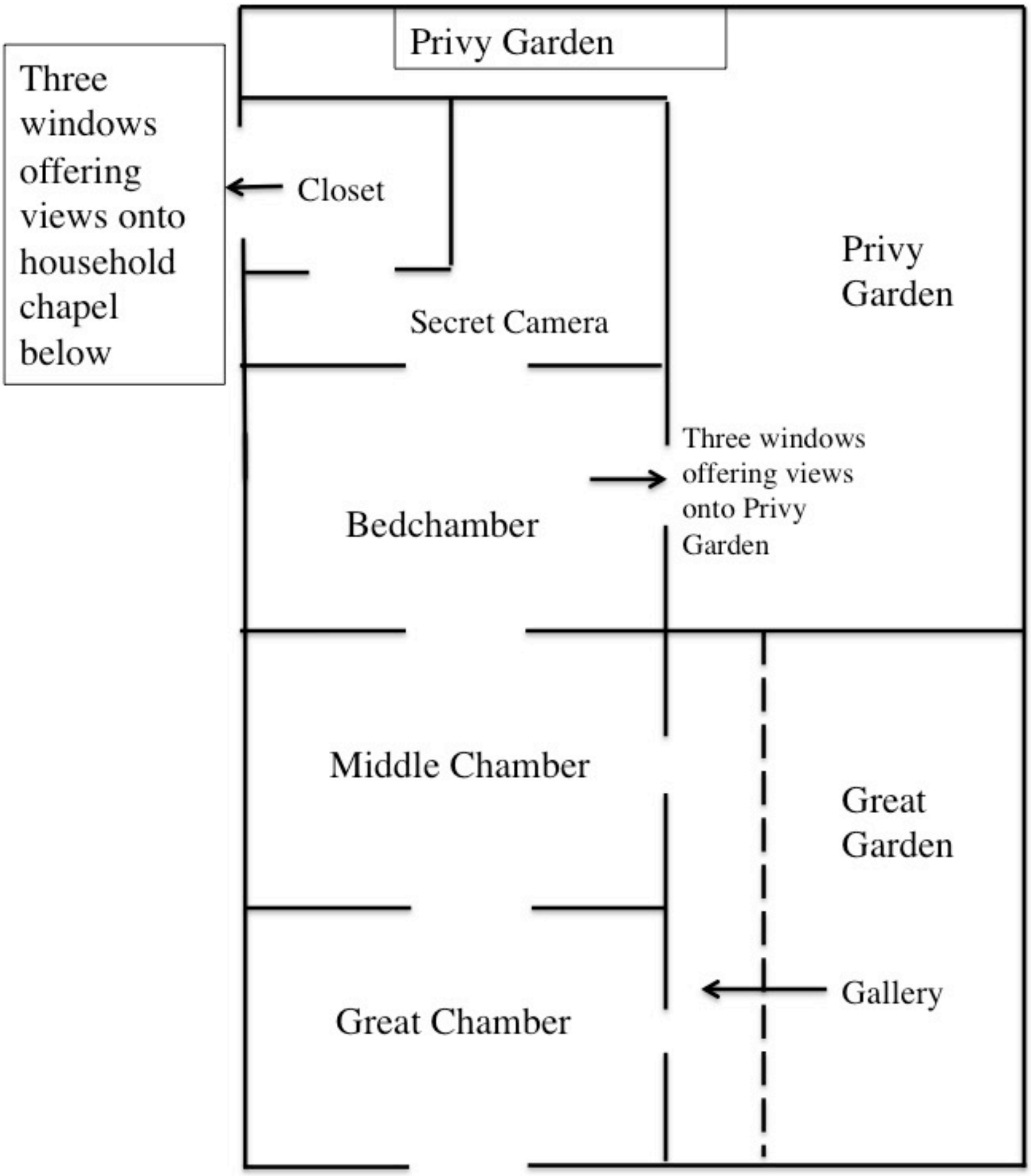
Privy Garden
Three windows offering views onto household chapel below
Closet
Privy Garden
Secret Camera
Three windows offering views onto Privy Garden
Bedchamber
Middle Chamber
Great Garden
Gallery
Great Chamber

Figure 28. Schematic Representation of the first-floor level of Margaret of Anjou’s ward at Greenwich. Image not to scale.

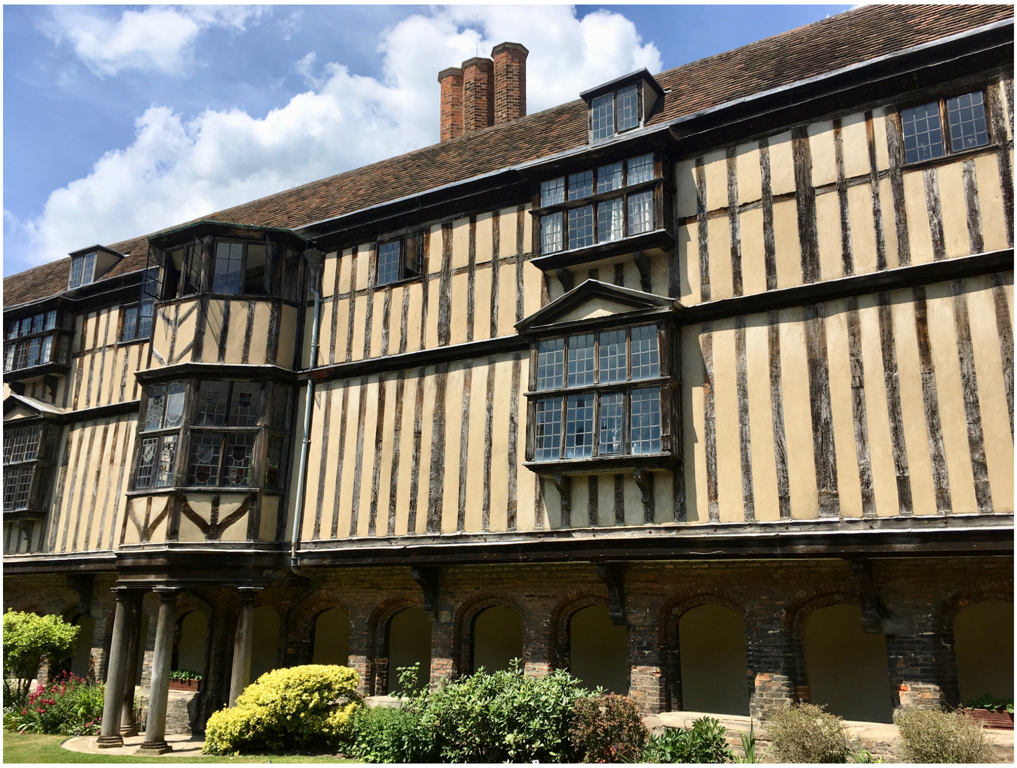

Figure 29. The Principal's Lodgings at Queens' College, Cambridge. The bay window and the arcaded walkways beneath the lodgings were most likely similar to those at Pleasaunce. Image: Author's own.

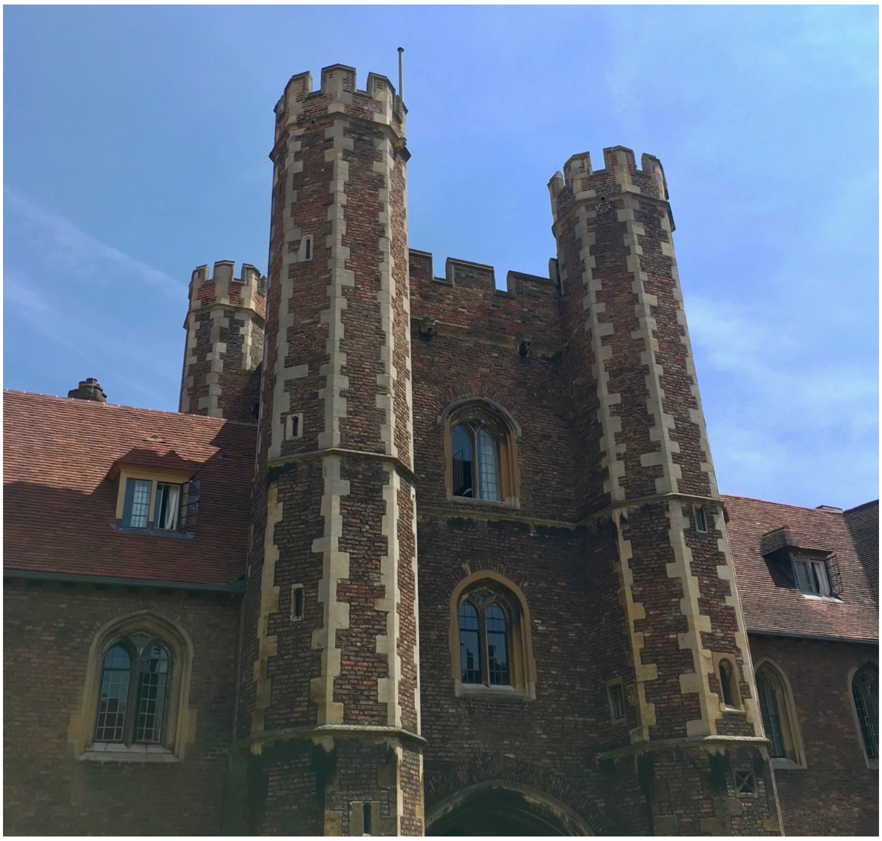

Figure 30. The main gatehouse to Queens' College, Cambridge. The brick-built river-facing gatehouse at Pleasaunce was most likely of a similar design. Image: Author's own.

Collyweston

Collyweston is something of a paradox, being the house for which we have the most documentary evidence, but the least architectural or archaeological information. The building accounts indicate it was a residence of palatial proportions and most likely the biggest of the five addressed in this thesis. Built at the same time as Richmond Palace in London, Collyweston most likely shared a number of characteristics with the royal palace. One of the greatest mysteries, however, is that no drawing of Margaret Beaufort's residence survives, despite it reputedly being one the largest and most impressive houses in early Tudor England.

The residence's afterlife was relatively short and may help explain the lack of drawings or engravings recording its appearance. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it had already fallen into a state of disrepair, with a survey of 1605 describing 'a very large royal house of stone almost ruined, adjoining to a palace similarly almost ruined and decayed…containing in circuit 1000 paces'.[56] The already decayed palace suffered a further blow with its purchase by Edward Heath in the 1630s, who deliberately set upon dismantling it and selling off the materials.[57] By the beginning of the following century, nothing remained of the building above ground, although Bridges records that within living memory were 'a great hall, tower dungeon and kitchen with four chimneys'.[58]

Very little evidence survives for the appearance of the house Margaret inherited in 1487, although given that the house's previous owner, Ralph Lord Cromwell, was a prolific builder, responsible for architectural feats such as Wingfield Manor and

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[56] Cited in Jones, 'Collyweston', p. 130

[57] NRO SG 55.

[58] Cited in Jones, 'Collyweston', p. 130.

Tattershall Castle, it is likely that Collyweston was more than just a modest dwelling. Indeed, the previous chapter indicated that Margaret improved the watery landscape to the west of the residence, which had first been implemented by Cromwell.

During Margaret's ownership of the property, Collyweston was a thriving and almost constant hub of building activity. Between 1500 and 1507, Margaret commissioned extensive works on the property, and commanded a substantial, specialist workforce. The majority of the masons came from the quarry villages located within a four-mile radius of the residence. The master mason between 1500 and 1506 came from Grantham, while more specialist joiners and glaziers came from Stamford and Peterborough and the plumbers from Leicester. The location also appears to have been ideal for sourcing the materials required for the construction of a high-status residence, with wainscot brought from Boston and Peterborough, plaster of Paris from the Vale of Belvoir and bricks from Peterborough.[59] As at Greenwich, then, the continuous flow of materials and a specialist workforce would have proclaimed Margaret's purchasing power, as well as her commanding regional presence.

It is commonly thought that Margaret's residence was arranged around two courtyards, although a reference made in the building accounts to the cleaning of the three courts of the palace in anticipation of the countess's return to Collyweston in 1503, indicate that the scale of the residence has hitherto been underestimated by historians.[60] The three courtyards appear to have been arranged on a northeast to southwest axis (see fig. 32). Aside from the expected inner and outer courtyards, the residence also had a further courtyard, which contained a prison house, council house and lodgings. This was the first courtyard one encountered when entering the residence via the main gatehouse. The inner courtyard was separated from this first courtyard via an embattled 'middle' gate, while the great hall marked the division between the inner and outer courtyards, the latter of which was the southernmost of the complex.[61] The inner courtyard containing Margaret's personal rooms, the hall and chapel was thus positioned at the very heart of the complex, framed by the other two. Regardless of whether a visitor entered the residence through the main gatehouse or further gatehouse, those seeking to reach the highest status rooms of the domestic complex were first required to go through another courtyard.

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[59] SJC D91.13; VCH *Northants*. VI.

[60] SJC D91.14, p. 153.

The rooms within the residential complex were described in Henry VIII's reign as 'apte to mete and receive the king's majesty and his household'.[62] The prison and council chamber next to the main gate had been erected at no minor expense, with over £100 spent on the construction of the latter. By 1504, a new lodging had also been built next to the main gate, which was most likely devised to house Margaret's substantial force of on-site construction workers.[63]

Passing through the middle gate, one entered into the inner courtyard, where the great hall and household chapel could be found. The building accounts indicate that as at Ewelme and Greenwich, the great hall was arranged to as to give access to a parlour at its upper end, while the lower end provided access to the kitchen and its associated offices. Strikingly, this may be the only part of the residence for which a ground plan survives (see fig. 31) On the back of a scrap of paper now held in the Northamptonshire county archives is a note, which tentatively claims that the ground plan shown on the reverse 'might be Collyweston'.[64] The ground plan comprises a rough sketch, depicting a hall, with two parlours, a wine cellar and a staircase at its upper end and a little parlour, along with a kitchen and its associated offices, including a pastry, pantry and wet larder at the other. The ground plan must be treated with caution, as we have already seen that these features were common to the blueprint of most high-status houses during the late medieval period. The plan also fails to include other features mentioned in the documentary evidence, such as a dry larder, and the inclusion of two parlours at the upper end of the hall does not accord with the documentary record, in which only one is mentioned. The 'H' shape of the floor plan and the central access to the hall via steps is also more characteristic of the arrangement of an Elizabethan or seventeenth-century great residence than that of an early Tudor one. The order of the offices and rooms as represented on the plan, however, certainly accords with that of a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century residence, and the centrally placed door may have been a later alteration to the earlier structure.

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[61] Ibid, pp. 12, 100.
[62] *HKW*, IV (1982), p. 67.
[63] SJC D91.13, 21.

There are three features, however, which make the case for the floor plan being Collyweston more convincing. These are the inclusion of the little parlour with its accompanying pantry at the lower end of the hall, the stairs next to the kitchen and what also appears to be labelled an 'outward gallery' above the kitchen. In the documentary evidence, the pantry at Collyweston is described as having been attached to a larger storehouse. While the larger room associated with the pantry on the plan is labelled a parlour, this may simply represent a later renaming of the space. The presence of stairs next to the kitchen also accords with a detail in the documentary evidence, in which the kitchen is described as having been connected to the counting house via a stairway.[65] The most compelling evidence, however, is the presence of what appears to be the outward gallery, as the building accounts indicate that a gallery was also located next to the great hall.[66]

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[64] NRO SG 131.

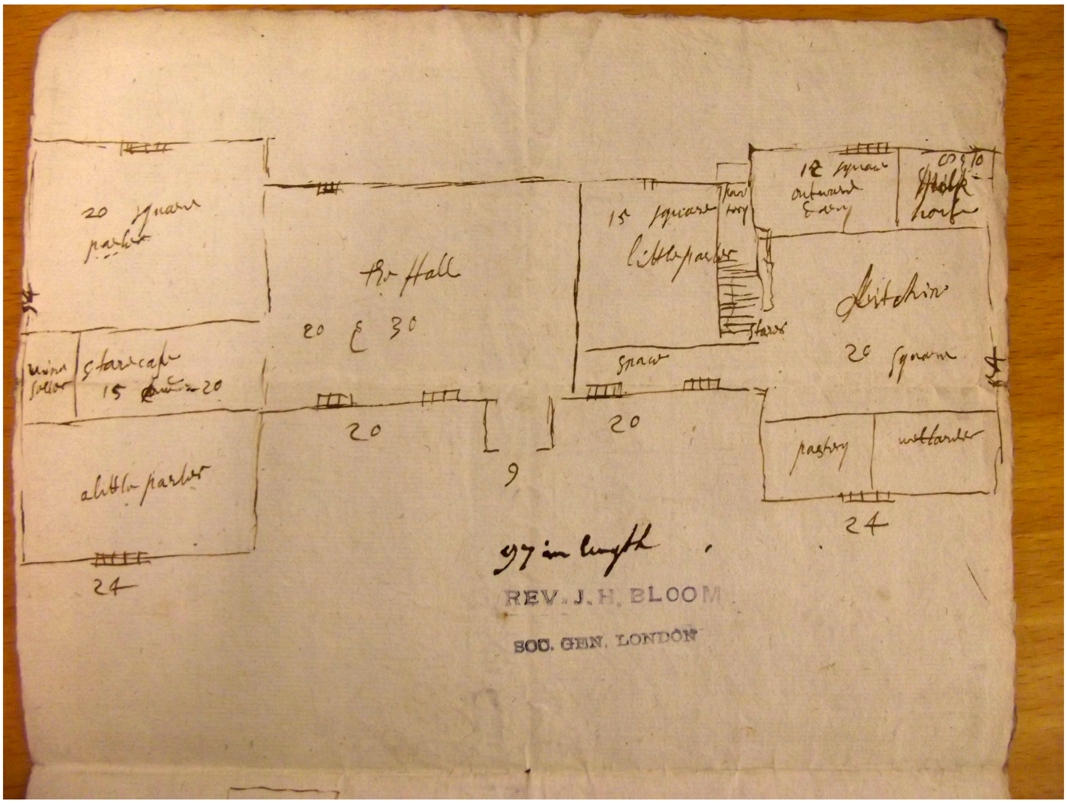
20 square parlor
the Hall
20 & 30
wine seller
staircase 15 & 20
a little parlor
24
20
9
15 square little parlor
stair
stairs
12 square outward gallery
Milk house
20 & 10
Kitchin
20 square
pastry
wetlarder
24
97 in length
REV. J. H. BLOOM
SOC. GEN. LONDON

Figure 31. Conjectured plan of the hall at Collyweston and its associated offices. Northampton Record Office, SG 131.

The kitchen and its associated offices were sizable, and could undoubtedly meet the demands of a large household. By 1505, the kitchen contained two new ranges of freestone and water conveyed via pipes.[67] The fact that the building is later recorded as having four chimneys also indicates just how large it was. As Mark Girouard has argued, the hall and kitchen were twin pillars of lordly munificence, signalling abundance and showcasing their hospitality.[68] In the vicinity of the great hall and kitchen was the aforementioned counting house, which contained a window overlooking the hall, and was directly connected to the kitchen. Next to this was a clock tower, although this had been pulled down by the autumn of 1502.[69] In the vicinity of the kitchen there were also almshouses, which housed Margaret's thirteen almsmen and women and three children. The almshouses were externally decorated with heraldic shields and was fitted with glazed windows. They also contained a hall and the inhabitants benefited from their own garden and running water conveyed via a pump.[70] The details given for the almshouses suggest that the complex was a similar size to that created by Alice and William de la Pole at Ewelme, and their presence within the domestic complex, close to the kitchen, would have been a powerful statement of Margaret's generosity, charity and hospitality.[71]

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[65] SJC D102. 9, pp. 77, 79.

[66] SJC D91.14, 146.

[67] SJC D102.9, p. 64; D91.14, p. 118; D91.22, p. 21.

The chapel at Collyweston appears to have been particularly large, and is said to have rivalled the king's chapel at Richmond in its size and standard.[72] Its windows were glazed and its walls painted with images of the Virgin and the Trinity surrounded by borders of angels, which will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter. As at Greenwich, there was a vestry, which contained a coffer and almery, although Collyweston had the additional luxury of a jewel house for the safekeeping of valuables. Margaret was an avid patron of music, and a chamber was set aside for her choirboys and equipped with provisions for their education within her household. The sheer number of individuals associated with the chapel provides some indication of its scale and its magnificence. By 1508, for example, there were twelve chaplains, twelve gentlemen and ten children choristers, a size that was approaching that of the Chapel Royal.[73]

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[68] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 36.
[69] SJC D102.9, p. 83; D91.14, p. 9.
[70] SJC D91.14, p. 69; D91.22, p. 13.
[71] See Goodall, *God's House*, pp. 1-6.
[72] F. Kisby, 'A Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997).

The rooms reserved for Margaret Beaufort's own personal use were upgraded in 1502-3, and formed part of a larger series of building works carried out in anticipation of the arrival of Margaret Tudor's wedding party in the summer of 1503. The showpiece of these works was a new set of lodgings, which was constructed at the considerable cost of £450 and took over ten months to complete.[74] In Margaret's accounts, the lodgings are merely described as being located in the inner (or middle) courtyard, next to her old bedchamber, yet a description of a strikingly similar set of lodgings in a volume of building accounts made during Elizabeth I's ownership of the property, as highlighted in chapter two, suggests that the building was on the western side of the complex, where it overlooked the park.[75]

The creation of the new lodgings in 1502-3 transformed Collyweston into a hive of activity. Temporary lodgings were erected to house the free masons and a limekiln was also created on-site.[76] The building itself appears to have been arranged over three storeys and was primarily constructed of rough stone, with freestone dressings and ornately carved and dressed brick chimneys. The stone was mainly sourced from a quarry at Collyweston and other nearby quarry towns. A ruined castle at Thorpe Waterville also proved a valuable source for freestone.[77] Within, the various chambers were lavishly fitted with glazed windows, fireplaces, wooden floors and garderobes.

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[73] Ibid, p. 214.

[74] SJC D91.14, pp. 5- 6; pp. 27-109.

[75] TNA LR 2/64.

[76] SJC D91.14, pp. 5, 47.

[77] Ibid, p. 27.

Provisions made for the installation of pipes and guttering also suggest a sophisticated plumbing system.[78]

The main aspect of the works saw Margaret's existing bedchamber incorporated into a new suite of apartments devised for her personal use. This is not to suggest, however, that the rooms pre-dating the new lodgings were in any way modest. Rather, the accounts indicate that by the year 1500, Margaret's personal suite of rooms included a great chamber and an accompanying little closet, a presence chamber and a great closet. These rooms, which were most likely located at the upper end of the great hall, above the parlour, would have no doubt fittingly conveyed Margaret's status and wealth as the head of her own domestic establishment. The rooms created in 1502-3, however, provided an added level of magnificence that would have suitably celebrated Margaret's position as the matriarch of the now flourishing royal dynasty.

Margaret's own rooms appear to have occupied the middle floor of the three-storey range of lodgings. A new great chamber was created for the reception of guests, along with a new closet for Margaret's personal use. The great chamber included a great bay window, which was filled with stained glass, displaying personal, familial and dynastic insignia. It was also connected to the other rooms within the building via a gallery. Initially, Margaret's old bedchamber was connected to the new closet via a stairway and an additional gallery, above which three new five-light windows were created.[79] In 1504, however, the works were completed with the creation of a new bedchamber for Margaret within the lodgings.[80] Though Margaret's bedchamber was moved, the spatial relationship between bedchamber, gallery and chapel closet was nevertheless maintained, with a newly created gallery and stairway constructed to offer Margaret direct access to her chapel closet in a near identical fashion as before.

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[78] Ibid, p. 31.

[79] SJC D91.13, p. 84; D91.14, p. 65.

[80] SJC D91.13, pp. 10, 31, D92.22, pp. 22.

While Margaret's rooms at Collyweston no longer survive, the suite of rooms devised for her personal use at her foundation of Christ's College, Cambridge, provides us with a valuable insight into their likely appearance and arrangement. At Christ's, the rooms commissioned for Margaret's use comprised a first-floor suite of three interconnected chambers, which were located above those of the master.[81] These rooms were accessed from the dais end of the hall and provided views onto the college's front court on one side, and onto the privy garden to the rear. The innermost of Margaret's rooms was located next to the college chapel and a seventeenth-century drawing of the college indicates that a now-destroyed gallery most likely connected Margaret's bedchamber to the chapel closet, in a near identical fashion to her rooms at Collyweston. Access to Margaret's apartments was tightly regulated, only available to those who were granted permission to go beyond the dais. The position of Margaret's rooms on the first-floor level also made them even less accessible than those of the master of the college, who occupied the ground floor. Louise Durning, however, has highlighted that the placement of Margaret's suite of rooms, opposite the main gatehouse and next to the great hall, nevertheless ensured that they were highly visible to visitors entering the college.[82] One particularly striking feature of the lodgings at Christ's is their exterior, heraldic decoration, which visually echoes that of the college's main gatehouse (see fig. 37). The central chamber of the lodgings, which directly face the visitor as they pass through the gatehouse and enter into the first of the college's two courts, supports a large bay window, which is framed underneath by an elaborately carved panel. Central to the panel is the royal shield, surmounted by a crest, which takes the form of a chained eagle emerging from a crown. The crest is flanked by two yales, the mythical beast of the Beaufort family. On either side of this central panel are two smaller panels, the left-hand of which displays a crowned rose and the right, a crowned portcullis surmounted by three daisies, Margaret's personal heraldic badge and namesake flower. The entire scene is presented against a backdrop of daisies and beneath it, Margaret's personal motto, 'souvent me souvient' is displayed in gold. The full achievement of arms, that is to say the shield, crest and supporters, as represented on Margaret's former lodgings, directly mirrors the heraldic display on the college's main gatehouse. Whereas on the gatehouse, however, the heraldic design is surmounted by a full-body sculptural representation of Margaret, on the lodgings, it is instead surmounted by a large bay window, where Margaret herself most likely once stood. Just as the sculptural representation of Margaret peers down onto passers-by below, so Margaret herself would have been able to survey her scholars from the prime vantage point of her lodgings. The repetition of heraldic motifs on the gatehouse and lodgings thus appears to have been carefully orchestrated, signalling the site of Margaret's authority to the visitor as they moved through the college complex.

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[81] See Durning, 'Woman on Top', p. 49.
[82] Ibid. p. 49.

The use of heraldic display most likely worked to similar effect at Collyweston. Strikingly, Margaret's yale supporters were also present in the stained glass of the equivalent chamber of her domestic complex. In June 1503 a reward was paid to the glazier for correcting the window of the great chamber, which had been mistakenly decorated with antelopes.[83] The use of the full achievement of arms was extremely rare in architectural settings before the first decade of the sixteenth century and it is striking that Margaret chose for the supporters to feature in both her domestic establishment and her foundation, where they formed part of the decoration of the great chamber in both cases.[84] In both instances, rooms over which access was tightly regulated were thus used to visually advertise and celebrate Margaret's noble lineage and her illustrious status as king's mother. This tension between visibility and access, referred to in this thesis as conspicuous privacy, ensured that Margaret was not rendered invisible by her withdrawal; rather, she was able to articulate her status as king's mother and as the respective founder and head of her educational and domestic establishments in a highly visible manner.

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[83] SJC D91.14, p. 99.

The inner courtyard at Collyweston presumably also contained the chambers and lodgings reserved for other high-status guests to the household. Margaret's husband, Sir Thomas Stanley, also had a bedchamber which provided access to a chapel closet via a gallery, suggesting that this room also stood close to or within the new lodgings.[85] It is possible that the rooms of Margaret and Stanley formed a symmetrical arrangement, although there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that Stanley's apartments were anywhere near as lavish as those reserved for the countess herself.

Another set of rooms most likely located within the inner courtyard were those reserved for Margaret's daughter-in-law, Queen Elizabeth of York. Elizabeth enjoyed her own lodgings, which included two substantial bay windows and a bedchamber, which, as the previous chapter mentioned, was connected to an enclosed garden via a lockable stairway. While at Richmond Palace, Margaret Beaufort had her own closet to the left-hand side of the king's chapel, directly next to that of the queen and her gentlewomen, it does not seem to be the case that Elizabeth also had her own closet at Collyweston. It seems that this was instead a privilege reserved for the householder and her husband. There is also a conspicuous absence of chambers reserved for the king's use. In the country houses of other great magnates, the king would often inhabit the householder's rooms when on a royal progress or visit and it is possible that this was also the case at Collyweston. Individual chambers were also allocated to a number of Margaret's servants, including her ladies-in-waiting and her more senior household officials. These were sites of comfort and luxury, equipped with fireplaces and glazed windows.

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[84] Ibid. p. 66.

[85] SJC D91.14, p. 109

Beyond the inner courtyard with its lodgings and state of the art chambers was the outer or 'nether' courtyard, which contained the ancillary buildings of the complex. Characteristic features of this courtyard were its well (although this had collapsed by 1505) and a great walnut tree, which was enclosed within a wall and continued to give shade to servants during the Elizabethan period.[86] The buildings of this court, which extended southwards from the hall, mostly included a range of offices devised to meet the culinary needs of Margaret's substantial household. A poultry house, scalding house and butchery provided the means necessary for the preparation of meat. Next to these was the pond yard, in which separate pens were allocated for different types of fish.[87] There was also an associated fish house standing nearby. The surviving fish house of the abbots of Glastonbury at Meare is evidence of just how substantial such buildings could be, with the stone structure arranged over two floors and measuring forty-one by twenty-two feet.[88] Standing alongside these buildings were a bakehouse, the barn and a stable combined with a granary. These buildings benefitted from their proximity to the residence's rich and varied landscape, with the poultry house providing direct access to the park, and the kitchen and saucery benefitting from their own gardens. The bakehouse and saucery gardens were located next to the woodyard and a further gatehouse marked the southern boundary of the complex.

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[86] VCH *Northants*. II, p. 70.

[87] SJC D91.14, pp. 127, 155, 153, D91.13, p. 41.

At Collyweston, we thus find a residence with all the appurtenances of a king's palace. Margaret's house was no mere county seat, but a house of palatial proportions, fit to meet the needs of a royal representative in the region. While the design and placement of Margaret's rooms emphasised 'feminine' aspects such as seclusion and piety, it is evident that her apartments nevertheless conformed to the sequential ordering of space expected of a residence under male lordship. A comparison with Margaret's rooms at her foundation of Christ's College, Cambridge has also introduced the notion of conspicuous privacy, indicating that despite her withdrawal into the innermost reaches of the domestic complex, Margaret's presence was still made known through the highly visible display of her heraldic motifs. The analysis offered here suggests that the tension between access and visibility may have worked to similar effect at Greenwich, where Margaret of Anjou's marguerites and coat of arms were proudly displayed through the sculptural design and stained glass windows of the palace. The fifty-one feet of white glass, flourished with marguerites and the arms of the king and queen in the middle chamber at Greenwich would have made an unmistakable and powerful statement of the site of the queen's authority, thus marking her privacy in a highly conspicuous manner.

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[88] E. Impey, 'A House for Fish or Men? The Structure, Function and Significance of the Fish House at Meare, Somerset', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 4/1 (2009).

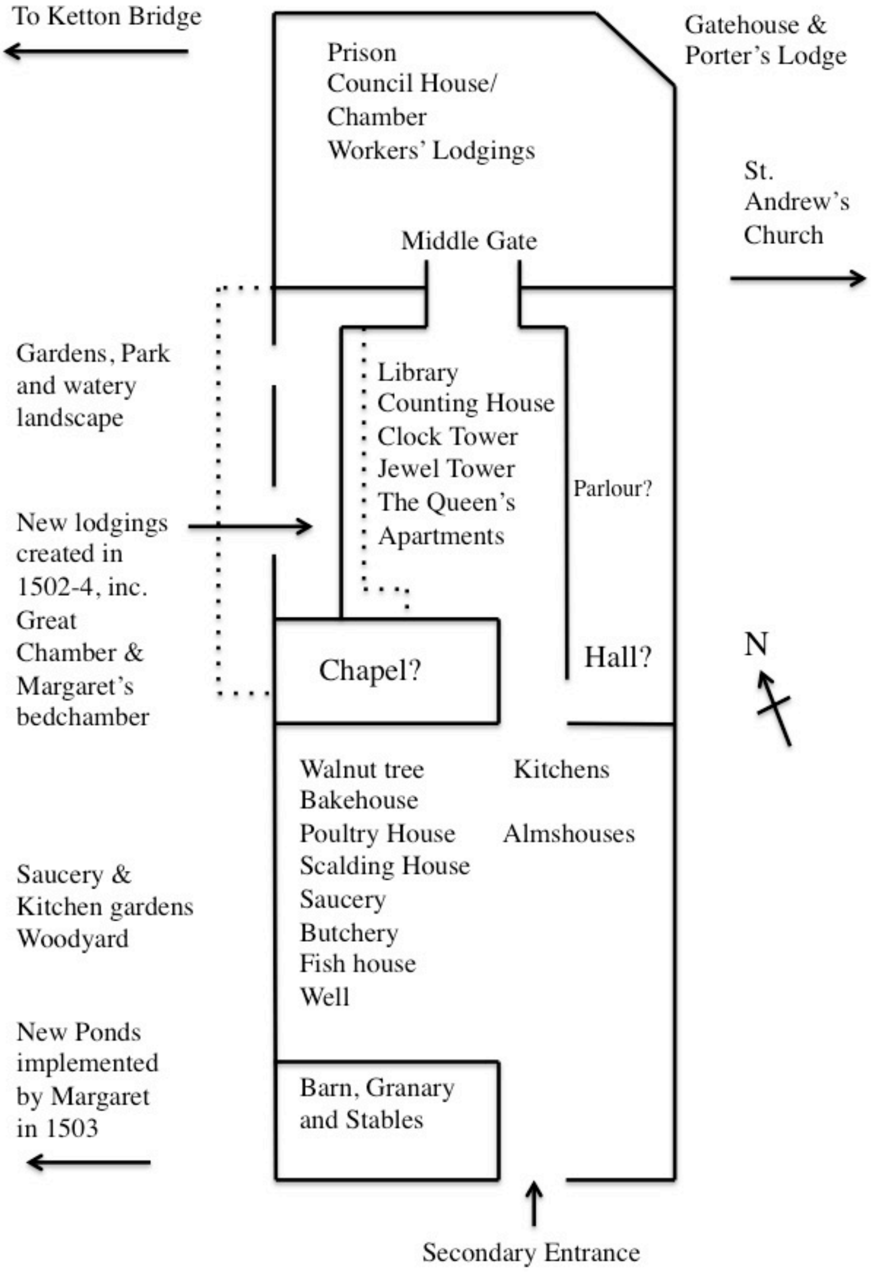
To Ketton Bridge
Prison
Council House/
Chamber
Workers' Lodgings
Gatehouse &
Porter's Lodge
St.
Andrew's
Church
Middle Gate
Gardens, Park
and watery
landscape
Library
Counting House
Clock Tower
Jewel Tower
The Queen's
Apartments
Parlour?
New lodgings
created in
1502-4, inc.
Great
Chamber &
Margaret's
bedchamber
Chapel?
Hall?
N
Walnut tree
Bakehouse
Poultry House
Scalding House
Saucery
Butchery
Fish house
Well
Kitchens
Almshouses
Saucery &
Kitchen gardens
Woodyard
New Ponds
implemented
by Margaret
in 1503
Barn, Granary
and Stables
Secondary Entrance

Figure 32. Conjectured Plan of Collyweston Palace based on the building and household accounts. Image not to scale.

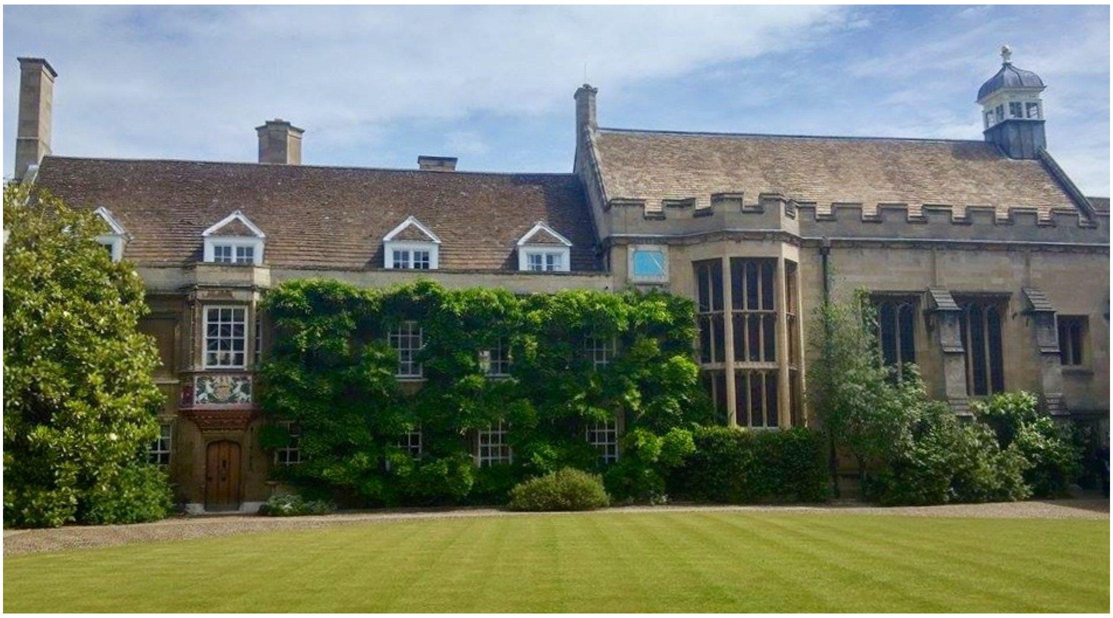

Figure 33. The front court of Christ's College, Cambridge, as viewed from the main gatehouse. The hall is located to the right of the image and the former site of Margaret's lodgings is to the left (now the master's lodgings). Image: Author's own.

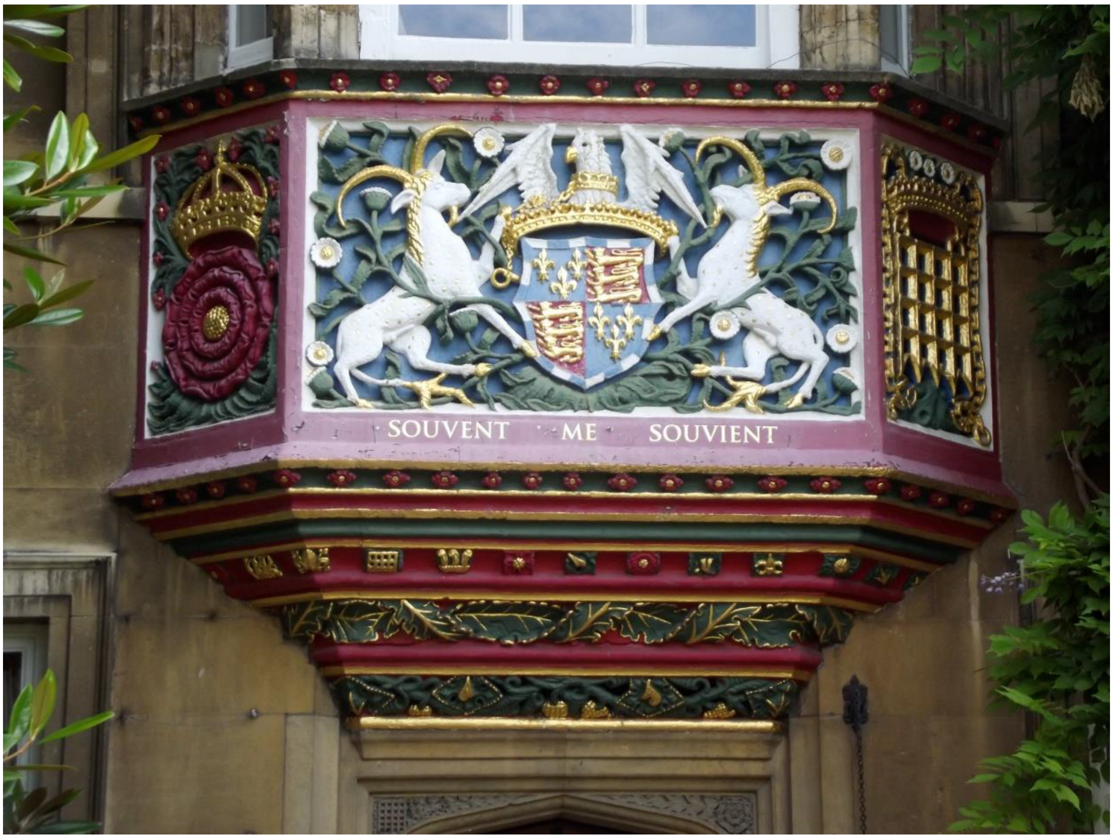

Figure 34. The oriel window displaying the Beaufort arms, complete with yale supporters, marguerites, Tudor rose and portcullis. The window includes the countess's personal motto, 'Souvent me Souvient'. Image: Author's own.

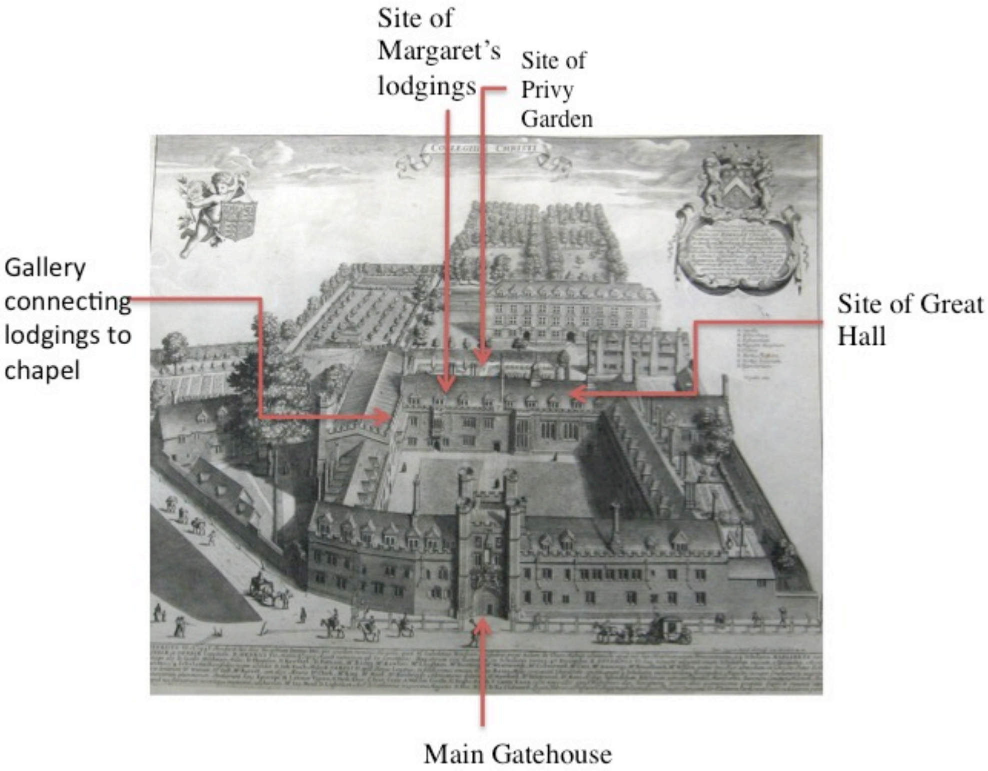
Site of Margaret's lodgings
Site of Privy Garden
Gallery connecting lodgings to chapel
Site of Great Hall
Main Gatehouse

Figure 35. Adapted from Loggan's Engraving of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1690. The engraving shows external the gallery connecting the apartments to the chapel closet. Image sourced from Wikimedia Commons.

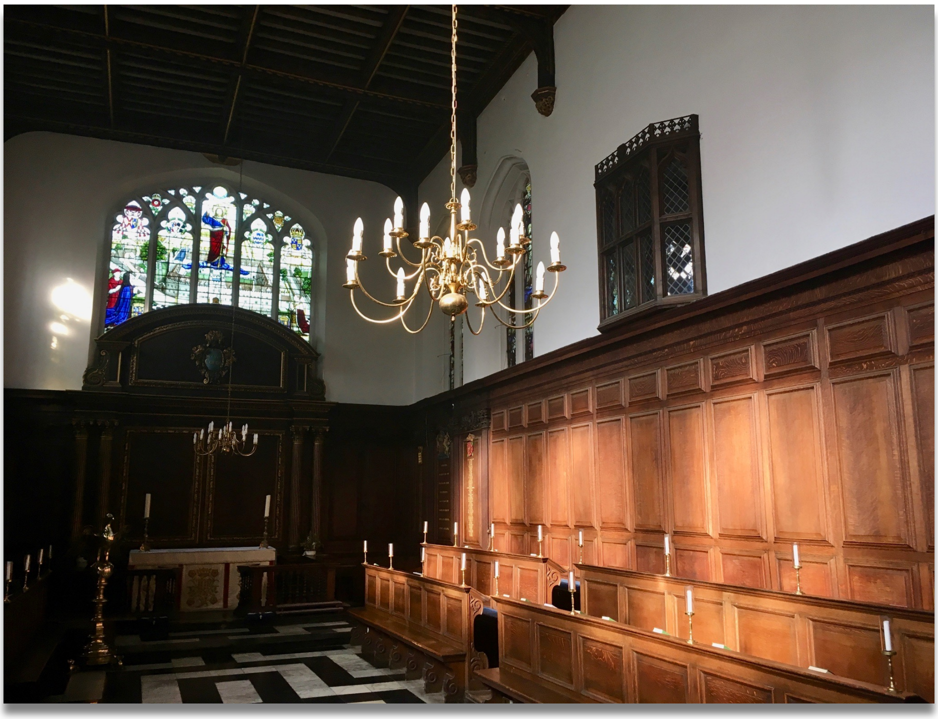

Figure 36. The interior of the chapel at Christ's College, Cambridge. Note the inwards-facing oriel window marking Margaret Beaufort's chapel closet on the south wall. Image: Author's own.

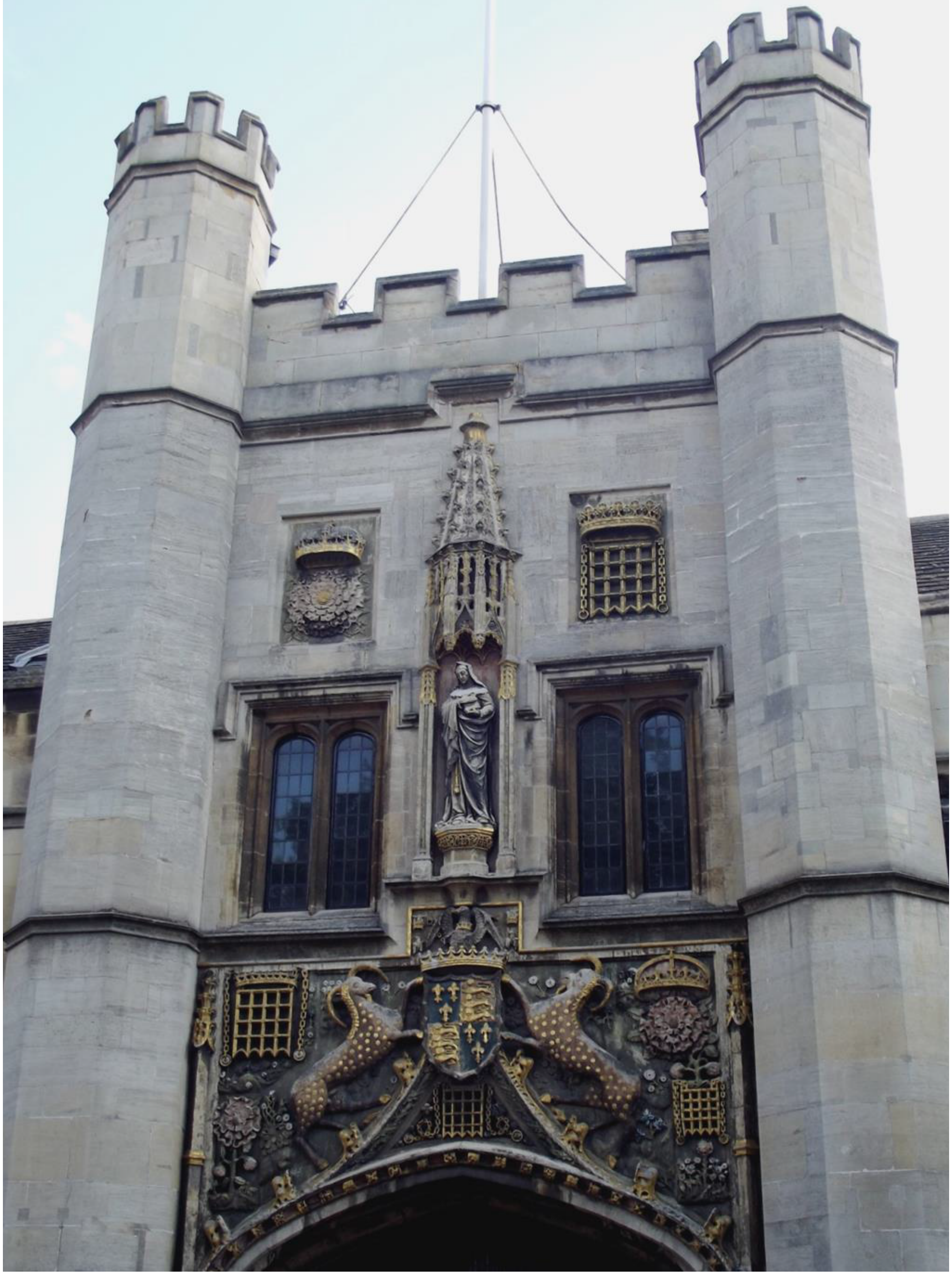

Figure 37. The main gatehouse of Christ's College, Cambridge, showing a full body representation of Margaret Beaufort above a full achievement of the Beaufort arms. Image: Author's own.

Warblington

Warblington, as a residential complex commissioned by Margaret Pole in its entirety, is a particularly important and unusual example of female domestic architectural patronage of the period. Of the sites addressed in this thesis, it is also the only one with surviving aboveground remains that can be confidently attributed to a female patron. Although most of the residence has long been destroyed, the partial remains of the substantial gatehouse tower still dominate the local skyline today, and allow us to glimpse the former grandeur of the house's appearance (see fig. 39). While the single volume of building documents relating to Margaret's works at Warblington lack the detail of those for Margaret Beaufort's substantial building works at Collyweston, the additional survival of an inventory of the house, made upon Margaret's arrest in 1538, together with a seventeenth-century survey of the site, provide a valuable record of its layout and appearance.[89]

The house Margaret commissioned was primarily built of brick and faced with Caen stone. The buildings were roofed with slate, the chimneys dressed with ochre and the windows glazed.[90] Labourers and materials were largely sourced locally, mostly from the settlements of Hambledon, Hayling Island, Catherington and Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight. Luxuries such as Normandy glass and Caen stone were imported from France and delivered to the residence via the ports at Southampton, Portsmouth and Langstone Harbour.[91] The principal buildings, including the great hall, chapel and Margaret's personal apartments, were enclosed within a moat and framed around a single square courtyard, measuring 200 feet in length and 200 in breadth.[92]

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[89] TNA E 101/490/12; PCRO 906 A; TNA S.P. 1/139.

[90] TNA E 101/490/12.

[91] Ibid.

[92] PCRO 906 A.

Recent archaeological research by Jude Jones has suggested that the great hall at Warblington stood on the site now occupied by the seventeenth-century farmhouse, where it would have formed part of the residence's eastern range.[93] The survey and inventory of the site indicate that the 'very great and spacious' hall adjoined a lower parlour and great parlour, from which one could reach a great chamber, waiting chamber and dining chamber.[94] Margaret's own bedchamber was located in a tower, above the great parlour. The substantial size of this room is suggested by the fact that it was large enough to contain another chamber, within which there were various items of furniture.[95] While Margaret's rooms are not explicitly described as being attached to a chapel closet, their proximity to the chapel is suggested by the fact that in the inventory, the rooms are followed directly by the chapel chamber, chapel closet and the chapel itself.[96] The presence of a gallery in the seventeenth-century survey of the site also raises the possibility that Margaret may have benefited from a similar spatial arrangement to that enjoyed by Margaret of Anjou at Greenwich and Margaret Beaufort at Collyweston, with her chamber giving direct access to the chapel closet.[97] The tower containing Margaret's bedchamber was, as mentioned in the previous chapter, most likely in the south-eastern corner of the complex (see fig. 38). The tower's multiple bay windows would have provided views over the gardens and deer park to the east of the residence, as well as over the courtyard and gatehouse to the west. The location would have also most likely offered views onto St. Mary's church to the south.

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[93] J. Jones, 'The Gentle Housescape: Domestic Relationships and the Constitution of the Gentry Household in East Hampshire, 1470-1825' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Southampton). I am grateful to Jude Jones for providing me with a copy of the relevant sections of her thesis.

[94] TNA S.P. 1/139, ff. 72-84; PCRO 906 A.

[95] TNA S.P. 1/139, ff. 72-84.

[96] Ibid.

[97] PCRO 906 A.

In addition to the aforementioned rooms, the courtyard also contained no fewer than nineteen chambers for the senior servants and members of Margaret's household.[98] These most likely occupied one range, with the chambers arranged over multiple levels. The wardrobe and a series of unnamed chambers appear to have been located close to the main gate and would have no doubt provided additional accommodation for the many guests and visitors to the household. Beyond the moat were the ancillary buildings, including the stables, barns and brewhouse.

The conjectured ground plan for Margaret Pole's residence again suggests that seclusion and piety were central to the spatial ideology of elite female lordship. The location of Margaret's rooms, within a tower, suggests that they were in the innermost reaches of the domestic complex. Gilchrist has argued that in medieval thought, the tower was both a symbol of martial prowess and feminine chastity.[99] While the Virgin Mary's body was often imagined as a tower in medieval thought, the introduction to this chapter also highlighted the example of Ralph Lord Cromwell, who created a tower-house at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, in which he reserved the highest and least accessible room as his own bedchamber. An indication that Margaret exploited both the feminine and masculine associations of the tower to her advantage is suggested by the views offered from her bedchamber, on the one hand towards the deer park to the south, and on the other towards St. Mary's church to the east. These privileged looking points at once spoke of Margaret's lordly command over the surrounding landscape and also of her piety, thus configuring her authority through reference to her social and spiritual privileges, and in ways that can be described as both masculine and feminine.

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[98] TNA S.P. 1/139, ff. 72-84.

[99] Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, chapter 6.

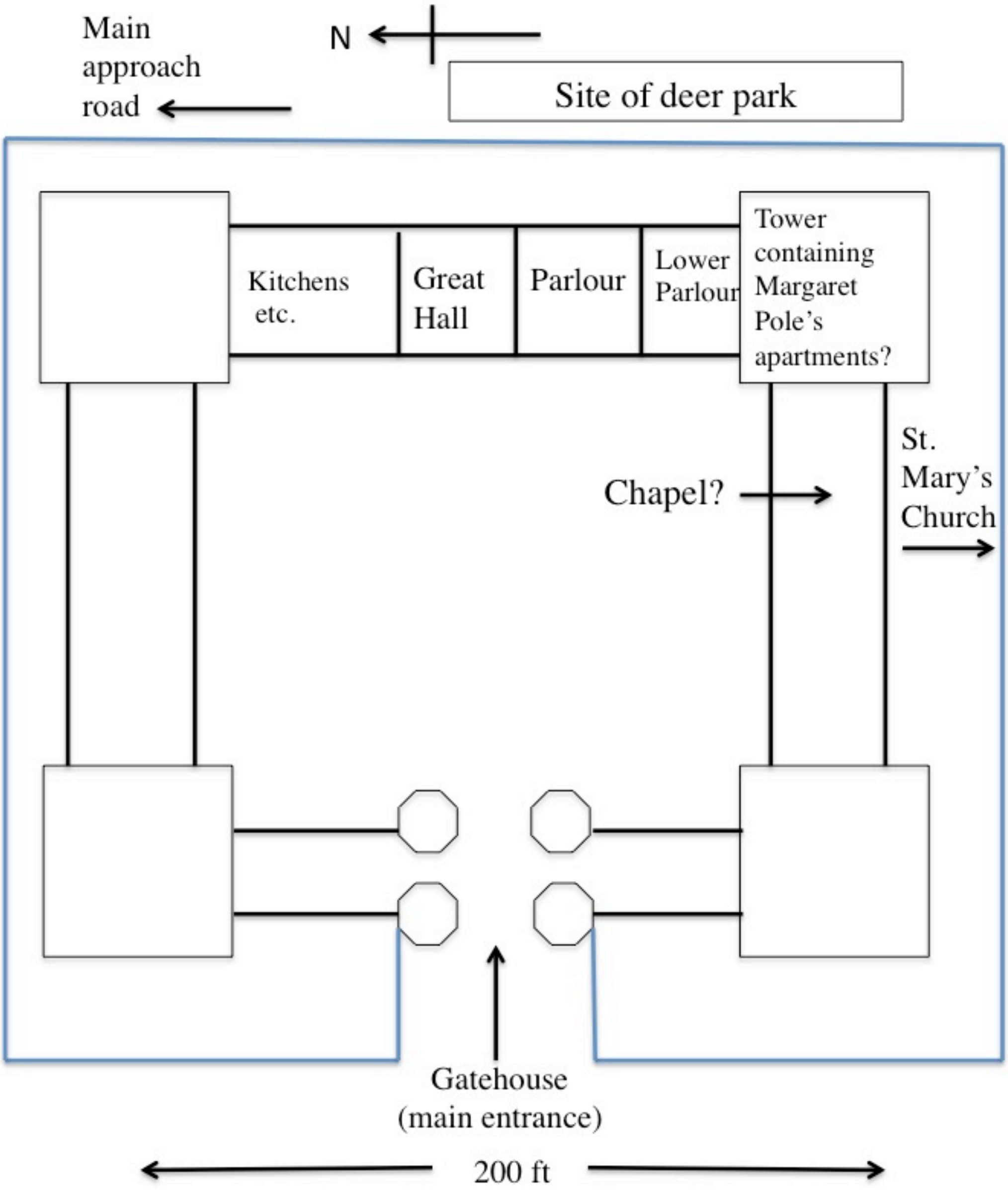
Main approach road
N
Site of deer park
Kitchens etc.
Great Hall
Parlour
Lower Parlour
Tower containing Margaret Pole's apartments?
St. Mary's Church
Chapel?
Gatehouse (main entrance)
200 ft

Figure 38. Conjectured ground plan of the inner courtyard of Warblington Castle. The position of Margaret Pole's personal rooms in the south-eastern tower would have given views onto the deer park to the east and towards St. Mary's church to the south. Image not to scale.

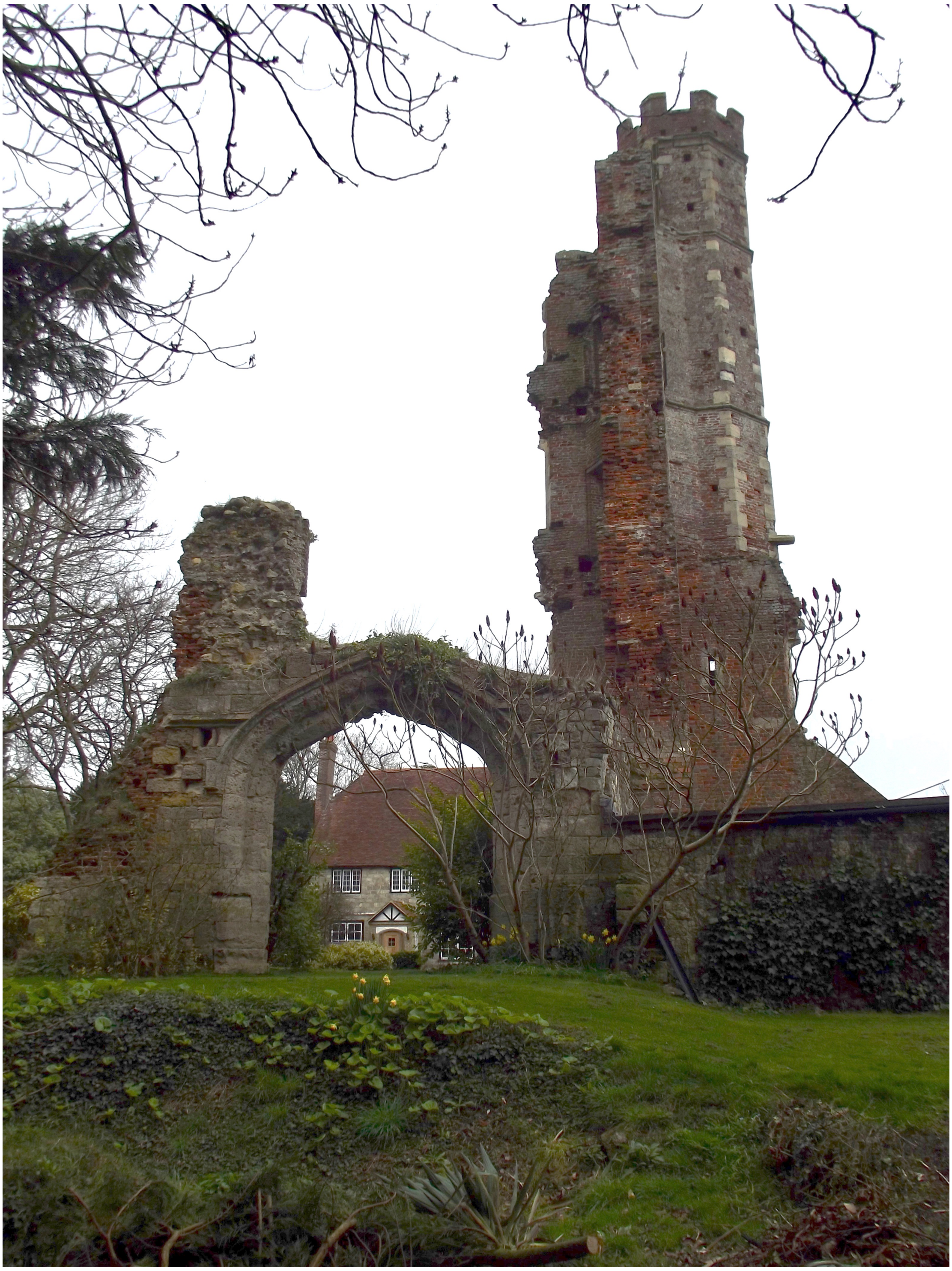

Figure 39. View of the Gatehouse looking east. The photograph is taken from within the former moat. I am grateful to Diana Bishop for granting me access to the site and for allowing me to photograph it. The later farmhouse which can be glimpsed through the gatehouse arch is the conjectured site of the great hall. Image: Author's own.

Ewelme

The residence constructed by William and Alice at Ewelme was built of brick, and comprised an inner courtyard, which was enclosed within a moat, along with a three-sided outer base court. While no standing remains of the inner courtyard survive, the inventories made of the residence in 1466 offer a valuable insight into the layout of the principal rooms and their furnishings.[100] In the accompanying notes to his transcription of one of the inventories, John Goodall convincingly argues that the document's written style suggests that the clerk recording the information was doing so as he followed another person around the complex. The fact that the inventory begins and ends on semi-public rooms accessible from the great hall further indicates- as Goodall has also argued- that the document records the contents of a single range laid out over two floors, thus providing a highly valuable record of the ordering of space within the complex.

The tour begins at first-floor level, with the first room described being a richly decorated Great Chamber, followed by two seemingly personal chambers, namely the chamber of 'demi seyntes' and the chamber of 'K. K.' The rooms' names are somewhat ambiguous, although they most likely derive from their decoration. From the thirteenth century, the term 'enceinte' took on a double meaning, denoting both pregnant and a city or castle enclosed by walls. [101] By association, a demi-ceint was a type of girdle with a clasp and long chain, worn low on the hips, and especially by high-status women during pregnancy. In her analysis of contemporary artistic representations of Mary Magdalen, Penny Jolly highlights that pregnant female saints were commonly represented with a demi-ceint slung low beneath their womb.[102] One possibility is that the first of these two rooms was decorated with such images, or that the name was related to its former use as a birthing chamber. In his transcription of the Ewelme inventories, John Goodall has postulated that 'K. K.' was a reference to Charles V, king of France, who took the letters as his personal monogram.[103] Charles, however, was long dead by the time Alice and William built their residence at Ewelme, and so the room could not have been reserved for his use. One possibility is that the king's monogram, or even his image, formed part of the room's iconographic scheme. A blue, white and purple velvet and damask counterpoint or bed covering adorned with 'K.K's, which is included among the items in the inventory, for example, was undoubtedly originally intended for this room.[104] Charles was much praised by Christine de Pizan, who in her biography of the king, presented him as a model of good kingship. It is possible that the room's decorative scheme was devised to celebrate good governance.

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[100] Bodl. Lib. MS DD. EM A 47 (1-6).

[101] P. H. Jolly, *Picturing the "Pregnant" Magdalene in Northern Art, 1430-1550: Addressing and Undressing the Sinner-Saint* (Farnham, 2014).

The next room was Alice's closet, also referred to as the chamber of 'appecloges' on account of its decoration with one of William's personal devices, a monkey's collar or ape's clog. Following this was another closet reserved for the use of Alice's gentlewomen. The unusual presence of two closets devised for female use, coupled with the decoration of the former with William's personal device, suggests that the closets may have formerly been those reserved for Alice and her husband. The fact that Alice appears to have occupied her husband's closet after his death, thus suggests that she repurposed the space during her widowhood for the conveyance of her own authority as the household's principal occupant.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Goodall, *God's House*, p. 325.

[104] Bodl. Lib. MS DD. EM A 47 (3).

At ground floor level, the rooms comprised a great hall and parlour, chapel and a wardrobe. Another inventory indicates that there was also a ewery and a nursery.[105] Strikingly, this inventory also makes reference to ‘my lordes’ chambers, which included a bedchamber and an outer chamber. While Alice appears to have repurposed William’s closet for her own use, then, it would appear that she did not also choose to also occupy his chambers. In fact, one of the ambiguities of the Ewelme inventories is that none of the chambers listed within them are explicitly referred to as Alice’s own. The position of her closet, however, indicates that the two rooms preceding it, namely the chambers of ‘demi-seyntes’ and the chamber of ‘K.K.’, were most likely Alice’s own chambers. It thus seems that during her widowhood, Alice occupied the most ceremonial and prominently placed rooms within the residence, thus befitting her status as its principal occupant.

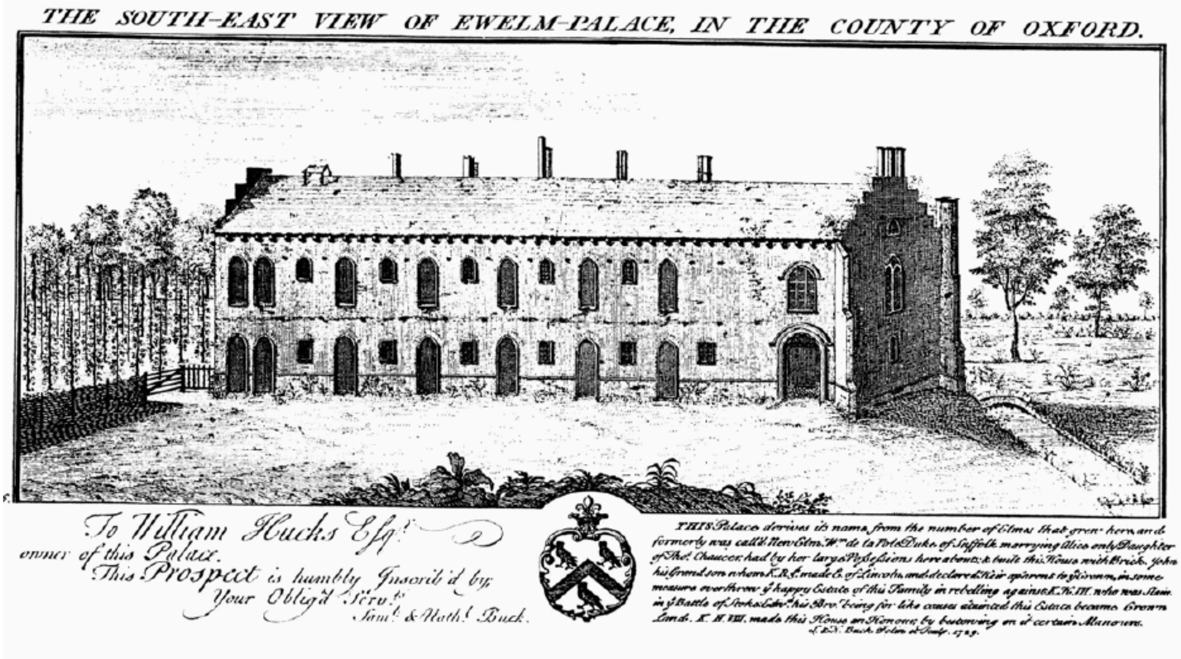
THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF EWELM-PALACE, IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD.
To William Hucks Esq.r owner of this Palace.
This Prospect is humbly Inscrib'd by
Your Oblig'd Serv.ts
Sam.l & Nath.l Buck.

Figure 40. Buck’s Engraving of Ewelme Manor House, 1729. Reproduced from M. Airs, "Ewelme" *Archaeological Journal*, 135 (1975), p. 278. Reproduced with permission from Taylor & Francis.

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[105] Bodl. Lib MS DD. EM A 47 (1).

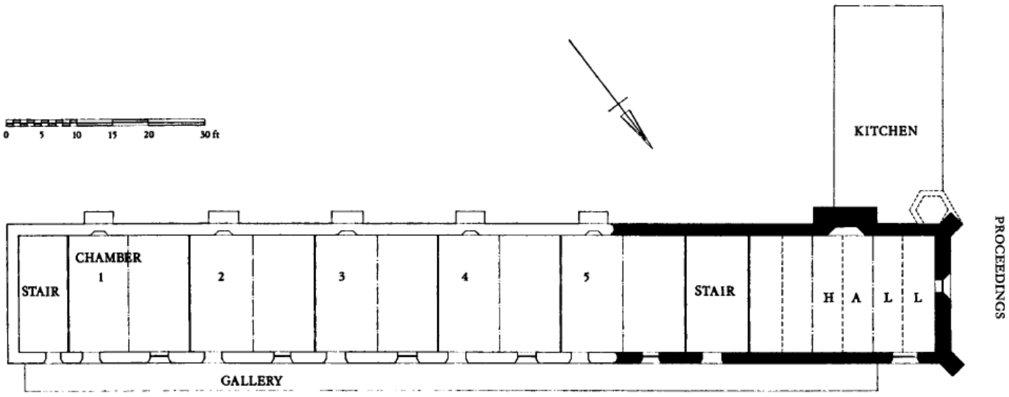

Figure 41. Schematic reconstruction of Ewelme Manor House at first-floor level. Reproduced from M. Airs, "Ewelme" *Archaeological Journal*, 135 (1975), p. 277. Reproduced with permission from Taylor & Francis.

Tiverton

Of the houses discussed in this study, Tiverton is the only site with substantial surviving aboveground remains. In their current form, the buildings of the castle cover an acre of ground, though they were once more substantial and as the previous chapter highlighted, enclosed by embattled walls and a moat.[106] Round sandstone towers mark three of the castle's four corners, the exception being the south-west corner, which supports a square tower built of rubble.[107] The main gatehouse, part of which dates to the fourteenth century, faces east onto park hill, and in the medieval period there was another gatehouse and drawbridge to the south, which gave direct access to the now destroyed Courtenay family chapel that stood in St. Peter's churchyard (see fig. 47).[108] Aside from the main gatehouse, there are a number of other areas of the building which pre-date Katherine's ownership of the residence, the most complete being the fourteenth-century southern range. Although now in a state of disrepair, the structural remains show that the original range was arranged over two-storeys and that it contained the highest status rooms within the complex. Running from east to west, the first-floor rooms of this range are commonly believed to have comprised a chapel, a hall, and a solar, the last of which was located within the residence's distinctive square tower. Most of the north wall of this tower is now missing, although enough of the structure survives to show that the room was heated by a fireplace on its west wall, and that small windows to the north of the fireplace and in the east wall gave light to the room. The most impressive surviving window, however, is a two-light Y-tracery window, which occupies the south wall and faces towards St. Peter's Church (see fig. 45). Whether this provided views onto the church or not, however, would have depended on whether it was glazed with clear or coloured glass. A reward in Katherine's household accounts to a glazier from Exeter for glass indicates that the windows of the castle were glazed, although no further detail is given as to the rooms this glass was for.[109]

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[106] RCHME Report, 'Devon, Tiverton: Tiverton Castle', Swindon NMR, BF089993.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

While it has long been thought that the two other rooms of the southern range were a chapel and a hall, Anthony Emery has recently challenged this interpretation on account of the range's limited spatial dimensions and inconsistent architectural features.[110] With regards to the hall, he argues that the site is of insufficient size to support such a structure and that it was more likely positioned along the castle's western range, with the kitchens and associated offices occupying the northern side of the castle complex. An inventory taken shortly after Katherine Courtenay's death reveals that these included a ewery, a scullery and a bakehouse with a furnace.[111] The upper end of the hall would have conversely been located at the range's southern end, where it would have given access to the solar tower. With respect to the chapel, Emery's scepticism arises from the lack of evidence for an altar-facing window in the original east wall. The fact that the room contained a piscina, however, is indicative of a religious function. One possibility not raised by Emery is that this room was a chamber oratory or closet. At the fourteenth-century castle of Beverston, for example, Thomas Berkeley had his own tower, which contained both a chapel and oratory, the latter of which had a piscina for private mass.[112] A reconsideration of the evidence thus seems to point to the south range containing a high status set of rooms, including a space for the householder's personal devotions.

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[109] TNA E36/223.

[110] Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*, *II*, pp. 650-654.

The key question, however, is whether Katherine used these rooms as her principal apartments when she was the head of the Tiverton household. By the time Katherine returned to Tiverton, the south range was two centuries old, and thus lacked the fashionable appearance of the brick-built palaces that were so popular among her contemporaries. There are no surviving building accounts for Tiverton, nor is there any structural evidence to suggest the extensive remodelling such as that undertaken by Margaret of Anjou, Beaufort and Pole at their principal residences. Katherine had sufficient funds available, however, and should she have wanted to, she could have easily commissioned a new set of apartments when she returned to Tiverton during her widowhood. One of the few parts of the building fabric that is dateable to Katherine's period of residence, however, is the three-storey tower adjoining the gatehouse. In the inventory made shortly after Katherine's death, the tower is recorded as the site of a number of valuable items, containing several chests and coffers.[113] One of these contained spices and another plate, although it is likely that they also contained deeds and documents relating to Katherine's family history and her lands and properties, the significance of which will be discussed in further detail in chapter five. In the inventory, the room directly above the gatehouse is also described as the great chamber, and would have thus been attached to this tower. The internal arrangement of the gatehouse has been much altered since its initial construction, but it formally contained three levels, suggesting that it once comprised a spacious set of rooms (see figs. 46 and 47). Given Katherine's seeming interest in this area of the complex and the location of the great chamber, it is possible that the principal suite of rooms devised for her personal use was in fact in the residence's eastern range, with her own chamber located either above the great chamber or in the vicinity of the main gatehouse. Another possibility is that Katherine continued to occupy the solar, and that the south and east ranges formed a combined series of increasingly more elaborate rooms. As will be highlighted in chapter five, as the aunt of Henry VIII, Katherine was at the heart of a rich network of network of courtly and regional elites. Her houses formed the stages on which to receive these important visitors, and it was thus fitting that she had a suite of rooms which suitably conveyed her status. While there is no evidence for Katherine creating a new suite of chambers, there is thus a possibility that she was responsible for extending, or perhaps even relocating, the highest status rooms of the household to the eastern range.

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[111] TNA S.P. 1/46.

[112] A. H. Gomme and A. Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (London, 2008), p. 180.

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[113] TNA S. P. 1/46, f. 44.

When compared to the fifteenth-century houses commissioned by the other women in this study, Tiverton is conspicuous for its old-fashioned appearance. The fact that Katherine retained the older buildings on the site, however, may have been a conscious decision, designed to celebrate the longevity of the Courtenay family's presence within the locality. As the previous chapter highlighted, many great houses that were newly built during the early Tudor period, including Margaret Pole's residence at Warblington, incorporated architectural motifs and elements that were characteristically medieval in their design, such as moats, portcullises and crenellations. These provided a means of celebrating or forging an impression of a longstanding familial connection to a particular location. Tiverton, as has already been demonstrated, had long been the caput of the Courtenay family and as the head of the household, Katherine was responsible for safeguarding a residence which on her death would pass to her son and heir. It is thus likely that rather than being a sign of disinterest or neglect, Katherine's decision was instead a conscious one, with the buildings serving as a powerful physical testament to the family's longstanding presence as the dominant elites within the region.

While neither Alice Chaucer nor Katherine Courtenay appear to have made structural changes to their houses during their widowhood, it seems that both women repurposed the spaces to suitably convey their positions as the principal occupants of the two residences. Unlike Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort, whose residences served as tangible symbols of royal authority and expanded with dynastic successes, Alice Chaucer and Katherine Courtenay's residences were instead very much county seats, more befitting of their roles as regional elites. While Margaret of Anjou, Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole were active players at the royal court at the time at which they built their residences, Alice Chaucer and Katherine Courtenay's roles at court had conversely waned by the time they returned to Ewelme and Tiverton during their widowhood. Although Alice was once at the heart of the Lancastrian court as Margaret of Anjou's lady-in-waiting, the death of her husband and the instability that followed saw her become a less frequent presence there, while Katherine Courtenay likewise largely withdrew from court politics after the death of her husband in 1511. For these women, then, their focus was more squarely fixed on preserving familial memory and consolidating their regional influence than on building courtly show homes.

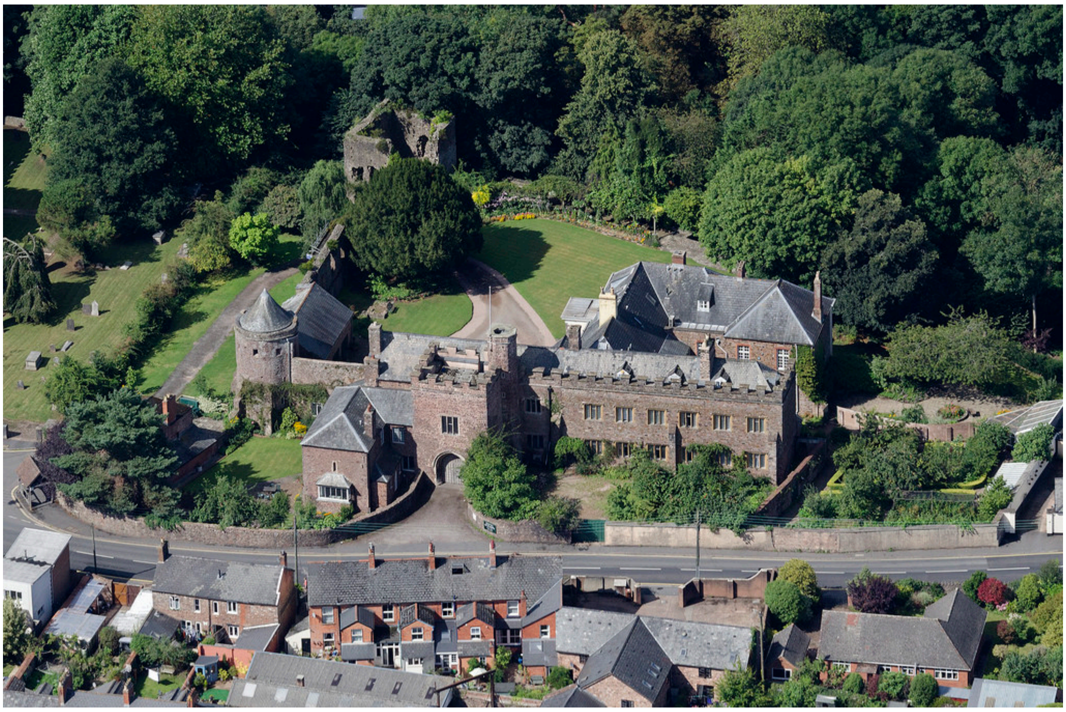

Figure 42. Aerial View of Tiverton Castle facing west. The image shows the gatehouse in the foreground, the round tower to the left, and the square solar tower in the background. The churchyard of St. Peter's church, once the site of the Courtenay family chantry chapel, is also visible to the far left of the image. Image: All Rights Reserved: John Fielding Aerial Image. Reproduced by kind permission of the author.

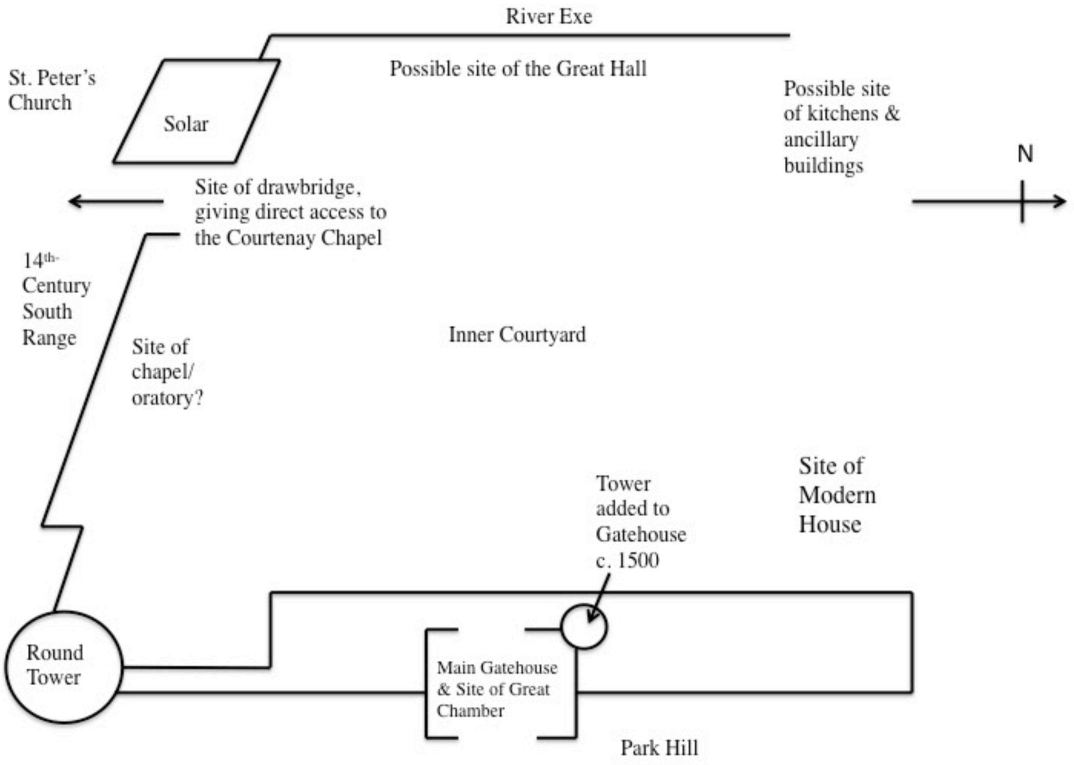
River Exe
St. Peter's Church
Solar
Possible site of the Great Hall
Possible site of kitchens & ancillary buildings
N
Site of drawbridge, giving direct access to the Courtenay Chapel
14th- Century South Range
Site of chapel/ oratory?
Inner Courtyard
Tower added to Gatehouse c. 1500
Site of Modern House
Round Tower
Main Gatehouse & Site of Great Chamber
Park Hill

Figure 43. Schematic Plan of the inner courtyard of Tiverton Castle. Image not to scale.

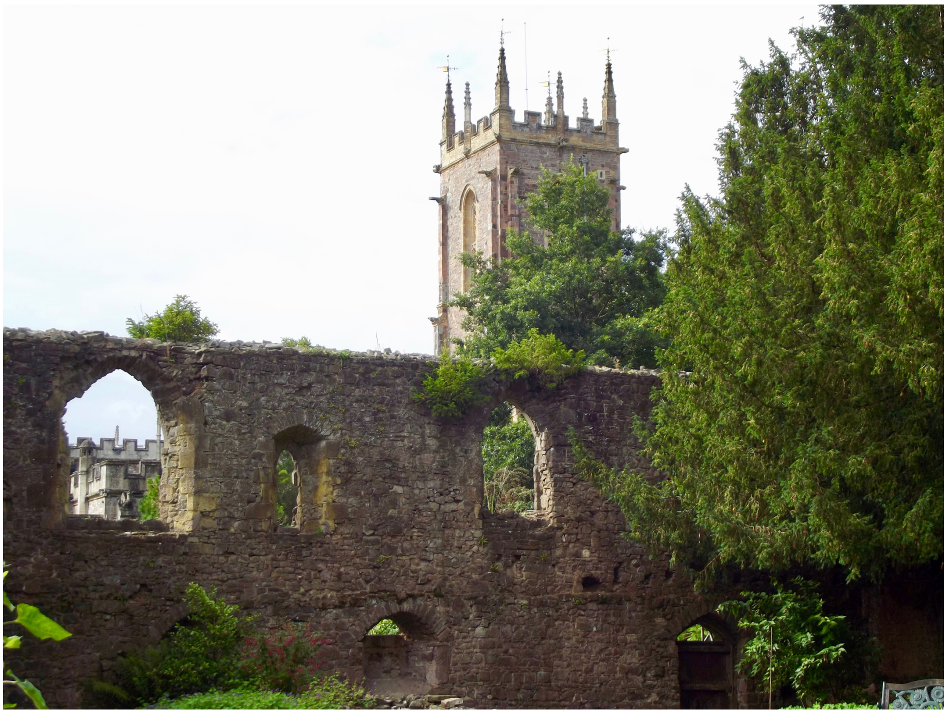

Figure 44. View of the fourteenth-century south range from within the inner courtyard. The spire of St. Peter's Church is visible in the background. Image: Author's own.

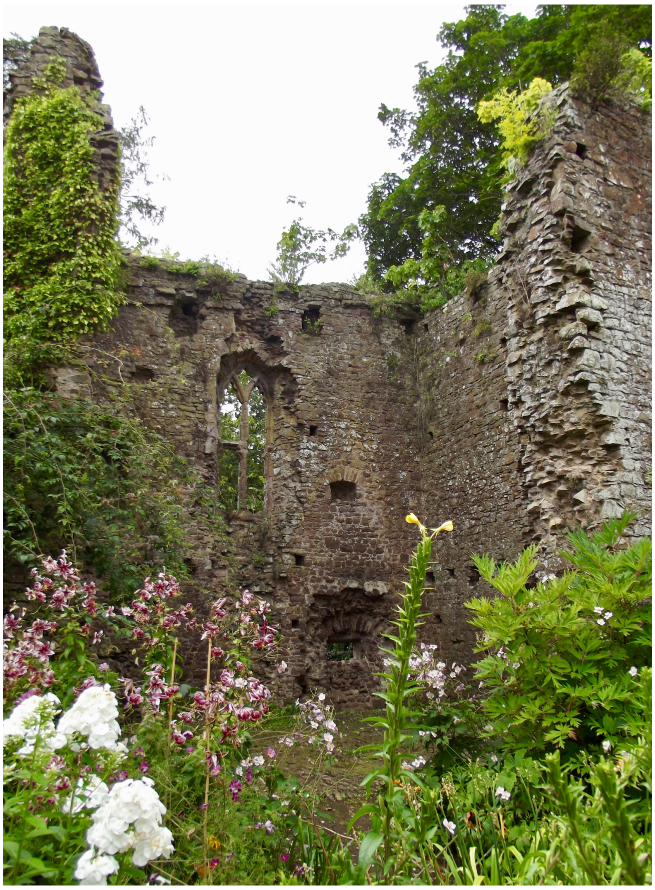

Figure 45. View of the solar from within the inner courtyard, facing south. Note the substantial two-light window facing towards St. Peter's church. Image: Author's own.

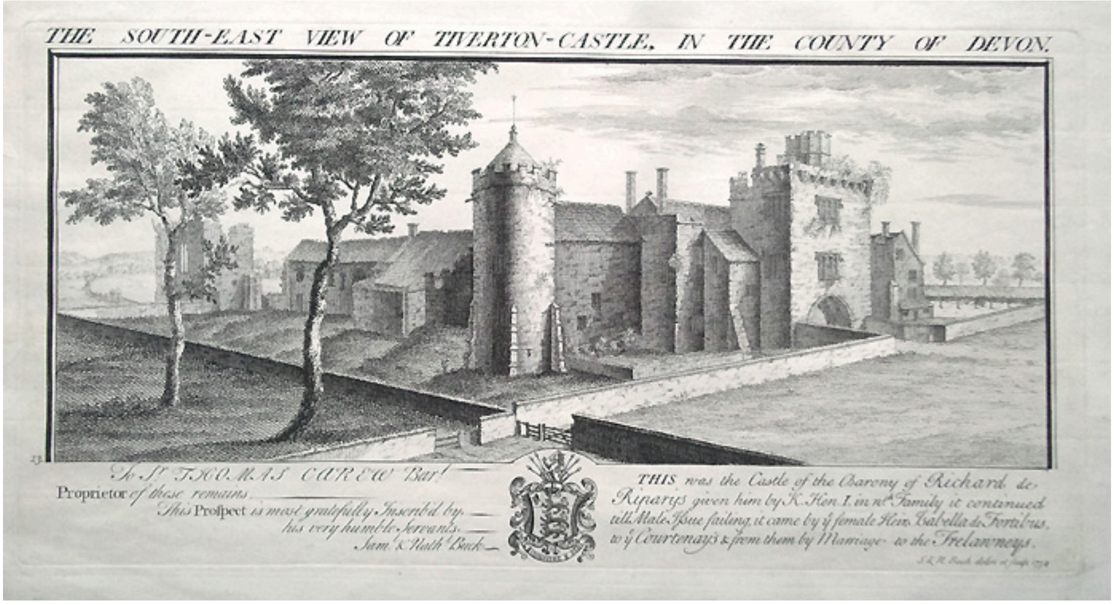
THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF TIVERTON-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON.
23.
To Sr. THOMAS CAREW Bart.
Proprietor of these remains.
This Proſpect is most gratefully Inscrib'd by
his very humble ſervants.
Saml. & Nathl. Buck.
THIS was the Castle of the Barony of Richard de Riparys given him by K. Hen. I. in ye. Family it continued till Male Iſsue failing, it came by ye female Heir, Isabella de Fortibus, to ye Courtenays & from them by Marriage to the Trelawneys.
S. & N. Buck delin. et Sculp. 1734

Figure 46. Samuel and Nathaniel Bucks' Engraving of Tiverton Castle, 1734. Image reproduced from M. Westcott, 'Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, 1479- 1527', in T. Gray, M. Rowe and A. Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, (Exeter, 1992), p. 16. Note that there are two storeys above the main gate (compared with one shown in fig. 47 below).

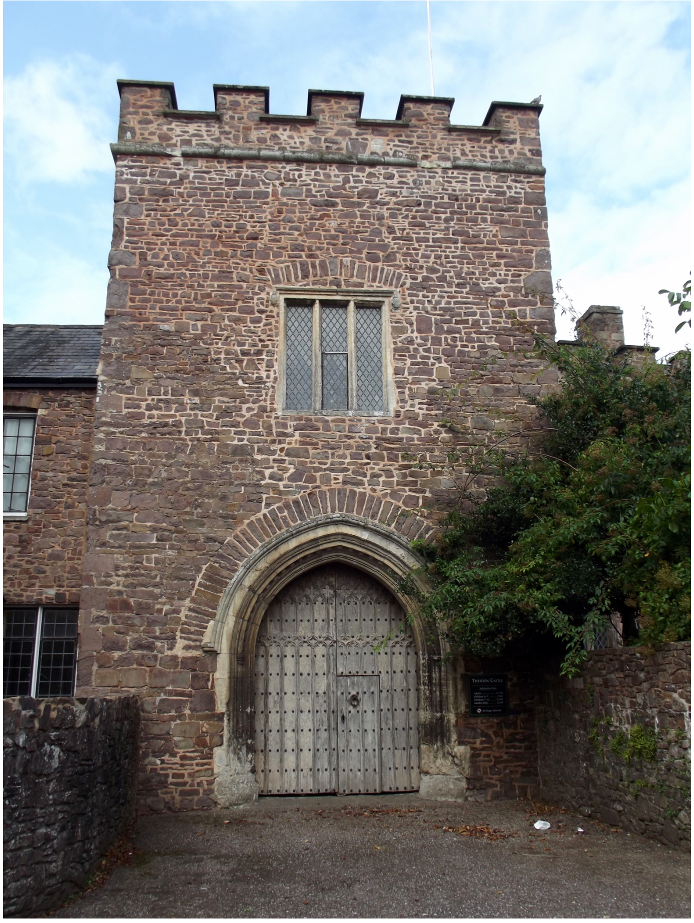

Figure 47. View of the main gatehouse at Tiverton from Park Hill. Katherine Courtenay's great chamber was located above the main gate. Image: Author's own.

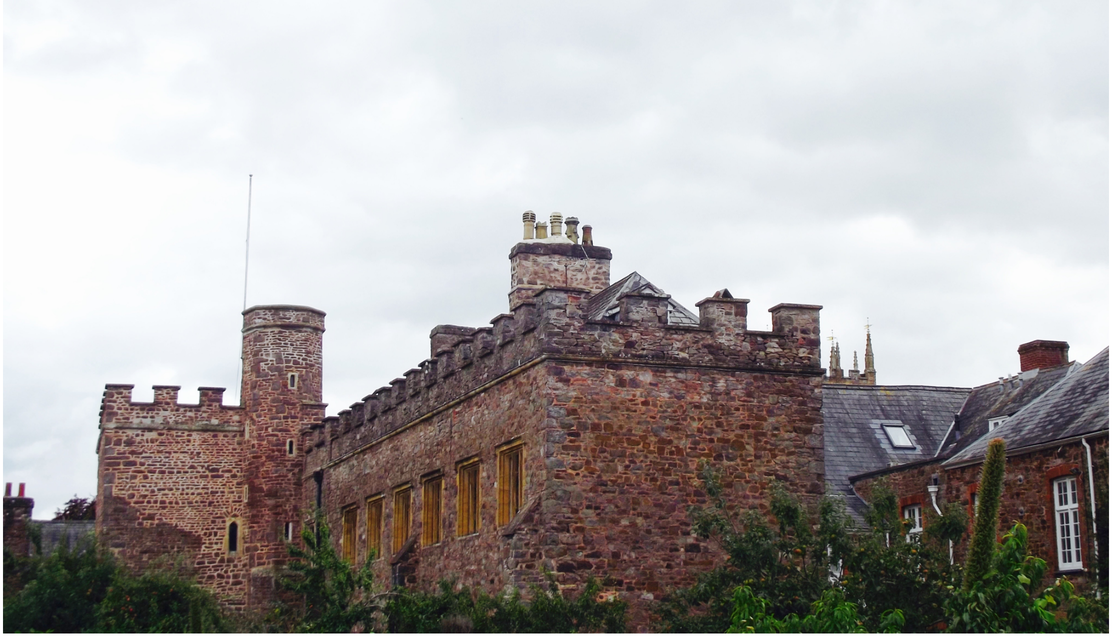

Figure 48. A view of the gatehouse from the north showing the tower coeval with Katherine Courtenay's period of residency. Image: Author's own.

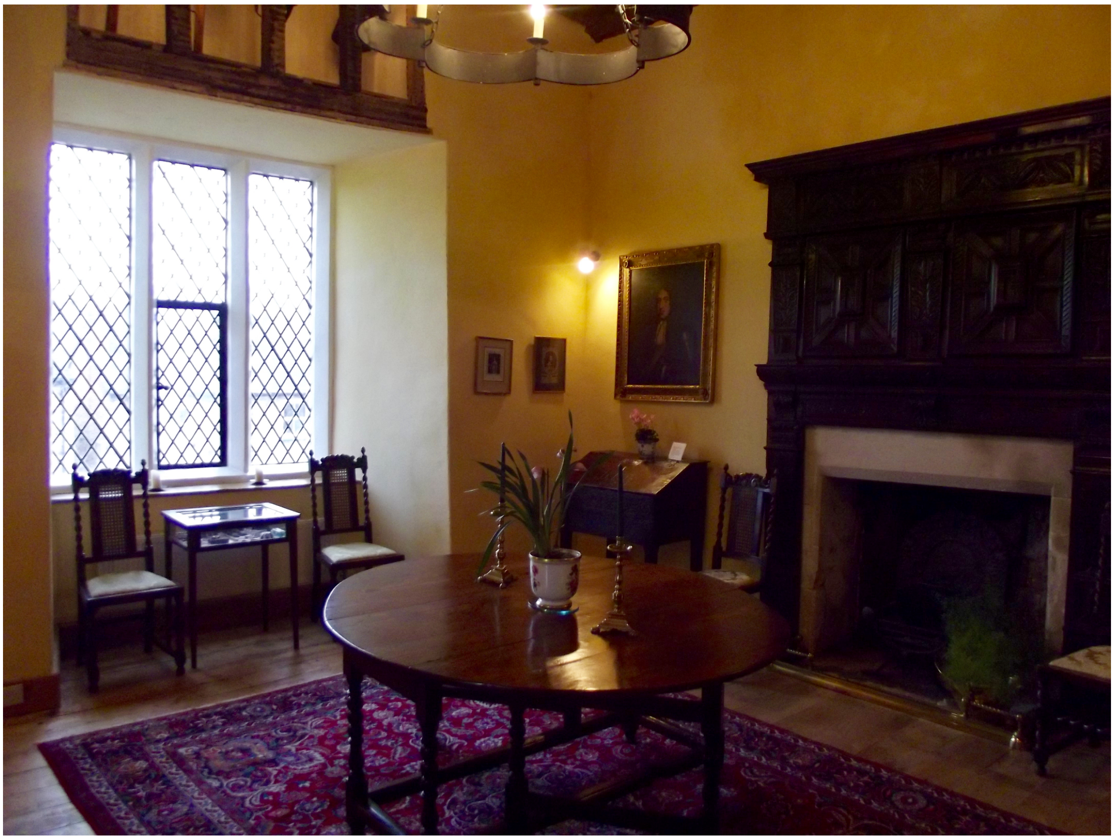

Figure 49. View of the great chamber (above the main gatehouse) from the inside, facing southeast. Note the wooden beams above the window, which mark the later changes to floor and window levels. Image: Author's own. I am grateful to Alison and Angus Gordon for allowing me to view and photograph the house.

Conclusion

The houses inhabited by high-status women exhibited many of the same characteristics and features that we would expect to find in great households headed by men. Aspects traditionally regarded as "masculine", such as crenellated towers, great halls, stables and counting houses, were common to the domestic spatial ideology of both male and female great houses, as were the more "feminine" spaces, such as chapel closets and enclosed gardens. To conclude that women merely inhabited the same spaces as their male contemporaries, however, would be to oversimplify a more complex reality.

In cases where the women are visible as active shapers of their domestic environment, it is evident that the materials and craftsmen they employed were by no means inferior to those of their male counterparts; rather, the women created houses that conformed to the latest courtly fashions and trends, and in some cases even anticipated them. The grand appearance of the surviving brick and stone gatehouse tower at Warblington, or the stained glass commissioned by the king's glazier, John Prudde at Greenwich, are a testament to the luxurious design of these women's houses. In Margaret of Anjou's case, her commission of a bathroom, as well as her installation of Flemish tiles and stained glass at Pleasaunce, also suggests an element of cultural transfer, as these elements were rarely employed in English architectural design at this point. In some cases, the women's domestic architectural commissions also appear to have shaped the character and appearance of their non-domestic building programmes. The arcaded walkway beneath the principal's lodgings at Queen's College, Cambridge, and the apartments devised for Margaret Beaufort's personal use at Christ's College, appear to have closely resembled the arrangement and appearance of the women's apartments within a domestic context. In both cases, the women commissioned their educational foundations at the same time as their domestic building programmes, and thus their building achievements within a domestic context can be said to have had a direct bearing on the ways in which they spatially articulated their power within and through non-domestic settings.

The lengthy building programmes at Greenwich and Collyweston show that the women's houses underwent continual change during Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort's periods of residence. The near-constant flow of workmen and materials would have advertised the women's continued purchasing power and status. In the cases of these particular houses, there is also evidence to indicate increased building activity at times of particular importance for these women in their capacity as royal mothers. In Margaret of Anjou's case, the creation of a new closet for the king at Greenwich coincided with her pregnancy and safe delivery of a son and heir to the English throne, while for Margaret Beaufort, the creation of the new lodgings at Collyweston anticipated an event which celebrated her status as the matriarch of the ruling house and her role as grandmother to the new queen of Scotland. Much like the literary Melusine mentioned in the opening to the previous chapter, these women's building programmes were intimately tied to their motherhood, thus reflecting distinctly feminine experiences and priorities.

In Margaret Pole's case, the construction of Warblington took place at a point when she was at the height of her courtly career, having recently returned to the court as a member of Catherine of Aragon's chamber and one of the wealthiest women in England. By contrast, however, Alice Chaucer and Katherine Courtenay's influence at the royal court had waned by the time the women returned to Ewelme and Tiverton during their widowhood and their lack of building appears to reflect their differing concerns to the three Margarets, whose building programmes were closely tied to newfound personal and dynastic successes. That said, the lens of motherhood can also be applied to the cases of Alice and Katherine, as both women were safeguarding the inheritance of their sons. By preserving a historic ordering of space, the women were thus protecting the tangible signifiers of their families' nobility and status.

This chapter has also identified common characteristics of elite female living quarters. The popularity of parlours, 'secret' chambers and chapel closets, as well as visual and spatial proximity to enclosed, outdoor spaces such as gardens and deer parks, indicates that the creation of secluded spaces was an important part of the spatial grammar of female domestic authority, regardless of whether the women was a wife or widow. The exclusion of an armoury at Warblington or a library and vestry from the queen's chambers at Greenwich also provides some indication that the spatial environment of the elite female residence was in some ways different from that of their male counterparts, with the seeming omission of these rooms reflecting differing gender roles and concerns. Yet, Collyweston, which had all the appurtenances of a kingly household, confuses this picture. In this case, the library and jewel house were not associated with the king's living quarters, but instead formed a more general feature of the complex. Other spaces that were typically regarded as 'masculine', such as halls and deer parks, were also a common feature of these women's houses. All the women, for example, retained or created great halls, the symbolic and distinctly masculine heart of the great household. The women's seeming preference for enclosed parks, as mentioned in the previous chapter, however, as well as the creation of spacious parlours and separate dining chambers, suggests that the women may have preferred to entertain in the more secluded and less easily accessible spaces, rather than the more open spaces of the household. This can be most obviously seen at Warblington, where the rooms created for Margaret Pole's own use were extensive, and included two parlours and a separate dining chamber.

In the cases where the women were still married, segregation of the grounds of gender appears to have been a defining feature of their domestic space. The spatial arrangement of Greenwich with its separate wards for the king and queen, and the evidence of separate closets for Margaret Beaufort and Thomas Stanley at Collyweston indicate that the separation of the sexes was as much a characteristic feature of female headed households as it was of male ones. Margaret of Anjou's suite of apartments, with its direct access to the chapel and views over the palace's gardens, for example, conforms to blueprint we would expect of queenly apartments in a royal palace headed by the king. Likewise, the fact that both Margaret Beaufort and her husband had separate chambers which led to their own chapel closets, indicates a mirroring of the spatial arrangement found in their marital residences.

But did these women, as Gilchrist and others have argued, merely reproduce the spatial arrangements which rendered them subordinate? Both Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort spent far more money and time updating their own apartments than those of their husbands, suggesting that both women were eager to create rooms which suitably reflected their status as the principal occupants of their own residences. At Collyweston, the rooms created for Margaret also appear to have been grander than those reserved for her husband. This chapter has also argued that the women's personal apartments were sites of conspicuous privacy. Through the architectural and visual display of their heraldic motifs and badges, these women signalled the location of their authority within the domestic complex in a highly visible manner. Likewise, although Margaret Pole's rooms were located in the uppermost reaches of the southeastern tower at Warblington, the views from the bay windows, most likely towards the park to the east and St. Mary's church to the south, provided opportunities for the countess to configure her authority through reference to both the masculine and the feminine.

The introduction to this chapter highlighted that, in much the same way as outdoor space, the increasing spatial complexity of the interior layout of the medieval great residence during the later fifteenth and early-sixteenth century complicates discussions of gender, privacy and domestic space considerably. It is apparent that by the end of the middle ages, enclosure and separation, as the previous chapter argued, were integral to spatial expression of the gender identities of both high-status men and women. Nevertheless, it is evident that high-status women, in their capacity as the heads of their own households, were able to exploit this dual gendering of space to their advantage. Through their enclosure and separation, elite women were able to express their authority as lords, without compromising an image of chastity and piety that was so central to their image as queens, widows and matriarchs.

Chapter Four: Gendered Iconography

We followed hir unto the chambre doore;/ 'Suster,' quod she, 'come in ye after me.'/ But wite ye wele, ther was a paved floore/The goodeliest that any wight might see; And furthermore aboute than loked we/On eche a corner and upon every wal,/The whiche is made of berel and cristal;/Wheron was graven of storyes many oon'.[1]

Following her entry into the Great Chamber of Lady Loyalty's all-female residence, the narrator of *The Assembly of Ladies,* the late medieval poem introduced at the beginning of this thesis, describes the 'storyes' depicted on the chamber walls. The reader soon discovers a common theme uniting these images, namely that they all show classical women who have been wronged or deceived by men. Among them is the tale of Phillis, who 'deyd pitously for the love of Demephon', that of Thisbe, who 'slowe hir self under a tre' and that of Melusine, who 'untriewly was disceyved in hir bane'.[2] The iconographic scheme of Lady Loyalty's chamber thus bears a direct relation to the room's purpose as a site in which she will receive her female petitioners and seek justice on their behalf. The poet's language and the reader's understanding of the space as a site of female authority guides our interpretation of the images, inviting us to read them not as celebrations of women's foolishness or passivity, but as a powerful visual reminder of the fact that the plight of the narrator and her women is not without precedent. By using iconography to connect the present to the past, the poet emphasises the importance of Lady Loyalty's role, not only as a representative voice for her contemporaries, but as a figurehead who seeks to remedy a longstanding historical problem. The images on the walls thus not only refer to the room's purpose, but also reinforce Lady Loyalty's authority by conveying the long-awaited need for her presence.

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[1] 'The Assembly of Ladies'.
We followed her to the chamber door/'Sister', said she, 'come in after me'/Believe me, there was a paved floor/The fairest that any person might see/And then we looked around further/On each corner and upon every wall/which was made of beryl and crystal/There were many stories engraved'. Translation my own.

[2] Ibid.

This chapter takes the gendered imagery of the five residences as its subject. Focusing in particular on the representation of male and female bodies through large-scale visual media such as wall paintings and tapestries, much like those found in *The Assembly of Ladies*, the discussion considers how the visual content of these items, and the spaces in which they were displayed, formulated and reinforced female constructions of authority through domestic space in reality.

Affective Vision and Ways of Seeing

Discussions regarding the historicity of sight and vision are now well established. While the term vision is commonly used to refer to the neurological and physiological processes of seeing, scholarship in the last four decades has laid increasing emphasis on visuality, namely vision as it was culturally and socially constructed.[3] Such approaches are unanimous in their conclusions that pre-modern ways of seeing the world were not the same as our own, but were highly dependent on historical context.

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[3] The literature on this subject is too great to be listed in full here. See, for example, S. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (London, 2002); The collected essays in R. S. Nelson (ed) *Visuality before the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (Cambridge, 2000); K. Giles, 'Seeing and Believing: Visuality and Space in Pre-Modern England', *World Archaeology*, 39/1 (2007); C. P. Graves, 'Sensing and Believing: Exploring Worlds of Difference in Pre-Modern England: A Contribution to the Debate Opened by Kate Giles', *World Archaeology*, 39/4 (2007); Woolgar, *Senses*, esp. Chapters 2 & 8; S. Stanbury, *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2008).

One of the core differences between medieval and modern conceptions of sensory experience is that during the middle ages- and in fact up until the seventeenth century- the senses were understood as far more active than they are today.[4] Vision, for example, was not just a passive act, but was rather a participatory, two-way process between viewer and viewed. Nor was vision strictly delineated from the other four senses, with medieval writers placing considerable emphasis on its corporeality.[5] The act of seeing was akin to touching, knowing, and experiencing, and thus the gaze was regarded as a powerful, experiential tool. This is best illustrated by late medieval devotional texts, in which recipients of divine visions are presented as spiritually and socially privileged on account of gaining greater knowledge of and proximity to the divine. A prime example is Mary Magdalene, whose status as the first person to see the risen Christ afforded her an especial importance in late medieval devotion.[6]

The attention given to ways of seeing over the past four decades has fundamentally altered the ways in which scholars examine the artistic and material remains of the medieval and early modern world. While iconographic representations were once only considered in terms of their production, or for their economic or artistic value, we have now reached a point whereby it is commonplace to consider such items for their social significance, and for their importance in structuring and reinforcing power relations between individuals and social groups.[7] Through their understanding that sight was a far more affective and corporeal concept than it is today, scholars have recognised that medieval and early modern images not only served a didactic function, but could also evoke a far more emotive and embodied response from their pre-modern viewers than from their present day ones.

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[4] Woolgar, *Senses.*

[5] D. G. Denery II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval Word: Optics, Theory, and Religious Life* (Cambridge, 2005).

[6] Woolgar, *Senses*, p. 149.

[7] This is typified by the relatively recent interest in the social significance of images displayed within communal spaces. See, for instance, K. Giles, 'A Table of Alabaster with the Story of the Doom': The Religious Objects and Spaces of the Guild of Our Blessed Virgin, Boston (Lincs)', in T. Hamling and C. Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham, 2010); M. Gill, 'Female Piety and Impiety: Selected Images of Women in Wall Paintings in England after 1300', in S. J. E. Riches and S. Salih (eds), *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London, 2002); S. E. J. Gerstel, 'Painted Sources for Female Piety in

Efforts to reconstruct and explore the ways in which material remains were historically understood and experienced have arisen from two differing yet complementary angles. On the one hand, increased attention has been paid to the materiality of the images and objects themselves, with scholars not only considering the subjects depicted, but also how practical matters, such as size, the materials used to create them, and their placement within a given spatial context might have altered who was able to see them and the ways in which they experienced and interpreted them.[8] Revisionist attention has also been given to the viewers of such images, with attempts made to re-imagine and re-create the experiences of pre-modern spectators.[9] We have now also moved away from approaches which refer to the medieval viewer in a singular way, to instead consider how factors such as an individual's background and social circumstances might have impacted upon their reception and understanding of a given visual depiction. A prime example of this is Elizabeth L'Estrange's revisionist take on Michael Baxandall's concept of the "period eye".[10] While the "period eye" was coined

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Medieval Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 52 (1998); Giles, 'Seeing and Believing'; Graves, 'Sensing and Believing'; A. Richardson and T. Hamling, 'Ways of Seeing Early Modern Decorative Textiles', *Textile History*, 47 (2016); M. Tyler, 'Symbols of Power and Authority: The Iconography of Late Thirteenth-Century Chapter Houses', https://www.york.ac.uk/teaching/history/pjpg/Chapterhouse.pdf (28 Aug 17).

[8] Ibid.

[9] B. W. Tatler, R. G. Macdonald, T. Hamling and C. Richardson, 'Looking at Domestic Textiles: An Eye-Tracking Experiment Analysing Influences on Viewing Behaviour at Owlpen Manor', *Textile History*, 47 (2016).

[10] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1974); E. L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008).

by Baxandall to convey the distinction between the cultural expectations and knowledge of modern and medieval viewers, L'Estrange in response formulated the more nuanced concept of the "situational eye", to acknowledge that medieval viewers did not interpret visual culture in a uniform or monolithic way, but rather brought different expectations and readings to images according to their social and cultural context.[11]

Gendering the Gaze: Representing & Viewing Female Bodies

The developments outlined above relate directly to the now rich and ever-growing body of scholarship on pre-modern women's roles as makers, commissioners and consumers of visual culture.[12] For many years, the assumption that the gaze of authority was always male went unchallenged, and perpetuated a view that images of women were designed to reinforce socially constructed ideas of male superiority and female passivity.[13] Art historical scholarship in the last two decades, however, has sought to complicate the binaries of male/female, passive/active, and in doing so has shown that a much more complex reality was at play.[14] Revisionist attention to female piety, for example, has shown that images of the Virgin Mary and the female saints, with their emphasis on compassion and motherhood, did not necessarily reinforce concepts of female passivity and inferiority, but could in fact be utilised by both lay and religious female onlookers to their own advantage.[15] In his work on art in nunneries, Jeffrey Hamburger has argued that while the enclosed life severely limited nuns' agency, they were nonetheless able to develop a distinctive visual culture, which circumvented the traditionally sceptical or dismissive attitudes to art in pastoral care.[16] From a literary perspective, Laura Varnam has recently argued that Margery Kempe's emotive and bodily identification with a *pietà* image, that is to say an image of the Virgin Mary cradling the body of her dead son, was a vehicle for Margery's own spiritual freedom and agency, which enabled her to bypass clerical authority and to assert her place as part of an emotional community of women, united through their maternal empathy with the Virgin's plight and suffering.[17] Indeed, Sarah Stanbury has argued that in gazing directly upon her son's body, Mary herself is afforded agency in the Passion narrative.[18] L'Estrange has offered a further challenge to the passivity of the female spectator through her analysis of both the context and concept of the medieval tournament ground.[19] In drawing attention to the numerous surviving examples of mirrors and combs engraved with tournament scenes, she argues that in using these objects of vanity, 'the female viewer was encouraged to take up a viewing position in which she saw herself not only as a desired object, but also as a desiring subject, able to enact a certain degree of agency'.[20] In consuming both secular and sacred images that emphasized their very femininity, female viewers were not necessarily rendered inferior or passive, but could utilise these images to their own advantage.

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[11] L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*, pp. 32-33.

[12] There is not scope to give an exhaustive account here, but see for example, M. Miller*, Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca, 2014); M. Bleeke, J. Borland, R. Dressler, M. Easton and E. L'Estrange, 'Artistic Representations: Women and/in Visual Culture', in K. M. Phillips (ed), *A Cultural History of Women in the Middle Ages*, Vol. II (London, 2013); T. Martin (ed), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 2 Vols. (Leiden, 2012); Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage From Henry III to Edward III;* J. F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkley, Los Angeles, London, 1997); S. E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (London and New York, 2016); G. Johnson, 'Imagining Images of Powerful Women: Maria de' Medici's Patronage of Art and Architecture', in C. Lawrence (ed), *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (University Park, PA, 1997); D. Eichberger, 'Devotional Objects in Book Format: Diptychs in the Collection of Margaret of Austria and her Family', in M. M. Muir and B. James (eds), *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship* (Exeter, 1998); D. Eichberger and L. Beaven, 'Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria', *The Art Bulletin*, 77/2 (June 1995).

[13] Laura Mulvey's work has been highly influential in this respect. See L. Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, 16 (1975); M. H. Caviness, *Visualising Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, 2000). For the perceived dangers of and attempts to police the female gaze in medieval thought see, M. M. Sauer, 'Architecture of Desire: Mediating the Female Gaze in the Medieval English Anchorhold, *Gender & History*, 25/3 (November, 2013).

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[14] For an introduction to the impact of feminist theory on medieval art historical scholarship see, M. Easton, 'Feminist Art History and Medieval Iconography', in C. Hourihane (ed), *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography* (London & New York, 2017); L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood.*

[15] See for example, R. L. A. Clark, 'Constructing the Female Subject in Late Medieval Devotion', in K. Ashley and R. L. A. Clark (eds), *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis, 2001); P. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship', in C. Neel (ed), *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Families, Households and Children* (Toronto, 2004); J. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998); K. A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Medieval England* (New York, 1997), p. 150; Meale, "…alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch', p. 128.

[16] Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists,* p. 222.

[17] L. Varnam, 'The Crucifix, the Pieta, and the Female Mystic: Devotional Objects and Performative Identity in the Book of Margery Kempe', *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 41/2 (2015). See also Olison, '"Woman, Why Weepest Thou?"

[18] S. Stanbury, 'The Virgin's Gaze: Spectacle and Transgression in Middle English Lyrics of the Passion', *PMLA,* 106/5 (Oct., 1991).

The complexities of the relationship between gender, power and imagery are further evidenced by the fact that images of men did not necessarily emphasize masculine traits, just as images of women did not always emphasize feminine ones. A great many late medieval devotional texts and images, for example, represent Christ as feminine, and L'Estrange has argued that feminine traits, such as compassion and motherhood, were cultural constructs available to both male and female viewers.[21] Likewise, recent work on cross-dressing in medieval hagiographies has shown how female saints often adopt 'masculine' clothing and characteristics for the attainment of spiritual perfection.[22] This chapter is thus attentive to the more nuanced readings of gender that have developed in recent art historical analysis, and to the fact that representations of male and female bodies, and of masculinities and femininities, could be utilised by both sexes as conduits of authority and agency.

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[19] E. L'Estrange, 'Gazing at Gawain: Reconsidering Tournaments, Courtly Love, and the Lady Who Looks', *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality*, 44/2 (2008).

[20] Ibid. p. 82.

[21] The femininity of Jesus is famously explored in Caroline Walker Bynum's monograph, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982). See also, R. Jensen, 'The Femininity of Christ in Early Christian Iconography', *Studia Patristica,* 29 (1995); M. Easton, 'The Wound of Christ, the Mouth of Hell: Appropriations and Inversions of Female Anatomy in the Later Middle Ages', in S. L'Engle and G. B. Guest (eds), *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, Art & Architecture* (London, 2006). L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*.

[22] The subject of female cross-dressing has largely been explored from a literary perspective. For an art historical treatment of this subject see, M. Easton, "Why Can't a Woman be More Like a Man?' Transforming and Transcending Gender in the Lives of Female Saints', in E. S. Lane, E. C. Pastan, and E. M. Shortell (eds), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Abingdon & New York, 2017).

Gendered Imagery in the Great Residence

Medievalists have posited the home as the ideal *locale* for exploring women's reception and consumption of art in a more positive light, yet considerations of sight, spectacle and display in the great medieval household have nonetheless retained an androcentric focus.[23] Amanda Richardson, for example, has argued that the imagery of royal households was designed to reinforce male superiority, with the king and queen's apartments defined by their contrasting imagery.[24] While the king was surrounded by images of good rulership and heroic deeds, the queen conversely looked upon depictions of piety and motherhood. In instances where Marian iconography was a feature of both the king and queen's personal chapels, the way in which Mary was represented differed. Richardson argues that while in the chapels of kings Mary was more commonly celebrated alongside the Trinity and as the queen of heaven, in queenly apartments she was more characteristically shown in contemplative poses, typified by Annunciation scenes.[25] According to Richardson, the visual display of the royal household thus reflected and reinforced culturally constructed ideas of female inferiority.[26] Yet, this straightforwardly didactic reading of the images is problematic, and fails to engage with the abovementioned scholarship, or to consider the multiple and dynamic ways in which the images might have functioned within the context of the queen's apartments.[27] The exclusive focus in recent scholarship on houses headed by men has thus offered a one-sided view of gender, imagery and the gaze in the late medieval great household.

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[23] L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*.

[24] Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces'.

[25] Ibid. p. 153.

[26] Ibid. p. 165.

This chapter responds to this *lacuna* in current scholarship by considering how the gendered imagery of the great residence might be interpreted and understood when the figure and gaze of authority was female.[28] Through its comparative analysis, this chapter is the first study to consider how medieval female heads of household utilised gendered imagery for the construction of their authority. The discussion will consider the distribution of male and female imagery throughout the residence, the spatial context of such images, and the ways in which specific representations of male and female bodies served to reflect and formulate female expressions of domestic authority. This is by no means a straightforward task. For one, this chapter is a discussion of imagery without images. No visual culture survives for any of the houses addressed in this study, and neither do the rooms in which these images were once displayed. In the one instance where there are standing buildings, namely at Tiverton, we lack the documentary evidence for any large-scale visual culture that was displayed in the residence at the time of Katherine Courtenay's occupancy. Similarly, nothing is known of the wall paintings or hangings displayed at Margaret of Anjou's Palace of Pleasaunce. Despite the paucity of surviving visual and material culture, however, the documentary record and the comparable visual culture from other contemporary residences and contexts, allows us to re-imagine and explore the appearance of women's domestic establishments. The most detailed evidence comes from the surviving room-by-room inventories for Ewelme and Warblington, while information for the visual schemes at Collyweston are gleaned from building accounts and the general inventories of Margaret Beaufort's goods.[29]

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[27] Very little attempt has been made to connect the imagery of female spaces to their use. An exception is recent work on Churching ceremonies. See, for example, C. Shenton 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III', in Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (eds) *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003).

[28] This is a subject that has been taken up with greater enthusiasm by early modernists, although their attentions remain singularly focused on Bess of Hardwick, countess of Shrewsbury (c. 1527-1608). See Alice Friedman's influential study, 'Architecture, Authority and the Gaze' and S. French, 'A Widow Building'.

The ensuing discussion is not intended to provide an exhaustive account of the iconography displayed within each of the residences addressed. Rather, it is a consideration of the ways in which images acquired and gave meaning to the social and spatial context of the home. Developing the observations made in the previous chapter, the room-by-room analysis of key reception rooms, namely the great hall, the chapel, the parlour and the great chamber, as presented in the ensuing discussion, offers the first scholarly consideration of female authority as it was articulated through the visual environment of the late medieval great household.

The Great Hall

The previous chapter highlighted the hall's importance as the symbolic, masculine centre of the great medieval residence. As one of the most openly accessible spaces of the residence and as the main site of reception and display, studies concerned with the iconography of halls in royal palaces have shown that such spaces were often suitably dominated by 'masculine' images of heroic deeds, virtuous rulers and great men, while images of women were either relegated to a marginal position or entirely absent from such spaces.[30] The great hall of John Fastolf's residence at Caister Castle (Norfolk) typifies this trend, which in the fifteenth century was hung with a tapestry of the siege of Falaise (in which Fastolf himself had participated) and 'Camillus and the schoolmaster', a tale that was closely connected in contemporary thought to chivalric virtues and the Order of the Garter.[31] The hall at Caister thus celebrated Fastolf's lordship through reference to his masculinity, namely his military career and prowess beyond the home.

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[29] Bodl, Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (2); TNA S.P. 1/139, ff. 72-84; SJC D91.14.

[30] Scott McKendrick highlights that the History of Troy is a recurrent theme in late medieval great halls. See S. McKendrick, 'The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular

The previous chapter indicated that all the women created or inhabited residences with great halls. Yet, of all the rooms considered in this chapter, the great hall is the space for which we know the least with regard to visual decoration. The otherwise detailed inventory pertaining to Ewelme, for example, frustratingly omits to mention the hall altogether, instead taking the reception rooms beyond the great hall as its starting point.[32] Individual case studies, however, are instructive of the ways in which particular women used such spaces for the projection of their authority. Margaret Pole's great hall at Warblington was hung with nine tapestries, which together displayed the recent discovery of Newfoundland.[33] In 1497, the Venetian navigator, John Cabot, had discovered the coast of North America after setting sail from England at Henry VII's commission. Few details are known of Cabot's journey, and no other known contemporary representations of it survive, yet it is likely that the tapestries showed the various stages of Cabot's voyage, and the fantastical places, people and animals he encountered on his travels. The visual celebration of near-contemporary events is also apparent in Margaret Beaufort's tapestry collection, which included a set she had

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Theme in Late Medieval Art', *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54 (1991); Richardson, 'Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces'.

[31] A. Emery, *Great Medieval Houses of England and Wales, II,* p. 59.; Hawkyard, 'Sir John Fastolf's 'Gret Mansion by me Late Edified', p. 60.

[32] Bodl. Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (2).

[33] TNA S.P. 1/139, f. 72.

inherited from her father, on which the feats of one of his war captains, Matthew Gough, were depicted.[34] The room in which these tapestries were hung is unknown, yet the popularity of the great hall for the display of tapestries detailing contemporary heroic journeys and feats make it a likely location. It is also notable that Gough's feats were one of a number of masculine subjects included in Margaret's tapestry collection, among which there were also pieces displaying the tales of classical kings and biblical patriarchs.[35]

The tapestries in the great hall at Warblington displayed a narrative that centred on a male protagonist, and celebrated a masculine theme of adventure. As women, neither Margaret Pole nor Margaret Beaufort would have witnessed Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland or the French Wars first hand, and the imagery of the hall thus documented a world from which they were physically excluded. Yet, if vision was akin to knowing and experiencing, the mere act of owning and gazing upon these tapestries would have enabled the women to mentally participate in these events.

These masculine themes of voyage and warfare also had the effect of visually connecting the hall to the space of the outside world, and the theme of seafaring would have been particularly pertinent to Warblington given the residence's coastal location. Although nothing is known of Margaret of Anjou's tapestry collection at the Palace of Pleasaunce, the presence of an antelope's head on the wall of the great hall would have forged a visual connection between the hall and another characteristically masculine space of hospitality and largesse, that of the deer park.[36] The incomplete nature of the evidence for the iconography of the great halls of the residences considered in this study makes it difficult to tell whether there was, broadly speaking, a discernible gender difference in the ways in which male and female heads of household decorated their halls, yet the available evidence suggests that the women, whether consciously or not, upheld and utilised the characteristically masculine environment of the great hall for the expression of their own domestic authority.

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[34] *The King's Mother*, pp. 30, 189, 239.

[35] Ibid. p. 239; S. Powell, 'Textiles and Dress in the Household Papers of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), Mother of King Henry VII', in R. Netherton and G. R. Owen-Croker (eds), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 11 (Woodbridge, 2015).

[36] TNA DL 28/1/11, p. 35.

By creating great halls, and by displaying images of heroic feats and masculine virtues within them, women such as Margaret Pole shared in a visual grammar of largesse and hospitality, which was characteristically masculine in its expression. It would thus seem that the spatially and visually masculine environment of the great hall was essential for the display of domestic authority, regardless of whether the head of household was a man or a woman. Far from signalling the women's exclusion from such events, or their feminine inferiority, these images instead demonstrated the women's shared belonging to a masculine culture of lordship, and presented them as knowledgeable and engaged patrons, who were not shut away or rendered passive within their homes, but fully aware of the events beyond the walls. It would thus seem that just as feminine images of motherhood were culturally available to both sexes, so too was masculine imagery available to and necessary for both men and women for the performance of their authority as the heads of their own households. Seated at the centre of her dais, Margaret Pole would not have been undermined by the images of seafaring and adventure, but would have instead taken her place at the heart of a visual spectacle, which united the home with the world of adventure beyond its walls, and constructed her authority through reference to the masculine.

The Parlour

The inventories for Ewelme and Warblington indicate that the parlours of these residences hosted what initially appear to have been two very different visual schemes. At Warblington, the lower parlour contained a series of seven tapestries showing Ulysses' journey, which appear to have provided a visual continuation of the theme of seafaring and adventure found in the great hall.[37] At Ewelme, one set of silk wall hangings showed the Seven Sciences or Liberal Arts, while the other hanging, a repurposed bed covering, showed men and women playing cards.[38] The themes of these hangings thus appear to have related directly to the room's purpose as a site of entertainment and education.

At Ewelme, it is apparent that female bodies featured prominently in the parlour's decorative scheme. In late medieval artistic and literary works, the Seven Liberal Arts, namely the trivium (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) were routinely personified as courtly women. The notion of the liberal arts as women originated in the fifth-century writings of Martianus Capella, a contemporary of Augustine, who wrote that on her marriage to the god Mercury, Philology (who embodied all of man's knowledge) received the Seven Liberal Arts as her seven bridesmaids.[39] In surviving visual depictions, these female figures are commonly represented in late medieval dress and are shown enthroned, in the style of a queens presiding over court. An early sixteenth-century tapestry now held at the

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[37] TNA S.P. 1/139, f. 72.

[38] Bodl, Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (2).

[39] G. T., 'Music: An Early Sixteenth Century Tapestry', *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 23/140 (Dec., 1925).

Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is a prime example of this, and shows Music as a woman in queenly dress, seated in an ornate throne flanked by cherubim.[40]

While the liberal arts were part of the basic education for men, a number of didactic medieval texts contain examples of highly educated women who are well versed in them. In the life of the most popular late medieval Virgin martyr, St. Katherine, for example, Katherine is represented as a scholarly figure whose intellect and knowledge of theology and the liberal arts impresses and outshines that of her tutors.[41] In *The City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan likewise highlights a number of exemplary female figures, whose knowledge of the liberal arts ranks among their virtues. In the text, Reason, who is personified as a courtly lady, tells the narrator Christine that 'many crucial and worthy arts and sciences have been discovered thanks to the ingenuity and cleverness of women'.[42] She subsequently highlights the examples of Nicostrata or Carmentis, who through their creation of the Latin alphabet, provided the basis of the science of grammar, and also Minerva, who invented countless sciences. In her study of the Middle English texts of the life of St. Katherine, Katherine Lewis has argued that 'the words and actions of Katherine and of the other protagonists in her legend can be read as providing a defence of the ability of woman to learn and an authorisation of her role as teacher, not only of children, but in certain circumstances of men too'.[43] As has already been highlighted, Alice owned a copy of *The City of Ladies* in her library and she also later commissioned several sculptural representations of St. Katherine around her tomb in St. Mary's church at Ewelme. Alice was a highly educated woman and a patron of the arts. During her marriage to William, she would have also played an important role within the household, educating the couple's young son, John.[44] The parlour, as chapter five will highlight, was a popular space for domestic reading, particularly among women. In this context, and in the wider context of a household headed by a woman, the images of the Seven Liberal Arts were ideally placed to authorize Alice's role as teacher.

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Several late medieval versions of St. Katherine's life survive. The version referred to in this thesis is John Capgrave's (see main introduction, p. 32)

[42] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 64.

[43] K. J. Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 210.

As the head of her own household, Alice would have also enacted her role as a dispenser of justice and patronage within the region, receiving petitions and settling local disputes.[45] Presiding over these proceedings from a chair of estate located within her Great Chamber, Alice would have appeared just like the personifications of the liberal arts. Due to its position directly preceding the great chamber, the parlour often served as a waiting room for those seeking audience with the head of household. These images of authoritative and learned women were thus ideally placed to prefigure the appearance of Alice herself.

The description of the other hanging within the room, that of men and women playing cards, suggests that female figures were also a prominent feature of this image, albeit in a very different role. Unlike the Seven Liberal Arts, with their classical roots, card games were a novelty in England at this point, having only been introduced into the country in the early fifteenth century.[46] While on the one hand unsolicited gaming was associated with sin and vice, such games were also an acceptable and much enjoyed part of aristocratic life, and were played by both men and women. The Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of York for the year 1502, for example, reveal that the queen enjoyed playing cards.[47] Given the novelty of card games in England at this point, the depiction in Alice's parlour would have signalled her knowledge of the latest courtly fashions and her connections to the royal court. Surviving visual depictions also show card games being played in household settings such as enclosed gardens and pavilions, making the parlour, with its close proximity to the garden, an ideal space in which display such an image.

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[44] For women as educators within the home see P. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours', in J. Wogan-Browne, R. Voaden, A. Diamond, *et al.* (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000); N. McDonald, 'A York Primer and its Alphabet: Reading Women in a Lay Household', in G. Walker and E. Treharne, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford, 2010). Women's roles as educators within the home will be discussed in more detail in the section on reading communities in chapter five.

[45] Cowen and Ward, 'Al myn aray is bliew', pp. 117, 119.

[46] P. B. Newman, *Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson and London, 2001), p. 168.

Depictions of card and board games were frequently used to convey power relations between the sexes, and images of courtly lovers playing such games were often presented as a metaphor for the game of courtship.[48] Other surviving depictions also show women presiding over such games, as evidenced by the mid-fifteenth-century fresco of the Tarocchi players in the Castle Borromeo, Milan (see fig. 50).[49] The fresco shows five players, two men and three women, seated around a table. While the men and women on either side of the table cast their eyes down to their cards, the figure at the centre, an elaborately dressed woman, stares straight ahead to meet the onlooker's gaze. The central position of the woman, the direct nature of her gaze, and her elevated position above the other players, signals her authority over the group. The room in which the image was located also appears to have been a parlour, and it is notable that the image was displayed alongside two others, which showed the same female figure presiding over further courtly pastimes.[50] The imagery of the parlour at Castle Borromeo posits the space as one of female agency, and it seems that the parlour at Ewelme was also a space in which women were visually celebrated for their roles as educators and participants in the pastimes of late medieval elite life. It is also particularly striking that the hanging at Ewelme was a repurposed bed cover, as bedchambers, and even beds themselves, were commonly gendered female in late medieval thought.[51] Much like the bedchamber, the parlour was often foregrounded as a female space in medieval literature, and the discussion in the following chapter will argue for the importance of parlours as sites of female sociability. Through its decoration, the parlour at Ewelme was thus a site where female bodies were proudly displayed, and celebrated for their femininity.

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[47] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York,* p. 84.

[48] T. B. Husband, *The World in Play: Luxury Cards, 1430-1540* (New Haven and London, 2015), p. 129.

[49] For a stylistic discussion of these frescoes, see L. Crust, 'The Frescoes in the Casa Borromeo at Milan', *The Burlington Magazine*, 33/184 (July, 1918).

What, then, of the Ulysses tapestries at Warblington? Throughout the course of the sixteenth century, the tale of Ulysses came to be a popular subject for the reception rooms of the great residence. In 1601, for example, Bess of Hardwick's great chamber at Hardwick Hall was hung with a series of tapestries detailing Ulysses' journey.[52] The remarkable survival of these tapestries, which are still in situ in the great chamber at Hardwick, allows us to gain an impression of the likely content and visual effect of those depicting the same subject at Warblington. At Hardwick Hall, the various subjects of the tapestries include Ulysses killing a boar; his feigning madness; taking leave of his family; his discovery of Achilles; the contest over Achilles' armour; his encounter with the sorceress, Circe; his encounter with the Phaeacians; and finally, his homecoming.[53] Although the set of tapestries at Warblington included seven rather than eight tapestries, it is likely that a number of the same themes were included in the set displayed in Margaret Pole's parlour. Though the inventory of Bess of Hardwick's residence was taken sixty years after Margaret Pole's death, it is worth highlighting that the postulated creation date of Bess's tapestries, between 1550 and 1565, is only between twelve and twenty seven years after the inventory of Margaret Pole's goods. The tapestries at Warblington and Hardwick could have therefore been very similar in their style and content.

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[50] Ibid, p. 8.

[51] H. L. S. Morgan, *Beds and Chambers in Late Medieval England: Readings, Representations and Realities* (Woodbridge, 2017); P. J. P. Goldberg, 'The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Culture Perspective', in M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg (eds), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 144; W. M. Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Peasants' Revolt', in J. Wogan-Browne, R. Voaden, A. Diamond, *et al.* (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000). The bed used by John Fastolf to sleep at Caister had a cover with a design of a lady sitting in a chair of Estate. See Hawkyard, 'Caister Castle', p. 59.

[52] White, 'That whyche ys nedefoulle and nesesary', Vol.1, p. 80.

Much like John Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, Ulysses' journey is a narrative centred on the adventures of a male protagonist. Yet, one of the notable aspects of the tapestries at Hardwick is that they are far from devoid of female imagery. The scenes of Ulysses' departure and return prominently feature Penelope, his patient and loyal wife. The seventh tapestry in the series, that of Ulysses' encounter with the Phaeacians, shows the explorer prostrating himself before Nausicca, the young daughter of the Phaecian king and queen, who clothes and bestows gifts upon him, before directing him to her parents' castle. The antithesis of these virtuous women is Circe, who in the sixth tapestry of the series is shown before her books and potions, concocting the magical potion that will turn Ulysses and his male companions into pigs. Although they are not the main subject of the visual narrative, female figures play a significant role in the Ulysses tapestries at Hardwick, and one only has to visit the great chamber today to see just how prominent the women are in the room's visual scheme. The image of Nausicca and her maidens receiving Ulysses, for example, was displayed to the left of Bess's chair of estate, no doubt so as to make a powerful statement of Bess's own hospitality (see fig. 51). Alison Wiggans has also highlighted that Penelope in particular was 'the period's most unambiguous example of feminine virtuosity and esteemed wifehood', and her steadfastness, loyalty and stable rulership were no doubt highly relatable for widows such as Margaret Pole and Bess of Hardwick, whose own status and virtuous image also relied on such traits.[54] During Ulysses' near twenty-year absence, Penelope governs his kingdom, runs her household and educates the couple's son. Despite being harassed by potential suitors during her husband's absence, Penelope also proves to be a devoted and loyal wife, using needlework as a means through which to distract herself and resist temptation. For widows such as Bess of Hardwick and Margaret Pole, Penelope's example must have been highly familiar and desirable, and Bess in particular is known to have fashioned herself in the image of this mythic female figure.[55] Working within the norms of the patriarchal society in which she lives, Penelope nonetheless wields considerable power as the linchpin of her family, ensuring that there is a kingdom and home for Ulysses to return to. Visual depictions of Ulysses' journey thus quite literally interweave the world of adventure and that of the domestic, communicating to the onlooker that without the Penelope's reliable and steadfast nature, Ulysses could never have maintained authority over his kingdom during such a long period of absence.

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[53] All these tapestries are available to view on the 'National Trust Collections Catalogue', http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/results?SearchTerms=ulysses (31 May 2017).

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[54] A. Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (Abington, 2017), p. 76.

[55] Ibid. p. 76.

The tapestries of Ulysses' journey that were hung in the great chamber at Hardwick and the lower parlour at Warblington were thus a highly suitable subject for the proclamation of female authority through the household. Although a number of scholars have suggested that Bess's tapestries were a purchase of convenience rather than part of a highly stylised decorative programme, the fact that they were displayed in one of the most important reception rooms at Hardwick Hall makes it highly unlikely that they were merely a haphazard choice.[56] Great chambers and parlours, with their ceremonial chairs and beds, were designed for the reception of guests and their iconographic schemes would have been of paramount importance to the projection of the head of household's authority, a theme that will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter. The interwoven stories of Penelope's domestic virtue and Ulysses' adventures would have thus emphasised the complementary roles of the sexes, and female power through the family. At Warblington, the close thematic connection between the tapestries of the hall and parlour would have also determined the ways in which they were read and understood by visitors to the household. The programmatic sequence as one moved from the hall to the parlour, for example, would have invited the onlooker to compare the feats of the contemporary explorer John Cabot to those of Ulysses. In this reading, the women of the Tudor court, including Margaret herself, become the early Tudor equivalent of Penelope, holding the fort at home, while discoveries are made abroad. It would seem that just as Bess of Hardwick utilised Penelope's example for her own self-fashioning as an exemplary and pious widow, so Margaret Pole may have done the same, constructing herself in the image of feminine perfection, and thus presenting her authority over her household through reference to her very femininity.

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[56] White, 'That whyche ys nedefoulle and nesesary', Vol. 1, p. 185.

A comparative analysis of the visual schemes of the parlours and Ewelme and Warblington would suggest that there were more similarities between the iconography of the two rooms than it might initially seem. While individual preferences undoubtedly played a part in the differing visual schemes of the two rooms, it is striking that the iconography of both parlours celebrated women's roles as governors and educators, as demonstrated through the representations of the Seven Liberal Arts at Ewelme and the likely presence of Penelope within the Ulysses tapestries at Warblington. Both rooms most likely referenced women's housewifely duties as mothers and educators, thus constructing the two women's authority in unmistakably feminine terms. In contrast to the open and characteristically masculine space of the great hall, the more intimate space of the parlour appears to have offered greater opportunities for the display of female bodies and feminine themes, and was a space where women were celebrated for their characteristically feminine roles within the home.

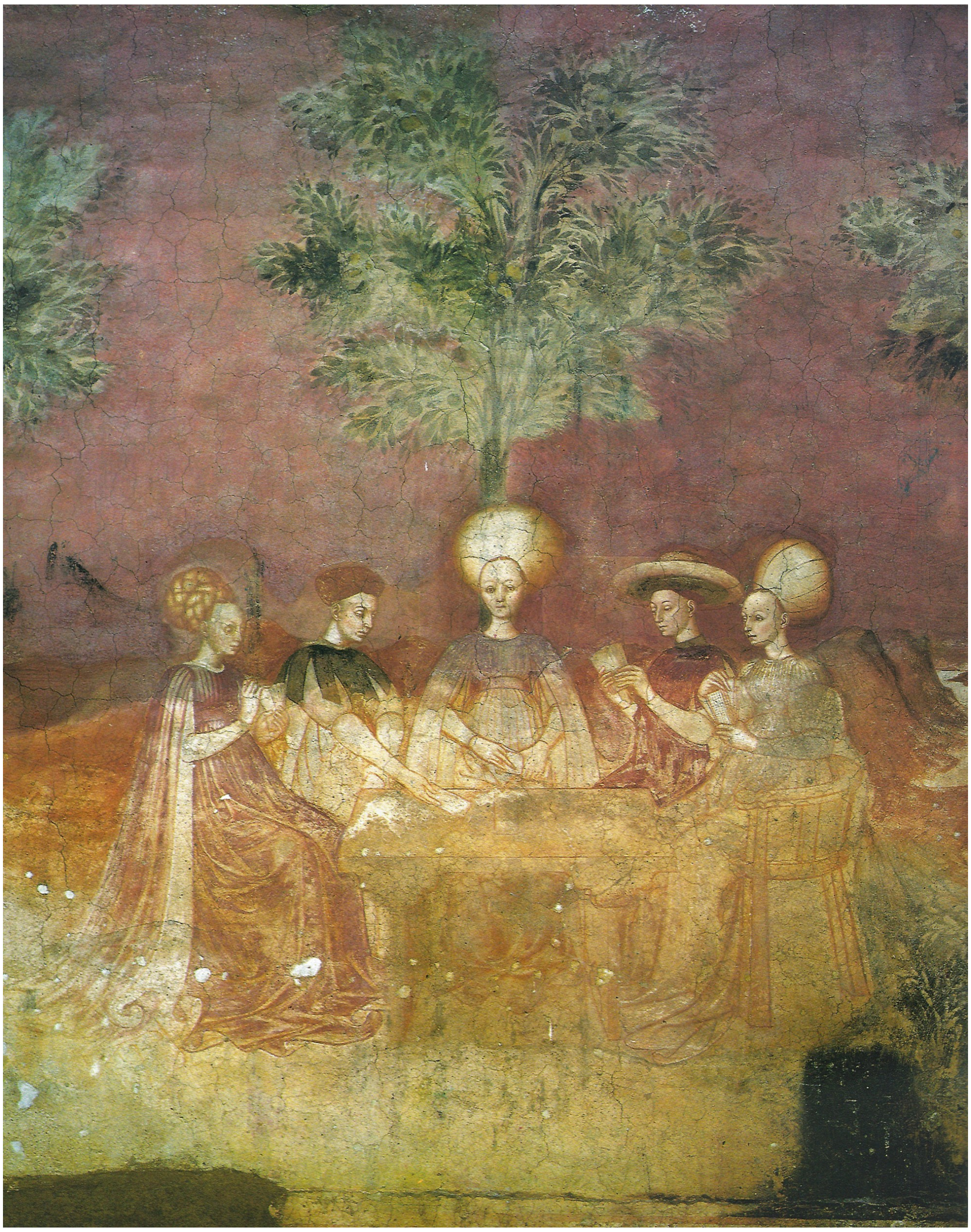

Figure 50. Fresco of the Tarrochi Players from the Castle Borromeo, Milan. The gaze and position of the woman at the centre signals her authority over the group. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

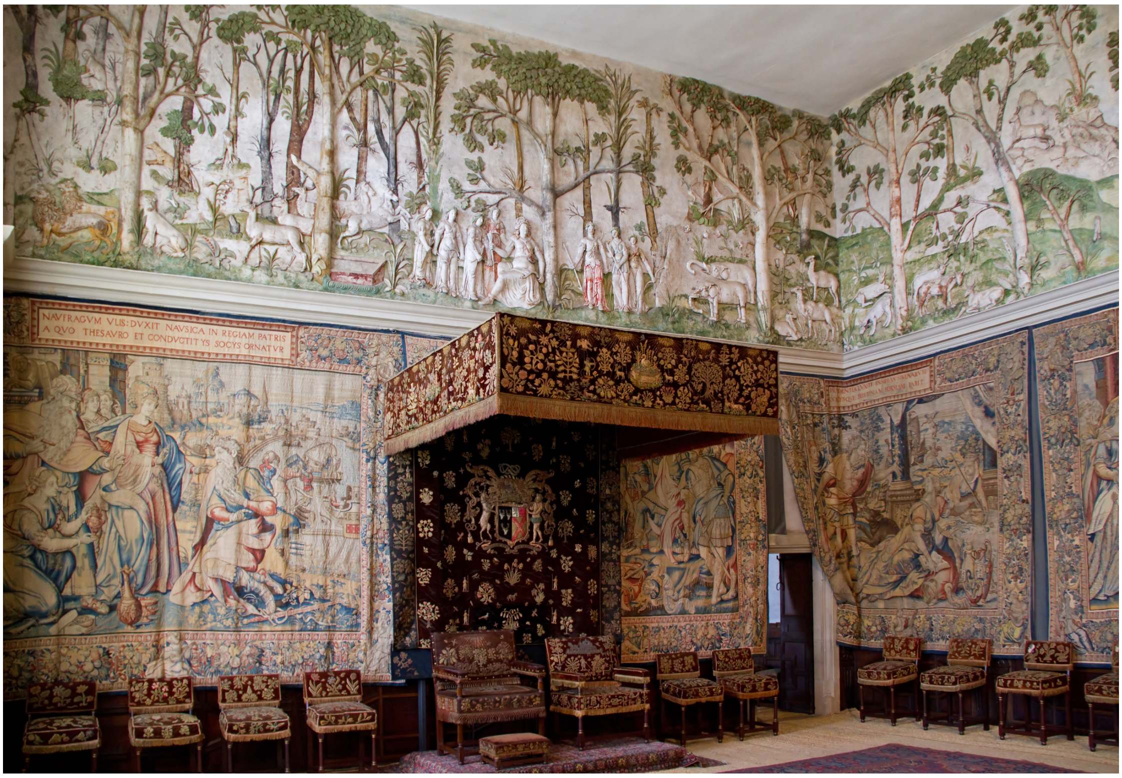

Figure 51. The Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall. The scene visible in the tapestry to the left of the image shows Nausicaa and her maidens receiving Ulysses on the island of Phaeacia. Above Bess of Hardwick's chair of estate is a frieze showing the goddess Diana. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

The Great Chamber

Information about the visual schemes of the women's personal apartments is scarce. In fact, the only room for which we have any indication of iconography is Alice Chaucer's great chamber at Ewelme.[57] Despite the lack of comparable examples, however, the available information for the visual scheme of this room alone is extremely valuable for the light it sheds on female authority as it was configured through the visual environment of the home.

Ascending the stairs from Alice's parlour, the visitor to Ewelme would have entered the great chamber to witness a highly-stylised sequence of tapestries, notable for their prominent display of female figures. The room contained three sets of tapestries: the first being a 'long' tapestry which took ladies-in-waiting as its subject, the second displaying Hercules' 'tourney', and the third depicting the *locus perfectionis,* or place of perfection. At the heart of the room was a bed hung with a tapestry of Orithyia, a queen of the all-female Amazon tribe.[58]

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[57] Bodl, Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (2).

One particularly striking aspect of the selection of tapestries is their prominent and repeated display of Amazon women. It has been suggested that the tapestry of Hercules' tourney either showed his founding of the Olympic games in the presence of the Amazon queens, or the moment at which the Amazon warriors vanquished Hercules and Theseus.[59] In such visual depictions, the Amazons are commonly represented wearing a hybrid costume of armour and lavish courtly dress. While on the one hand, they conformed to an idealised picture of femininity as courtly ladies and intercessors, they also exhibited behaviours and carried out tasks that were culturally considered masculine, acting as valiant warriors and ruling over vast swathes of land.

The Amazon women displayed on the walls of Alice Chaucer's great chamber would have no doubt been recognisable to any educated viewer. In her *Book of the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan celebrates and centralises the Amazon women by telling her female readers to build a new Amazonia. It has already been highlighted that *The City of Ladies* formed part of Alice's library at Ewelme, and it is notable that the author frequently cites the Amazons as models of strength and good governance, who have 'displayed the necessary courage, strength and bravery to undertake and accomplish extraordinary deeds which match those achieved by the great conquerors and knights'.[60] Christine concludes that the realm of Amazonia owed its 800-year existence to the good governance and military prowess of its queens, whose successes were unmatched by the rulers of any other realm. It is also striking that de Pizan praises Orithyia in particular as a valiant woman, who had conquered many lands.[61] In the text, she recounts how when the queen heard of the capture of two of her close female relations by the Greeks, she raised an army and later negotiated a peace treaty with Hercules and Theseus to ensure their safe return. In light of this, the room's focal point, a bed worked with Orithyia's image, must have provided a powerful and striking visual statement of female strength and virtue, which, when framing Alice's body, would have associated the duchess with this figure of female masculinity.

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[58] Bodl, Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (2).

[59] Goodall, *God's House*, p. 325; T. P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 36-37.

[60] Bodl, Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47 (3); De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, pp. 37-46.

The messages of good governance and female strength conveyed through the depictions of the Amazon women were complemented by the two other sets of tapestries in the room. The depiction of ladies-in-waiting bore direct relation to Alice's own former role as an attendant lady to Margaret of Anjou. The friendship between Alice and Margaret appears to have been particularly close, and the tapestry was no doubt as much a celebration of female loyalty as it was a proclamation of Alice's illustrious courtly connections. The exact subject of the last of these tapestries, depicting the *locus perfectionis*, is unknown, although due to the dominance of female iconography elsewhere in the room, John Goodall has surmised that its subject was most likely an all-female utopia, such as that imagined by the poet of *The Assembly of Ladies,* referred to both at the beginning of this chapter and this thesis.[62]

At Ewelme, the visual programme of the great chamber appears to have combined exemplary femininity with female masculinity. The images displayed within the room glorified Alice's illustrious status, her connections to the royal court, and her role as a powerful landowner and the head of her own household. The female figures dominating the space were represented in a variety of ways, which, when combined, conveyed the multi-faceted nature of female authority. The display of ladies-in-waiting and Amazon queens, for example, provided a complex visual interplay of masculine and feminine elements. At Ewelme, this carefully orchestrated piece of visual theatre thus glorified Alice's combined roles as courtly lady and landowner, both of which would have also been celebrated through the room's use as a site of display and a centre of local justice.

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[61] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 42.
[62] Goodall, *God's House,* p. 325.

The predominance of female imagery in Alice's great chamber is made all the more striking in light of the fact that Ewelme, as highlighted in chapter one, was a site of matrilineal authority. The discussion in chapter one also highlighted that Alice displayed her elite status within the context of her chantry chapel at Ewelme through visual reference to her female ancestors, where the Burghersh lion of her mother's family and the wheel of her paternal grandmother, Philippa Roet were prominently displayed. Indeed, the surviving floor tiles within the chapel display Roet wheels and Burghersh lions in abundance, while the original windows of the chapel also displayed Burghersh of Ewelme, Roet impaling Burghersh of Ewelme and Roet quartering Burghersh of Ewelme.[63] Elsewhere in the chapel, these motifs are directly integrated with religious symbolism. On the archway framing the tomb of Alice's parents are two busts of female saints. On the left hand side, St. Katherine is shown holding a crest displaying the Burghersh lion in one hand and her characteristic wheel in the other, which in this instance, also doubles up as the Roet family wheel. To the right, Mary Magdalene is shown with a jar of ointment in one hand and a shield of Roet impaling

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[63] Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 193.

Burghersh in the other (see figs. 52 and 53). The literal placement of the crests of Alice's mother and paternal grandmother in the hands of Mary Magdalene and St. Katherine has the effect of visually connecting these heavenly and earthly women, so as to offer a powerful iconographic celebration of female strengths and virtues. In her analysis of Alice's books, Karen Jambeck has argued for Alice's especial devotion to the Virgin Mary, St. Katherine and Mary Magdalene, who were the first three women to gain entry into the City of Ladies in Christine de Pizan's work of the same title.[64] Jambeck's observations provide further support for the notion that Alice's textual practices informed the way in which she thought about and visually and spatially expressed her authority.

A consideration of the female iconography within the Chaucer family chapel at Ewelme has direct implications for our reading of the predominantly female iconography of the rooms within Alice's residence. The previous chapter highlighted that the great chamber was an important site of heraldic display, where elites showcased their illustrious lineage to others. By analysing the iconographic programme of Alice's great chamber at Ewelme in relation to the visual scheme within the chapel of John the Baptist, it becomes apparent that the images of classical, biblical and literary female role models within the great chamber were most likely also combined with the heraldic devices and badges of Alice's own female ancestors, and would have thus had the effect of drawing a flattering connection between the two. This visual connection would have in turn reinforced and advertised Alice's own position as a woman who was the head of her own household and the dominant elite within the region.

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[64] Jambeck, 'The Library of Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk', p. 130.

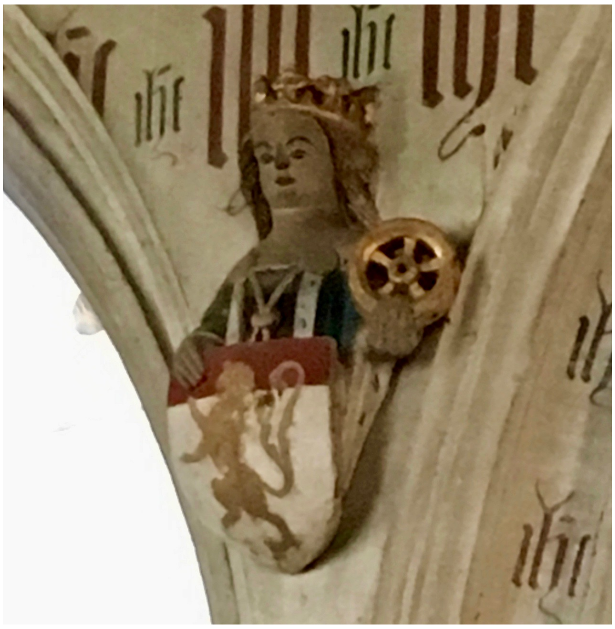

Figure 52. Sculptural representation of St. Katherine bearing a crest with the Burghersh arms. Chapel of John the Baptist, St. Mary's, Ewelme. Image: Author's own.

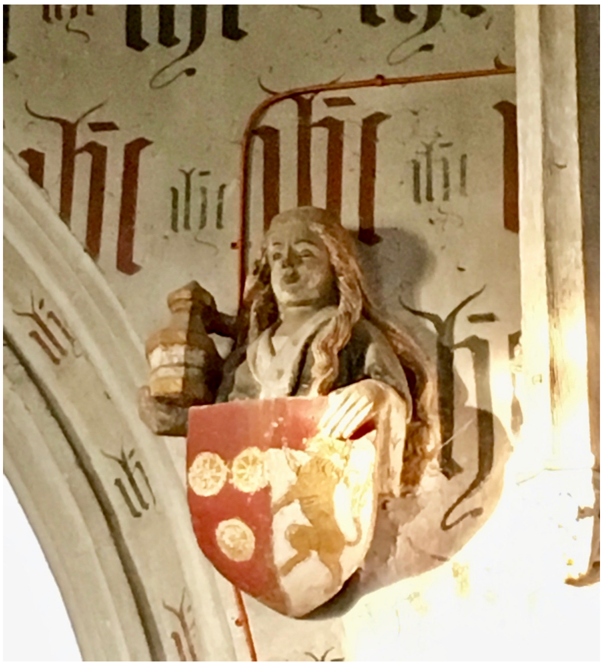

Figure 53. Sculptural representation of Mary Magdalene bearing a crest with Roet impaling Burghersh. Chapel of John the Baptist, St. Mary's, Ewelme. Image: Author's own.

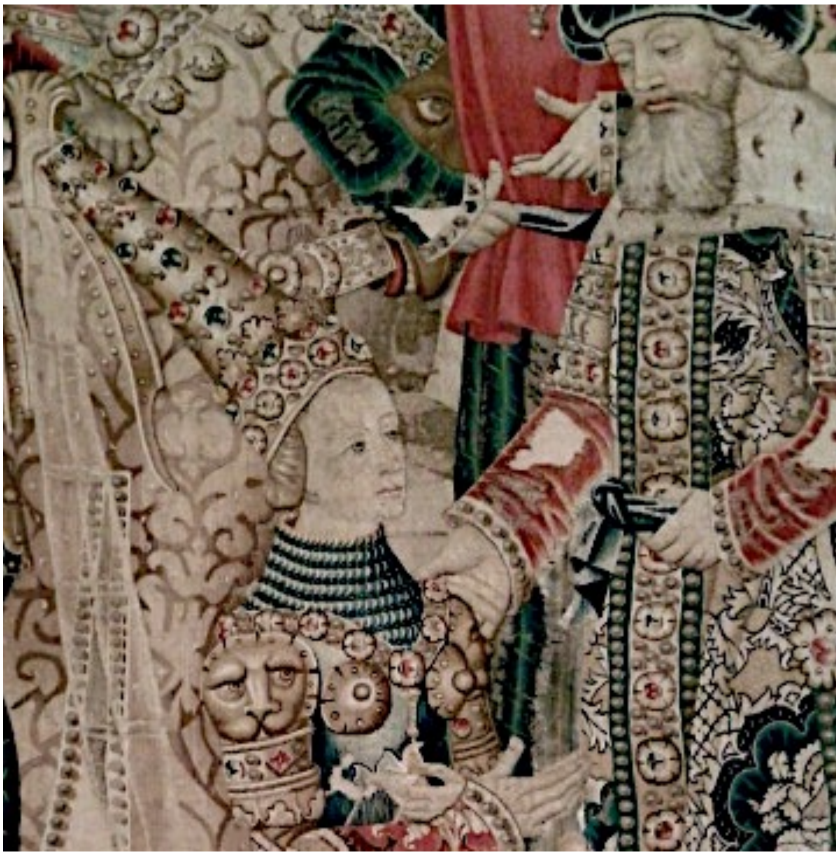

Figure 54. Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons. Detail from the War of Troy Tapestry, Belgium, 1475-1490, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Image: Author's own.

The Chapel

Female figures assumed a prominent place in the decorative schemes of the women's household chapels. Unsurprisingly, the women depicted were religious figures, including the Virgin Mary and the female saints. Of the five residences considered in this study, the large-scale decorative schemes of three of the chapels are known, namely those at Ewelme, Collyweston, and Warblington.[65]

Two sets of tapestries lined the walls of Alice's Ewelme chapel, one of which showed the fifteen signs of the Doom, and the other of which displayed the life of the Virgin Mary's mother, St. Anne.[66] Paintings of the Doom or the Last Judgment were commonly featured above the chancel arches of parish churches, and displayed the fate of the soul after death in graphic detail. The visual depiction of the life of St. Anne, however, was a slightly more unusual choice and is one which appears to have related closely to the events of Alice's own life.

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[65] Bodl. Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47(2); SJC D91.14, p. 109; TNA S.P. 1/139, f. 77.

[66] Bodl. Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47(2).

No mention of Anne is made in the Bible, and for much of the middle ages, she was a relatively minor figure. Between the late fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, however, growing interest in the lineage and kinship of Christ and the Virgin Mary saw Anne's cult gain considerable impetus.[67] In England, the official recognition of her cult occurred in 1382, after Richard II's marriage to Anne of Bohemia gave rise to a growing interest in the queen's namesake saint.[68] Various versions of Anne's legend were in circulation, but it was generally believed that after a long and childless marriage to her first husband, Joachim, the couple miraculously conceived a child, the Virgin Mary, after chastely embracing before the Golden Gate of Jerusalem. While the early versions of Anne's legend state that she only married once, by the later middle ages she was believed to have married a total of three times, with each of these unions producing a single daughter named Mary.

Alice no doubt knew of the popularity of Anne's cult through her patronage of the poet, John Lydgate, who wrote a version of Anne's life, and also on account of her connections to East Anglia, where Anne's cult appears to have had a particularly strong regional following.[69] During her marriage to William de la Pole, Alice spent a considerable amount of time at their East Anglian estates and properties, which she also inherited after his death.[70] One of the reasons for Anne's popularity in this area, as suggested by Gail McMurray Gibson, was the fact that she and Joachim had been re-fashioned by late medieval writers as bourgeois figures, who held considerable appeal for the dominant mercantile community within the region.[71] William himself was the great grandson of a Hull wool merchant, and may have thus been familiar with the story of Anne's life. Indeed, it is possible that the couple initially commissioned the tapestries during their marriage.[72] Yet, St. Anne's story, of a seemingly infertile woman who went on to produce three children and marry three times, also held particular resonance for late medieval female audience, for whom childbearing and widowhood were an all-too familiar part of everyday life. In images of Anne, emphasis is accordingly laid on her motherhood and place as part of a wider kinship network. She is often depicted in childbirth, for example, or teaching the Virgin Mary how to read.[73]

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[67] The late medieval cult of St. Anne has been subject to much recent scholarly attention. See J. Walsh, *The Cult of St. Anne in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2017); M. A. Anderson, *St. Anne is Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics* (Cambridge, 2014); V. Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, 2004); P. Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32/1 (1993); K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn (eds), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens, GA, 1990).

[68] G. McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago & London, 1989), p. 82.

Women's especial devotion to St. Anne is further evidenced by the literary patronage surrounding her cult. A female member of the Suffolk gentry, Katherine Denston, for example, was responsible for commissioning Osbern Bokenham's *Life of Saint Anne,* while Lydgate claims he wrote his *Invocation to St. Anne* at the request of Anne of Woodstock, countess of Suffolk.[74] The highly personal nature of Denston's commission in particular, is indicated by the last stanza of the poem, in which Bokenham praises and thanks Anne for providing Katherine and her husband with a daughter (named Anne in her honour) and asks the saint to help them also conceive a son.[75] The *Life* thus posits Anne as an intercessor, whose divine intervention is sought to assist with the daily anxieties of life on earth, and the first-person voice of Lydgate's *Invocation to St. Anne* likewise indicates that the lyric was intended for recitation by the reader as a means of calling upon Anne's protection and intervention.

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[69] Ibid. pp. 82-4.

[70] See Archer, 'Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk (d. 1475), and her East Anglian Estates'.

[71] McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 84.

[72] The inventory records that the tapestries were moved from London to Ewelme in 1466. See Bodl. Lib. MS. DD. EM A 47(2).

[73] Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary'.

[74] Osbern Bokenham, 'Life of St. Anne', ed. S. L. Reames, *Middle English Legends of Women Saints,* TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, 2003); John Lydgate, *Invocation to St. Anne* in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. McCracken, *EETS,* e.s. 107 (Oxford, 1911).

In her discussion of Anne's cult, McMurray Gibson has argued that late medieval women not only called on Anne for her intervention, but also sought to fashion themselves in her image. Margery Kempe, for example, prayed to Anne, asking her to help care for the infant Christ child, while a laywoman, Jane Chamberleyn, stipulated in her will that a statue of St. Anne in the abbey of St. Mary's near York was to wear her girdle, wedding ring and prayer beads during her funeral.[76] For McMurray Gibson, this piece of 'funerary theatre' saw the bodies of saint and suppliant assimilated, thus determining the ways in which Jane was remembered and commemorated by her contemporaries.[77]

The invocation and bodily imitation of Anne by a number of late medieval women has direct implications for the ways in which the images of Anne potentially shaped Alice's devotional practices at Ewelme. For Alice, a woman who was married three times and did not bear her first child until the age of 38, Anne's life story must have struck a powerful chord. The description of Alice's tapestry at Ewelme suggests that it was not simply a singular or static image of Anne, but a dynamic narrative sequence, which displayed the events of her life course. In visually following the progression of these images, Alice would have no doubt found herself identifying with particular moments during Anne's life: her pains in childbirth, her role in educating her child, her grief during widowhood, and her dedication to a pious lifestyle. In gazing upon the representation of Anne's highly familiar life events, Alice would have no doubt been encouraged to partake in the emotive and embodied viewing that was a defining feature of late medieval female devotion.

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[75] Bokenham, Life of *St. Anne*.

[76] McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 71.

[77] Ibid.

The display of St. Anne's life in Alice's chapel would have also invited other members of the household and visitors to the chapel to draw a flattering parallel between the saint and the female head of the household, whose appearance in her widow's weeds would have mirrored the representation of the saint in the tapestry. In her recent work on early modern Italian widows, Erin Campbell has shown how elderly women evoked Anne's role as grandmother to the holy family in order to fashion themselves as matriarchs of their own families.[78] It would thus seem that like her Italian contemporaries, Alice also utilised Anne's example for her self-fashioning as widow and matriarch.

The theme of women's access to power through the family was also celebrated in the chapels at Collyweston and Warblington, where both Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole chose to depict large-scale representations of the Virgin Mary alongside the Trinity. While in the earlier middle ages, Mary was rarely, if ever, depicted alongside the Trinity, during the fifteenth century, such images grew in popularity and developed into what Barbara Newman has called a family portrait, whereby God the

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[78] E. J. Campbell, *Old Women and Art in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior* (Abingdon & New York, 2016), esp. Chapter three, 'Matriarchs'.

Father came to be portrayed as an old man, the Son as his more youthful counterpart and Mary as their Mother, daughter and Bride. Alongside these figures, the Holy Spirit was shown as a dove.[79] Depictions of the Virgin alongside the Trinity could take various forms. In some representations, the Trinity was represented as encased (almost blasphemously) within Mary's womb. This was an especially popular subject for Continental portable shrines, where figurines of the Virgin would literally open to reveal carved representations of the Trinity within. Such images laid emphasis on Mary's maternal body as the conduit to salvation. Other images displaying Mary alongside the Trinity included the Coronation of the Virgin, which were more common in an English context.[80] A surviving example is the wall painting in St. Mary's church, Pickering (Yorkshire).[81] In this image, Mary is represented as the central figure of the scene, and is crowned by God the father, son and Holy Spirit. Images of Mary with the Trinity thus afforded Mary a central place within the context of the Holy Family. While those images depicting the Trinity within the Virgin's womb proclaimed her as the linchpin of the Holy Family and as the enabler of human salvation, those representing her coronation emphasised how it was through that very family that she gained her divinity as Queen of Heaven. Thus, images of the Virgin with the Trinity highlighted an interdependent power relationship between the two. Christine de Pizan certainly recognised Mary's relationship to the Trinity as one which enabled female power. In *The City of Ladies*, the Virgin Mary, upon entering the city, declares that her position as head of the female sex is predestined and ordained by the Holy Trinity. Within the same text, Christine also invites women to call to Mary and praise her by referring to her as the 'temple of God, cell and cloister of the Holy Spirit' and 'dwelling place of the Trinity'.[82]

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[79] B. Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania, 2003), p. 247.

[80] N. Morgan, 'The Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and other Texts and Images of the Glorification of Mary in Fifteenth Century England', in N. Rogers (ed), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Stamford, 1994).

[81] The most detailed treatment of the Pickering wall paintings can be found in Giles, 'Marking Time? A Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Calendar in the Wall Paintings of Pickering Parish Church, North Yorkshire', *Church Archaeology*, 4 (2000).

By the early sixteenth century, images of the Virgin with the Trinity had attained widespread popularity, yet it is nonetheless striking that both Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole chose the pairing as the visual centrepiece for their household chapels. While a number of factors may have governed the women's choices, it is possible that the two women's close links to Syon Abbey informed their decisions, or at least shaped the way in which the women interpreted such images. Founded in 1415 by Henry V, the twin houses of the Bridgettine nunnery of Syon and the Carthusian House of Sheen became the spiritual giants of medieval England, and were flourishing centres of religious, artistic and literary production.[83] After her husband's death in 1505, Margaret Pole and her daughter Ursula were reduced to poverty and took up residence with the nuns at Syon.[84] In the four years that followed, Margaret Beaufort, who herself had special dispensation to visit the nuns, made regular payments and visits to the countess and her daughter. Margaret Beaufort also enjoyed her own connections to Syon through her literary circle. In 1497, she and her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, jointly commissioned the Bridgettine text, the *Fifteen Oes* from William Caxton, a choice that was undoubtedly inspired by the women's close links to the house.[85] Margaret's household accounts also show that she was a regular visitor to the house long before Margaret Pole sought refuge there.[86]

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[82] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*, p. 201.

[83] The literature on Syon in particular is enormous, and will be discussed in further detail in chapter five. For an introduction, see the collected essays in E. A. Jones and A. Walsham (eds), *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c. 1400-1700* (Woodbridge, 2010).

[84] S. Powell, 'Margaret Pole and Syon Abbey', *Historical Research*, 78/202, (November, 2005). SJC D91. 19, pp. 10, 77, 96.

[85] Margaret Beaufort's literary commissions will be considered in more detail in chapter five.

The promotion of Mary as an active and powerful role model within the walls of Syon cannot have gone unnoticed by the two women. The Virgin Mary was, as Laura Roberts has put it, 'absolutely paramount to the…practice of [the nuns'] faith. The whole of their liturgy was dedicated to praising Mary, and the whole of their earthly existence was meant to model hers'.[87] Assisting the nuns in their imitation of Mary was a devotional treatise known as *The Mirror of Our Lady*, which set out the daily offices used by the sisters and emphasised their privileged relationship to the mother of God. Roberts has pointed out that according to *The Mirror*, 'Mary was the most pious and blessed human being, man or woman, to have ever lived. Her obedience to God was so perfect that she was set above all other people as the mother of Christ'.[88] One of the most striking aspects about *The Mirror* for the discussion here, however, is that it explicitly celebrates Mary's relationship to the Trinity, describing her womb as containing 'the union of the Trinity in all ways undeparted'.[89] For the Syon sisters, it was Mary's maternal female body that made her powerful, because it was through that very body that man was able to obtain salvation.

In his work on the household spaces of the fifteenth-century duchess of Burgundy, Isabelle of Portugal and her daughter-in-law, Margaret of York, Ezekiel Lotz has shown how the women's first hand experiences of Carthusian life had direct implications for their spiritual and spatial practices within a domestic context.[90] The impact of Syon in particular on the domestic piety of lay noblewomen is apparent in the case of Lady Margaret Hungerford.[91] A contemporary of Margaret Beaufort and Pole, Margaret Hungerford enjoyed a similarly strong attachment to Syon, being admitted to the house as a sister following the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1470. Margaret's time at Syon had a profound impact on her spiritual plans, and shortly after leaving the house, she set about recreating the abbey church within her household chapel, and drew heavily on the Syon use for the daily services held there.[92] In his discussion of Hungerford's piety, Michael Hicks has highlighted that 'Christ's membership of the Trinity and Mary's closeness to it are recurrent themes in Margaret's thoughts'.[93] In her will, Margaret first dedicated her soul to the Trinity and Mary, before requesting the burial of her heart at Syon.[94] Likewise, Margaret Pole's dedication to the Trinity is seen through the arrangements surrounding her death and burial. In her chantry chapel at Christchurch Priory in Dorset, a now defaced corbel at the centre of the structure's ornate ceiling shows the countess kneeling in prayer at the heart of the Trinity (fig. 55). The corbel presents Pole's body in strikingly Marian terms, with the countess's appearance and posture indistinguishable from that of the Virgin Mary.

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[86] SJC D91.19, pp. 8, 93, 95; SJC D91.20, pp. 82, 83, 88.

[87] L. Roberts, 'The Spiritual Singularity of Syon Abbey and its Sisters', *Ezra's Archives*, 5/1 (Spring, 2015), p. 78.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Thomas Gascoigne, *The Myroure of oure Ladye: Containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service, with a translation of the offices used by the sisters of the Bridgettine monastery of Sion, at Isleworth, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. J. H. Blount, *EETS* (London, 1998).

The profound and direct impact of Syon and its spiritual practices on Margaret Hungerford's domestic devotions and self-fashioning is striking, and indicates the strong influence the religious house could have in shaping laywomen's devotional practices. Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole's decisions to display images of the Virgin and the Trinity in their household chapels certainly accorded with Syon's spiritual emphasis on Mary's relationship with the Trinity and her access to power through it. Rather than celebrating Mary's meekness and piety like their queenly counterparts, Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole instead commissioned, displayed and consumed images that were designed to celebrate Mary as an active role model. The emphasis on Mary's close relationship to the Trinity in the iconographic schemes of the chapels of kings and within the walls of Syon Abbey indicates that such representations were considered highly appropriate to visual demonstrations of authority within the walls of both royal palaces and nunneries. The exclusion of such images from queenly chapels in castles and royal palaces thus most likely derived from the fact that such spaces were of secondary importance in such complexes, with the king's chapel being the primary site of elite display. The houses of Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole, by contrast, contained only one chapel, which was the focal point of domestic devotion and display.

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[90] E. Lotz, 'Secret Rooms: Private Spaces for Private Prayer in Late-Medieval Burgundy and the Netherlands, in J. Luxford (ed), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2008). Lotz's ideas will be explored further in chapter five.

[91] M. Hicks, The Piety of Lady Margaret Hungerford', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38/1 (January, 1987), p. 25.

[92] E. A. Jones and A. Walsham, 'Introduction: Syon Abbey and its Books: Origins, Influences and Transitions' in Eadem (eds), *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c. 400-1700* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 15; Hicks, 'Piety of Lady Margaret Hungerford', p. 26.

[93] Hicks, 'Piety of Margaret Hungerford', p. 27.

[94] Ibid. p. 26.

The chapel's importance as a site of conspicuous display is further evidenced by the apparent contrast between the large-scale representations of Mary in the women's chapels and those found in the more secluded or personal spaces of their closets.[95] The way in which Mary was represented through the wall paintings at Collyweston and Warblington contrasts starkly with her representation in smaller scale items, such as closet altar cloths and tabernacles, where emphasis was instead laid on her more obviously 'feminine' traits, such as her compassion and motherhood. Among Margaret

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[95] The closet's importance as a space of affective piety will be discussed in further detail in chapter five.

Beaufort's items, for example, was a gold tablet of the Annunciation, which featured white marguerites and a chain with a red rose on the end, so as to signal her ownership. The countess also owned a tabernacle of gold, which contained a Pietà image.[96] The fact that this second object had lost its pearls suggests that it was regularly used during prayer and indicates that Margaret most likely handled it during her devotions. Unlike the tabernacles and smaller-scale tablets, which were designed to aid personal, contemplative devotion, the larger scale images in the chapel were more readily accessible to a wider audience, forming part of the 'public' face of the household. The fact that such images were designed for the visual consumption of others is especially apparent in the case of Collyweston, where the chapel had been newly painted with images of the Virgin and the Trinity just weeks before the arrival of Margaret's granddaughter, Margaret Tudor, who was *enroute* to Edinburgh to marry James IV of Scotland. During their two-week stay at the palace, the wedding party, which included the king and some of the highest-ranking nobles at the royal court, attended services within the elder Margaret's household chapel, where they would have been able to admire the new wall paintings. Such images, which celebrated Mary's centrality to the Holy Family, were a fitting choice for an event designed to advertise Margaret Beaufort's own role as the lynchpin and matriarch of the house of Tudor, and would have no doubt invited flattering parallels to be drawn between the mother of the king and the mother of Christ.

An analysis of the visual programmes of the household chapels at Ewelme, Collyweston and Warblington reveals that images of female bodies were prominently displayed in all three spaces. Far from focusing on female meekness of inferiority, however, the images instead celebrated both the Virgin Mary and her mother, Anne, as powerful role models, who were matriarchs and cornerstones of the Holy Family. On account of their roles as heiresses and mothers, Alice Chaucer, Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole would have been highly conscious of their familial responsibilities for continuing and securing the future of their family lines, and the images displayed within the women's chapels would have thus resonated closely with the circumstances of the women's own lives. This was undoubtedly no coincidence. As Karen Winstead has shown, hagiographical writers and artists depicted saints in the style of the late medieval noblewomen they were designed to educate, thus creating a process whereby the saint was both a reflection of and a model for the female viewer.[97] Noblewomen were thus able to use these pre-existing similarities to their advantage, utilising them as a means through which convey messages about their own exemplary femininity. While images of female saints and the Virgin Mary were not exclusive to houses headed by women, it is nonetheless apparent that such images provided women in particular with opportunities for self-fashioning, enabling them to construct their authority through reference to these women's exemplary and unmistakably gendered behaviour.

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[96] SJC D91.15, p. 28.

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[97] Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs,* p. 154.

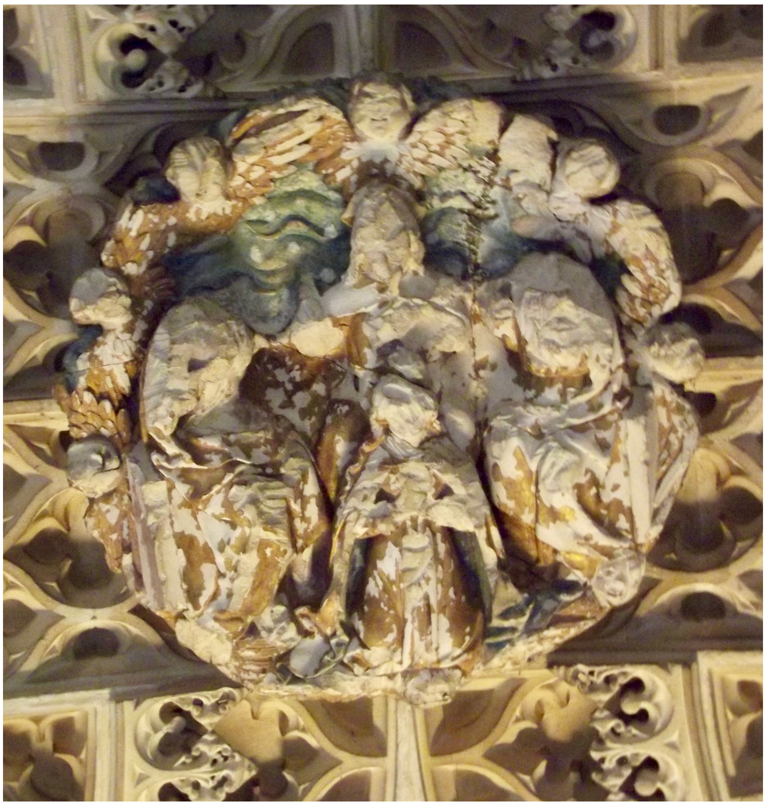

Figure 55. The now defaced corbel from the roof of Margaret Pole's Chantry Chapel in Christchurch Priory, Dorset. The depiction shows Margaret kneeling at the centre of the Trinity. The four figures are encompassed within a border of angels. Image: Author's own. I am grateful to the Vicar, Churchwardens and Parish Administrator of Christchurch Priory for allowing me to access and photograph the chapel. Image: Author's Own.

Conclusion

By exploring domestic iconography from the perspective of the female gaze, this chapter has shown the diverse ways in which gendered imagery was used to both reflect and formulate female expressions of authority through domestic space. Although the incomplete nature of the evidence precludes us from making a broad comparative analysis of the visual environment of male and female houses, attention to individual case studies, and the comparisons between them, has nonetheless proved instructive. While the evidence suggests that male imagery was more commonly placed in spaces such as the great hall, and female imagery in the more intimate rooms, such as chambers and parlours, the argument for a strict male/female, active/passive binary as presented in previous studies does not stand up to analysis. Instead, it would seem that the women upheld and utilised the pre-existing status of the hall as a masculine space and the parlour as a feminine one, in order to present their authority through reference to both masculine and feminine themes.

In the female household, female bodies were not marginalised or rendered invisible, but were celebrated through the visual display of the women's residences and placed in some of the most important rooms to the construction of their authority. This appears to have been especially apparent in Alice Chaucer's case, where female imagery was appropriately placed to advertise the many facets of Alice's role as the head of her own household, and was entwined with the heraldic emblems of both her grandmother and mother, so as to make a powerful statement of Ewelme's importance as a site of matriarchal authority. At Collyweston, Margaret Beaufort's tapestry collection appears to have included more male imagery and masculine themes, which were no doubt designed to reflect and honour her unique role as king's mother, and as a representative of royal authority in the Midlands.

The types of women represented in the visual iconography of the women's residences did not adhere to a single model or stereotype; rather they included a diverse range of representations, which celebrated women as educators, matriarchs, loyal wives and companions, virtuous exemplars and warriors. While the life of St. Anne in Alice's chapel focused on characteristically feminine traits such as piety and motherhood, the Amazon queens in her chamber, with their armour and their spheres, presented an altogether more masculine model of womanhood. Displays of female iconography were thus not straightforward celebrations of femininity: in Alice Chaucer's case, the female imagery celebrated women who adopted both feminine and masculine characteristics. Through their placement in highly visible rooms within her residence, such as the household chapel and the great chamber, these images were positioned so as to encourage flattering parallels to be drawn between the figures represented and the women who presided over their households in reality. This also appears to have been the case for Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole, whose display of the Trinity alongside the Virgin Mary in their household chapels resonated with the women's own roles as the matriarchs of their respective families. Just as the domestic schemes of male-owned houses were designed to raise the head of household to the level of exemplar, so it would also appear that imagery within the female household both acquired and gave meaning to space, constructing the women's authority not through a singular focus on the feminine, but rather through reference to both male and female, masculine and feminine.

Chapter 5:
'Captenesse' or 'Houswyff'? Governing Domestic Space

In his month's mind sermon for Margaret Beaufort, the countess's confessor, Bishop John Fisher likened her to the good housewife, Martha.[1] In doing so, Fisher drew on a model of female perfection whose story and example would have been highly familiar to his early sixteenth-century audience. In the later middle ages, the holy sisters, Mary and Martha, were commonly used to illustrate the merits of the contemplative and active lives respectively. Due to her role as a hostess to Jesus, Martha was re-imagined as a late medieval housewife, and moralists used her example to show that prayer and the demands of daily life were not incompatible, and that the laywoman could serve God through her household routines. For Fisher, Margaret Beaufort achieved her likeness to Martha in four key ways: through her nobility, her bodily discipline, her piety, and through her charity and hospitality to her neighbours. Fisher's sermon presents Margaret as a maternal figurehead, weeping at the coronation of her son and extending her motherly compassion to both the students of Oxford and Cambridge and to the servants of her household. His portrait is thus one that couches Margaret's performance of her authority in unmistakably feminine terms.

If Fisher presents the king's mother as a paragon of saintly womanhood, the account of another member of her household, Henry Parker, Lord Morley, offers an altogether different picture.[2] Parker served as a cupbearer in the countess's household as a child and wrote his account some years later for the entertainment of her great-granddaughter, Mary Tudor. Much like Fisher, Parker locates Margaret within the context of her household, yet rather than presenting her as a good housewife, he instead describes her household governance in altogether more masculine terms, likening her domestic authority to that of biblical and classical rulers. When Parker describes Margaret's dining practices, for example, he claims that few kings were served better. Both Parker and Fisher remark upon Margaret's excellent memory, yet Parker uses this as an opportunity to draw a comparison between Margaret and Mithridates, King of Pontus. He also states that Margaret's benign nature could be compared to the Roman emperor Titus, while her patience during Richard III's reign likens her to Seneca or Socrates. Parker's comparisons, however, are not wholly masculine. Amidst his predominantly male references, Parker also compares Margaret to two queens who were praised by William of Malmesbury for their virtue and their magnanimity, namely the pre-conquest queen Ælflæd and King Henry I's wife, Matilda. For Parker, Margaret's household governance thus rested on the successful balance between what he regarded as male traits, namely generosity, good memory and patience, and the more characteristically feminine ones of charity and virtue.

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[1] Fisher, 'Mornynge Remembraunce'.

[2] Parker, 'The Account of the Miracles of the Sacrament'.

Both Fisher and Parker served in Margaret's household and witnessed her governance firsthand, yet their two accounts present very different pictures of her domestic authority. Thus far, the chapters in this thesis have argued that articulations of female authority through the spatial and visual environment rested on a complex interplay of masculine and feminine elements. While the previous chapters in this thesis considered the impact of gender and sexuality on the physical ordering of domestic space and its aesthetic appearance, this final chapter turns to household governance, and focuses on the ways in which domestic space was managed and used by the five women considered in this study. If the previous chapters considered the elite female residence as a stage, this final chapter considers the women's roles as stage managers.

Focusing on the administrative tasks of estate and household management, this chapter first establishes how far the day-to-day running of the home was in fact ordered by female agency. The second half of this chapter posits the elite female residence as a site of sociability. Through a consideration of the relationship between prescriptive and lived space, it explores how female authority was produced and shaped by the interactions that occurred within the home, both through occasional and everyday activities. In doing so, the discussion considers whether there was any discernible gender difference in the ways in which female heads of household used and performed their authority through domestic space. It argues that women's domestic authority was not singularly reliant on a performance of femininity; rather, it rested on a complex interplay of masculine and feminine elements, with the female head of household variously constructing herself in both the image of a holy housewife and a classical king.

Managing Space

The tasks of estate and household management were a prime means through which women ordered space for the assertion of their authority. These tasks were not new to the women when they took up their roles as the heads of their own establishments. Since men were often away on business or at war, women were expected to have a working knowledge of such matters from an early age, and to quite literally hold the fort in their husband's absence. As Christine de Pizan puts it, 'because barons and still more commonly knights and squires and gentlemen travel and go off to the wars, their wives should be wise and sound administrators and manage their affairs well, because most of the time they stay at home without their husbands, who are at court or abroad'.[3] For Christine, the ideal female householder was intelligent, attentive and knowledgeable about a comprehensive array of matters pertaining to both household and estate management.

Women's knowledge of such matters primarily came through their informal education within the home, most likely through the experience of watching and learning from the example of their mothers and female relatives.[4] As heiresses and their parents' only children, Alice Chaucer and Margaret Beaufort in particular would have been made acutely aware of their responsibilities from an early age, and would have received a thorough education on account of what Alexandra Barratt calls their 'quasi-masculine roles'.[5] The central aim of the heiress's property was to promote the success and standing of her family, and it was thus important that she knew how to manage it.[6] Many of the women in this study would have witnessed their mother's management of household affairs during periods of their father's absence. Both Margaret Beaufort and Katherine Courtenay's fathers died in infancy, and both women thus saw their mothers, Margaret Beauchamp and Elizabeth Woodville, assume their roles as the head of their respective families. Both Margaret of Anjou and Alice Chaucer's fathers lived until the women were adults, yet Rene of Anjou's ever-changing political fortunes meant that Margaret's mother, Isabella, duchess of Lorraine, and grandmother, Yolande of

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[3] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 130.

[4] R. E. Archer, '"How Ladies…who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates': Women as landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages', in P. J. P. Goldberg (ed), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c. 1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992), p. 151; Krug, *Women's Literate Practices,* p. 70.

[5] A. Barratt, *Women's Writing in Middle English* (Second Edition, London and New York, 2013), p. 2.

[6] Lange Friedrichs, 'Heiresses', p. 356.

Aragon, governed during his long periods of absence.[7] Alice's mother, Maud, also regularly adopted the role as the head of the Chaucer household when Thomas was away fighting during the French campaigns. The only woman in this study who was unable to learn from her mother's example was Margaret Pole, who lost both her parents as a young child. Margaret instead spent her childhood moving between royal households, and after the Battle of Bosworth, she and her brother lived at Margaret Beaufort's London residence of Coldharbour. As a teenager, Margaret would have witnessed Margaret Beaufort's skilful household management, which the king's mother had herself learned from her own mother, Margaret Beauchamp and also later from the example of her mother-in-law, Anne Stafford, duchess of Buckingham, whom Jones and Underwood have referred to as a 'vigorous and determined administrator'.[8] The previous chapter highlighted the striking similarities in the iconography of the two women's residences, and it is thus not impossible that Margaret Pole also learned other aspects of household governance from Beaufort.

Estate Management

Estate management was a key means through which the women made the physical world a constituent of their power. Chapter one demonstrated that all the women were substantial landowners, with widely dispersed estates. For their management, the noblewoman relied on an intricate network of officials. The main players in a noble landlord's administration were usually the receiver general, who assumed the position of chief financial officer, the chief steward, and the auditors.[9] Bailiffs, reeves, and in some cases manorial receivers, were responsible for the administration of manors at a local level, and collected revenues from the estates before passing them on to the receiver general.[10] The evidence suggests that this structure, although sometimes altered slightly to meet individual requirements, was broadly speaking the same, regardless of whether the landholder was a man or woman. In Katherine Courtenay's case, for instance, the countess's manors were either administered directly by a reeve or bailiff or were let out in their entirety to a tenant farmer.[11] The profits from her estates were then passed to a local receiver, who in turn handed them over to the receiver general.[12] Chief stewards oversaw the running of groups of manors and were accountable to a central surveyor. In addition to these officials, Katherine had an attorney, auditors and advisors, and she also retained members of the local gentry for advice.[13] By the end of the middle ages, the process of estate administration had become altogether more bureaucratic, and these positions were usually held by highly skilled and formally trained men.[14] The women thus acted as the heads of predominantly male workforces, although in her biographical study of Margaret Pole, Hazel Pierce has shown that the countess did in fact hire a number of women for the administration of her estates, including a female reeve, a female bailiff and a female receiver.[15] The example shows that Margaret considered women just as capable of men for the administration of her estates, and raises the possibility that female landlords were also more inclined to hire women than their male counterparts.

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[7] For a recent revisionist biography of Yolande of Aragon see Z. E. Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381-1442), Family and Power: The Reverse of the Tapestry* (Basingstoke, 2016).

[8] Anne's household accounts for the year 1465- 6 are preserved in BL Add. Mss. 34213; Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 142.

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[9] C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth Century Political Community* (London and New York, 1996), p. 108

[10] Ibid.

[11] Westcott, 'Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon', p. 24.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ward, *English Noblewomen*, p. 111. See also B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000); R. R. Davies, B. Smith (ed), *Lords and Lordship in the British Isles in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009), esp. C. 7, 'The Agencies and Agents of Lordship'.

[15] H. Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury,* p. 82.

How far were the women personally involved in the administration and management of their lands? In theory, estates could be run with very little direct intervention from their landlord, and thus the level of activity came down to individual personalities and abilities.[16] Work on late medieval queen consorts, for example, has shown that the holders of the office exhibited varying levels of interest in their landholdings, although Rowena Archer has suggested that on the whole, women may have been more attentive estate and household managers, simply because they had more time to devote to such matters than their male counterparts, and led less itinerant lifestyles.[17]

The women in this study certainly appear to have been astute and engaged landlords, who actively acquired and managed lands for personal and familial gain. They exhibited considerable business acumen, buying up and sometimes aggressively pursuing their rights to lands and properties. Upon seeing that the income from her dower was insufficient, for example, Margaret of Anjou actively sought to obtain further lands and privileges, including the right to export wool tax-free.[18] As was also highlighted at the beginning of this thesis, the queen also wasted no time in acquiring Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's palace at Greenwich after his death. Alice Chaucer is also famed for her reputation as a shrewd landowner, who often deployed aggressive tactics for personal gain. The duchess famously threw the Paston family into disarray when she (successfully) pursued her husband's spurious claims to John Fastolf's lands in East Anglia. Margaret Pole faced similar criticism when in 1531, William Cobden claimed that she had taken lands in the Isle of Wight which he had the right, as the son and heir of the previous owner, to inherit.[19] The ultimate evidence of Margaret's tenacity, however, is her fifteen-year battle with the king over her claims to multiple estates.[20]

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[16] Given-Wilson*, The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, p. 108.

[17] A. Crawford, 'The Queen's Council in the Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review*, 116/468 (November, 2001); Archer, '"How Ladies…", p. 153.

[18] J. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004), p. 234.

If the women were ruthless in their acquisition of lands, the evidence suggests that they were also highly attentive to the management of them. In a letter to the steward of her manors of Great Haseley and Pyrton in Oxfordshire, Margaret of Anjou instructed him to sell beech trees in two of her woods in order to cover repairs to manor.[21] This was an issue, as Anne Crawford has argued, that the queen might have expected to delegate to her council rather than dealing with it herself.[22] Of Alice Chaucer, Rowena Archer has remarked that 'she had both the capacity for detail and a long memory that were essential for administration'.[23] According to Archer, the 1453-4 account roll of the duchess's lands 'captures a strong sense of Alice's control over administration' including her personal receipt of revenues.[24] A seemingly avid reader of Christine de Pizan's works, Alice no doubt heeded the author's advice that 'since there are a great many administrators of lands and noblemen's estates who are willing to deceive their masters, [the lady] ought to be well versed in these matters and take care of them'.[25]

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[19] Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*, p. 76.

[20] Ibid, p. 211.

[21] 'Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou', p. 141.

[22] A. Crawford, 'The Queen's Council in the Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review*, 116/468 (November, 2001), p. 1208.

[23] Archer, "How Ladies…", p. 155.

[24] Ibid, p. 155-6.

[25] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* p. 130.

Margaret Beaufort's status as a conscientious estate manager is also well attested. Margaret's direct influence over affairs is evidenced by several entries in her household accounts, which state that activities were carried out 'by my lady's commandment'. In June 1504, for instance, Margaret instructed a certain John Rose, a servant of her surveyor, to ride to Bilsby in Lincolnshire and to 'purvey certain lands' there.[26] In 1500, the countess responded to the issue of the regular flooding of her fenland estates by commissioning the creation a tidal sluice on the Witham at Boston.[27] This was a major engineering project, for which she employed the skills a Flemish engineer, masons and labourers.[28] As Michael Jones has highlighted, Margaret herself continued to oversee the provisions for maintenance and repair work, which amounted to some £30 a year, and she also continued to make regular payments for the upkeep of the sluice until her death.[29] The episode is representative of Margaret's personal involvement in the management of her lands. During the works on Margaret's new lodgings in 1502-3, two of her most trusted labourers, John Fleshman and John Folett, were rewarded for hiring horses to carry two of the freemasons working on the site to Peterborough prison.[30] Much like the other women in this study, Margaret Beaufort thus appears to have possessed the intelligence and acumen necessary for effective estate management.

The presence of Katherine Courtenay's signature on a document detailing the appointment of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset and John Arundel as the masters of all her parks and chases (excluding Okehampton), and also as the stewards of her

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[26] SJC D.91.20, p. 159.

[27] M. K. Jones, 'Margaret Beaufort, the Royal Council and an Early Fenland Drainage Scheme', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 21 (1986); SJC D102. SJC D102.6; D91.19, p. 124; D91.21, p. 163.

[28] SJC D102.6; Jones, 'Margaret Beaufort, the Royal Council', p.14.

[29] Jones, 'Margaret Beaufort, the Royal Council', p.16.

[30] SJC D91.14, p. 95.

Devon, Dorset and Somerset lands, indicates that she also kept a watchful eye over her affairs.[31] In a heated case between one of Margaret Pole's tenants, Thomas Copleston of Yealmpton in Devon and her under steward, John Legg, the countess took it upon herself to interrogate several of the witnesses herself, thus attesting to the high level of personal involvement the countess exhibited in the management of her estates.[32]

Financial records also speak of the women's successful estate management, and show that their management of space directly enhanced their economic power. In the cases of all the women except Margaret of Anjou (who was reduced to poverty by the time of her death), the incomes from the women's estates present a positive picture of their estate management. When Margaret Beaufort died in 1509, the income from her estates was £3,000; Katherine Courtenay's for the year 1527-8 was over £2,760; and Margaret Pole's for 1538 was £2,311.[33] Alice Chaucer's wealth at the time of her death is unknown, although the income from her lands in three counties alone in the years 1453-4 was over £1,342.[34] These substantial profits indicate that the women's wealth from their landed estates exceeded that of some of their most illustrious male contemporaries.

While the women maintained an attentive eye on their estates, the threat of intruders was always a possibility. When Margaret Pole suffered an attack on one of her woods in Oxfordshire, she threatened to resort to the same methods unless she received justice.[35] Alice Chaucer suffered a series of attacks on her private estates in the wake of her husband's murder in 1450, which were no doubt designed to express the continued animosity concerning her family's perceived influence over the king and queen.[36] Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort appear to have been especially anxious to protect their parks from poachers. The surviving letters of Margaret of Anjou show that the queen was concerned for the maintenance of her favourite hunting grounds, whether they were her own or those of her associates. In 1449, she wrote to the keeper of Abfield park near her residence in Pleshey, stating that no person may hunt there unless, 'hit be under our signet, and signed with our owne hand'.[37] She also warned the keeper that if he failed to inform her of trespassers' names, it would be at his 'perill'.[38] In the previous year, Margaret had also written to the keeper Elizabeth Lady Saye's park at Faulkbourne in Essex, informing him that only those who had received either her own or Lady Say's permission were allowed to hunt there.[39] A similar picture is offered by a reprimand sent by Margaret Beaufort to Thomas Chattock, the keeper of her park at Madeley in Staffordshire. On discovering that unlicensed hunting had taken place in the park, Margaret wrote to Thomas, telling him that she wished to be informed of the names of future trespassers in order that she might issue a suitable punishment.[40] The incidents again show a high level of personal involvement exercised by the women, and that they were zealous in their efforts to defend their lands from trespassers.

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[31] CRO, AR/24/17.
[32] Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*, p. 76.
[33] Jones and Underwood, 'Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509)', *ODNB;* Westcott, 'Katherine, Countess of Devon (1479–1527)', *ODNB;* Pierce, 'Pole, Margaret, suo jure countess of Salisbury (1473–1541)', *ODNB*.
[34] Archer, 'Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk (c. 1404-1475)', *ODNB*.
[35] Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*, p. 76.

Recent scholarship on parkbreak has suggested that the act might be read in gendered terms. In her work on this subject, Amanda Richardson has used the evidence for repeated instances of parkbreak on the estates of fourteenth century queen consorts to argue that noblewomen may have been especially vulnerable to such attacks on their estates.[41] While it is difficult to ascertain whether women's estates were in fact more susceptible to instances of parkbreak than those of men, it is possible that such acts of transgression were devised and perceived as attacks on female sexual respectability, either by the women themselves or by others. The discussion in this thesis has already highlighted the symbiotic connection in the medieval mind between enclosed spaces and the female body, and also how the late medieval fashion for enclosing parks and bringing them closer to the residence complicated the straightforward gendering of such spaces as masculine.[42] The emergence of 'little' or 'lady' parks in the fifteenth century, of which Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington appear to have been examples, provided spaces that were suited to or were designed for female recreation. These little or lady parks, as chapter two highlighted, were characterised by their smaller size and their visibility from the residence, and thus the act of trespassing in such spaces may have been considered more akin to breaking into an enclosed garden or orchard than to a full-size hunting ground. In entering such spaces, it is likely that the trespassers came close to, or could at least be seen from the women's personal chambers, particularly as at Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington, the women's chambers were positioned to give views onto the deer parks below.

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[36] Archer, 'Alice Chaucer', *ODNB*.
[37] 'Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou', p. 100.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid, p. 106.
[40] Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 110.

Female anxiety concerning the transgression of enclosed, outdoor domestic spaces by men is also a recurrent theme in contemporary romances. In *The Squire of Low Degree*, a princess discovers that a lowly squire has broken into the enclosed garden beneath her chamber. Appearing at the oriel window of her closet, the princess warns him, "let no man wete that ye were here, thus all alone in *my* arbere''.[43] Through her words, the princess not only communicates her ownership over the garden space, but also her anxiety that someone will discover the squire's unsolicited presence there, which could potentially undermine her sexual reputation, and by association, her status. Likewise, in *Sir Degrevant*, when the female protagonist Melidor finds that Degrevant has broken into the orchard where she and her ladies are walking, she declares, "Me thenkus thou dost not ryghth/ sothely to say/that thou comest armid on were/to maydenus to affere,/that walkes in her erbere/Prively to play". She goes on to tell him that he is "gretely to blame" for entering the orchard without her permission.[44] The encounters between the men and women in both romances are indicative of a social anxiety surrounding unexpected or unregulated meetings between the sexes, especially within outdoor, domestic spaces. In both instances, the reprimands issued by the female characters convey more than simply their shock or surprise, but rather their expectation of a gendered ordering of space, which they are eager to protect and defend.

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[41] Richardson, 'Riding like Alexander', pp. 261-3.
[42] Ibid, p. 260.

Margaret Beaufort and Margaret of Anjou's anxieties for their parks also no doubt also stemmed from their proximity to the Crown. The letters and writs of both women reveal that they sought to keep their parks well stocked not only for their own hunting activities, but also for the recreation of their husband and son, respectively.[45] Richardson has argued that 'from a gendered perspective, parks associated with women were perhaps targeted to give added impetus to such protest – striking at the king through the symbolic violation of the queen'.[46] The concept of challenging the king's authority through the violation of 'female' spaces chimes with the episode from the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, in which the rebels reportedly broke into the chamber of the king's mother, Joan of Kent. Mark Ormrod has highlighted how in their accounts, Froissart and Walsingham employ the spatial politics of the chamber to emphasise the heinous nature of the rebels' actions and to present Joan 'not merely [as] a symbol of vulnerability, but a royal patroness who validates her son's deeds'.[47] By breaking into Joan's bedchamber, the rebels not only threatened Joan's sexual respectability, but by association, her son's sovereignty.[48] Women's desire to protect their estates from intruders can thus be read on multiple levels. Maintaining estates was not only a matter of preserving their own order, wealth and status, but also the reputations of their families, thus returning us to the associations between motherhood and authority discussed in chapters one, two and three.

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[43] 'The Squire of Low Degree', in *Sentimental and Humorous Romances*, ed. E Kooper (Kalamazoo, 2005). Italics my own.

[44] 'Sir Degrevant'.

[45] S. A. Mileson, 'The Importance of Parks in Fifteenth-Century Society', in L. Clark (ed), *The Fifteenth Century V: Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 27.

While the repeated instances of poachers breaking into lands owned by women may be read as a symbolic violation of the women's sexual fidelity, it is equally possible that poachers who targeted female-owned estates were seeking to 'emasculate' women who they perceived as holding a masculine office. If the violation of the queen and other royal women's estates was a means through which to challenge the king's authority, an attack on a widow's estates may have been perceived in different terms. Unlike their married female counterparts, widows were not answerable to their male relations, but were able to act of their own legal and financial accord, thus making them more akin to their male counterparts with respect to land ownership.[49] Acts of trespass may have thus been perceived differently according to the women's marital status and their point in the life course.

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[46] Richardson, 'Riding like Alexander', p. 262.
[47] Ormrod, 'In Bed with Joan of Kent', p. 287.
[48] Ibid, pp. 282-5.

Looking onto the Landscape: Surveillance and Female Authority

For Christine de Pizan, the estate manager's success was closely tied to her mobility and active use of space. The diligent landlord was an ever-watchful presence, visiting her estates, maintaining regular contact with her workers and surveying her lands from the windows of her residence.[50] The exemplary landlord was thus not idle or static, but constantly moved through her residence and estates in order to remind her employees of her presence and authority. Chapter one showed that all the women's principal residences were positioned close to route ways and road networks, thus facilitating the women's movements between their various estates and properties. Of the five case studies addressed in this thesis, Margaret Beaufort's accounts are sufficiently detailed to indicate that the countess regularly toured her estates. At a more immediate level, the inter-visibility between house and landscape, particularly in the cases of Greenwich, Collyweston and Warblington, enabled the construction of domestic authority through the act of looking. While views onto the landscape were no doubt aesthetically pleasing, the placement of the women's chambers would have allowed them to survey the labourers busy at work in their gardens and deer parks. When the women were absent, the very materiality of their residences, namely in the form of familial coats of arms and personal motifs displayed in the windows of their chambers, would have provided a continuous reminder of the women's authority. In medieval discourse, heraldry, as Audrey Thorstad has shown, was not simply symbolic of an individual, but representative of their presence.[51]

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[49] L. E. Mitchell, 'The Lady is a Lord: Noble Widows and Land in Thirteenth-Century Britain', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 18/1 (Winter, 1992); Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550*, Chapter 7.

[50] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 130.

Recent scholarship on lordly landscapes has repeatedly highlighted the importance of looking to the construction of medieval lordship.[52] Yet, most of these discussions have focused on male lords. If the act of looking from the tower was empowering for men, quite the opposite has been argued for women. Sarah Salih has highlighted that late medieval writers and moralists repeatedly depict windows as dangerous thresholds, 'through which unregulated contact, threatening female chastity, might occur'.[53]

On the contrary, this thesis argues that for the female head of household, surveillance was a necessary form of empowerment. The views of the church and deer park from Margaret Pole's tower windows at Warblington were highlighted in chapter three as evidence for the countess's tower as a site of empowerment, an argument that will be developed here. In her analysis of Caxton's Middle English version of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, which was commissioned by Margaret Beaufort shortly after her son's accession, Anne Clark Bartlett has argued for the importance of the female protagonist Eglantine's tower as a site of her power and authority.[54] From the tower, Eglantine is able to monitor those coming and going from her kingdom, survey the inhabitants of her town and assess the state of the battles occurring under her name. From this privileged vantage point, Eglantine sends the necessary reinforcements, enabling her men to win various battles against her enemies. Clark Bartlett observes that whilst on the one hand 'the iconic tower of medieval romance could serve as a lady's prison, it could also provide the vantage point where a female leader could observe and strategise'.[55]

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[51] A. Thorstad, 'Establishing a Royal Connection: Tudor Iconography and the Creation of a Dynastic Grand Narrative', in T. Hiltmann and M. Metelo de Seixas, *The Typology of Heraldry in State Rooms in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Thorbeck, 2016).

[52] O. H. Creighton, 'Seeing and Believing: Looking out on Medieval Castle Landscapes', *Concilium Medii Aevi*, 14 (2011); S. Richardson, A Room with a View? Looking Outwards from Late Medieval Harewood', *Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010).

[53] S. Salih, 'At Home; Out of the House', in C. Dinshaw and D. Wallace (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 131-2.

[54] Clark Bartlett, 'Translation, Self-Representation and Statecraft', pp. 60-2.

While in her analysis Clark Bartlett focuses on the tale's protagonist, Eglantine, it is also striking that for another of the tale's female characters, Beatrice, the tower is a site of empowerment in which she adopts both feminine and masculine characteristics. Upon seeing her husband about to be put to death beneath her tower window, Beatrice at first exhibits characteristically feminine traits, 'lenyng her hande ouer her brestes & ful sore wepyng for loue of her husband'. Yet, she suddenly leaves aside 'her femenyn wyll & toke within her the corage of a man vertuose in manere & faccion of a hardy byfyghtresse', instructing her knights to arm themselves and to save her husband.[56] The tower is thus a space in which Beatrice adopts an authoritative voice, which enables her to turn the course of events to her advantage. It would seem that the author of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* exploited the ambivalent gendering of the tower in contemporary thought, presenting the space as one where the female characters are able to attain masculine characteristics.

The term 'byfyghtresse' appears to be unique to Caxton's text, and depicts Beatrice as a female warrior in a manner akin to the Amazon queens discussed in the previous chapter.[57] The term, and Beatrice's act of commanding her troops, is reminiscent of Margaret Paston's description of herself in the Paston letters as a 'captenesse'.[58] The term 'captenesse', used by Margaret when she was required to defend her husband's manor at Hellesdon from attack, has been described as 'linguistic evidence of one medieval gentlewoman's creative effort to articulate her experience of performing a historically masculine role in the context of the more feminine one of household governance'.[59] In both literature and in reality, the tower becomes a site through which women are able to adopt masculine characteristics, commanding troops and safeguarding their families, the members of their household and properties.

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[55] Ibid, pp. 60, 62.

[56] *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, p. 186.

[57] The term does not appear to have been used in any other Middle English texts, and is not present in the *MED*.

It is thus apparent that estate management required a performance of authority that interwove masculine and feminine elements. In looking from the tower window, and in personally touring their estates, women were able to adopt the commanding tone and stance necessary for the performance of their authority, and to fill an office that was culturally considered masculine without entirely renouncing their femininity.

On the whole, the practicalities and responsibilities of estate management appear to have differed very little according to whether the landowner was a man or a woman.[60] Both male and female landlords relied on networks of highly skilled individuals to manage their lands and tenants at both a local and central level. It would also seem that like their male counterparts, women were responsible for managing a predominantly male workforce, although the example of Margaret Pole suggests that the countess had no issue with hiring women for the management of her estates at a local level, who like herself would have been informally educated with the home, rather than formally trained in legal and estate administration. Despite their reliance on a large workforce for the implementation of their authority, the women were by no means mere bystanders in the management of their estates. Rather, all the women in this study appear to have demonstrated a high level of personal involvement in matters pertaining to their lands, whether that involved deciding the arrangement of gardens and orchards or resolving disputes between tenants. The women thus adopted the role of estate manager with zeal and vigour, generating incomes and building relationships that were to serve both their own interests and those of their heirs. From their towers or chamber windows, the women were able to survey their lands and adopt an authoritative tone akin to that of their male counterparts. Yet, they did not renounce their femininity altogether. The contemporary creation and use of terms such as "byfyghtresse" and "captenesse" suggests that these women did not straightforwardly occupy masculine roles; rather they occupied a distinct category, one to which Judith Halberstam's concept of 'female masculinity' fittingly applies.[61] Instances of parkbreak also indicate that the act, although experienced by both men and women, may have taken on a heightened gendered significance in light of the interrelationship in the medieval mindset between enclosure and the female body.

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[58] For a discussion of the definition of the term see V. Creelman, 'Margaret Paston's Use of *Captenesse*', *Notes & Queries*, 55/3 (2008), pp. 275-77.

[59] Ibid, p. 277.

[60] These conclusions accord with those in broader studies of women's estate management. See J. Ward, *English Noblewomen*, p. 128; Mitchell, 'The Lady is a Lord'.

Household Management

Just as the woman was expected to maintain an ever-watchful presence over her estates, so she was also expected to be a visible and attentive presence within her household. Of the good housewife, Christine de Pizan says that 'she herself must be in overall charge and, always watchful, she must ask for everything to be accounted for'.[62] The demands on the head of household were manifold: in a day centred on meals and prayer, the lady was expected to supervise servants and accounts, ensure order and discipline within the home, maintain good relations with her neighbours and to give generously yet not extravagantly to the poor.[63]

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[61] See main introduction, p. 21.

Overseeing Accounts

Household management required a practical head for numbers and a sharp eye for detail.[64] Household expenditure, broadly speaking, could be divided into five key areas: money given in alms, expenditure on food and other provisions for the household, payments to officers and servants, gifts to strangers, and finally, personal items for the lady's own use.[65] In her capacity as the manager of a noble household, the lady was expected to work closely with her principal servants to ensure that the finances, state and reputation of her household were kept in order.

It would seem that the women in this study kept as close an eye on their households as they did on their estates. While compiling household accounts was the responsibility of senior household officials, such as the cofferer, treasurer, and comptroller, it would nonetheless appear that the women were personally involved in their household affairs. Nearly all the important payments recorded by Laurence Bothe's account for Margaret of Anjou's household show evidence of being authorized by letters patent or warrants under the queen's great seal, indicating that the queen paid close attention to her accounts.[66] The presence of Margaret Beaufort's signature on many of the pages of her household accounts indicates that she checked their contents personally, while Alice Chaucer also personally signed letters concerned with the affairs of her household.[67]

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[62] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 146.

[63] Ibid. pp. 146-9.

[64] M. J. Hettinger, 'Household Management', in M. C. Schaus, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (New York & Abingdon, 2006), p. 380.

[65] De Pizan, *Treasure*, p. 77.

A woman's ability to effectively manage her household required a space of her own, where she could engage in reading and writing without fear of interruption. The women in this study appear to have used their closets for the authorization of documents and for engaging in letter writing. Margaret Beaufort's household inventories state that a locker within her closet held marriage indentures, bonds and her own title deeds.[68] At Warblington, the chapel closet contained 'one joined cofer full of old writengs' and 'one playne cupboard of waynskot'.[69] The circumstances of Margaret's arrest meant that several important household items were transferred to the hands of her stewards, John Chadreton and John Babham, including a little lectern or writing desk, within which there were writings or 'recknings' (most likely accounts) for the household.[70] The episode also indicates the high level of trust that existed between the countess and her servants. At Tiverton, five coffers bound with plate were kept in the tower above the main gatehouse, access to which was gained from Katherine Courtenay's principal chambers. At Ewelme, the location of a great red standard 'ful of stuff' is not specified, yet the fact that the keys were in 'my ladies keping' suggests the importance of its contents, and also the high level of control Alice had over her household affairs.[71] The evidence thus suggests the women's effective management of their household spaces for the enactment of their authority. In viewing the accounts themselves, and by keeping such documents in locked spaces to which access was tightly controlled, the women were able to enact their roles as the all-seeing all-knowing heads of household praised by authors such as Christine de Pizan.

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[66] Myers, *Household of Margaret of Anjou,* p. 93.

[67] SJC D91.19; A. Truelove, 'Commanding Communications: The Fifteenth-Century Letters of the Stonor Women', in J. Daybell (ed), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke, 2001), p 44.

[68] *Jones and Underwood*, p. 189.

[69] TNA SP 1/139, ff. 79, 79b.

[70] Ibid.

The women's use of their closets in this way made them more akin to their male counterparts than to noblewomen resident in their marital homes. Ronald Huebert has argued that in the marital homes of the early modern elite, closets were spaces where women were never truly in control, but could be interrupted at any point. For men, on the other hand, they were spaces to which access was tightly regulated, inaccessible to anyone but the lord and carefully selected members of his household.[72] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, closets were also noticeably gendered in their use, being primarily used as sites of prayer by women and as sites of scholarship by men.

It is apparent, however, that a number of medieval women, much like those considered in this study, had access to the type of solitude deemed 'masculine' by Huebert. The literary authority of female writers, including that of Christine de Pizan and Julian of Norwich, for example, came from these women's access to solitary spaces, namely the closet and the anchorhold respectively.[73] In a contemporary illumination of Christine from BL Harley MS. 4431, the author is shown writing alone in a gothic chamber. Authors of contemporary romances also frequently present the closet as a space of letter writing. In Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, the closet is a space where Criseyde, free from her uncle's overbearing influence, is able to consider how best to respond to Troilus' advances. It is also in the closet that she pens her letter to Troilus, before returning to Pandarus, who is waiting next door in her chamber.[74] Heather Blatt has recently highlighted that the closet is the only place in the text where Criseyde is able to read without Pandarus interrupting her.[75] In this respect, Criseyde uses her closet to exercise what Huebert and others have characterized as a masculine form of privacy. While the similarities in the use of closets and gardens will be highlighted further in the discussion below, it is worth highlighting here that in his fifteenth-century *Life of St. Katherine,* John Capgrave presents the seclusion offered by Katherine's enclosed garden in a similar way. He twice tells the reader that 'sche bare the key of this gardeyn' alone, and that when she went in she shut the gate 'full fast', for 'solitary lyf to stodyers is comfort'.[76] The discussion in the previous chapter indicated that Katherine's knowledge of the liberal arts is said to have outshone that of some of the finest male tutors, and it is notable that Capgrave connects Katherine's intellect to her ability to access a space of her own. Women's textual authority within the home was thus structured and facilitated through the solitude offered by the closet, a solitude that was usually only available to elite men, or women in religious houses.

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[71] Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme,* p. 129; Goodall, *God's House*, p. 291.

[72] R. Huebert, 'The Gendering of Privacy', *The Seventeenth Century*, 16/1 (2001).

[73] L. Saetveit Miles, 'Julian of Norwich and St. Bridget of Sweden: Creating Intimate Space with God', in L. H. McAvoy, *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place and Body within the Discourses of Enclosure* (Cardiff, 2000); Eadem, 'Space and Enclosure in Julian of Norwich's A Revelation of Love', in L. H. McAvoy (ed), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge, 2008). For the similarities between closets and anchorholds see J. Summit, 'From Anchorhold to Closet: Julian of Norwich in 1670 and the Imminence of the Past', in S. Salih and D. N. Baker (eds), *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post- Medieval Reception* (New York and Basingstoke, 2009).

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[74] Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, p. 34.

[75] H. Blatt, 'Women and Architectural Reading' (unpublished paper, delivered 5 July 2017, *International Medieval Congress*, University of Leeds).

[76] Capgrave, 'Lyf of St. Katherine'.

Managing Servants

All the women in this study ran large households, which included a great many offices and individuals. While the size of the household fluctuated with the coming and going of visitors, surviving accounts and inventories allow some conclusions to be drawn as to the size of the establishments considered in this study. In 1454, Margaret of Anjou had 120 servants, while in the early sixteenth-century Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole's residences at Tiverton and Warblington housed ninety-one and seventy-three servants, respectively.[77] The number of servants in Alice Chaucer's household is unknown. It is likely, however, given her similar social standing to Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole, that the number of servants in her household totalled no more one hundred individuals. By far the largest household in this study was that of Margaret Beaufort, which, according to Parker, comprised over 400 individuals.[78] While this might seem a generous estimate, it is not impossible given that royal households for the previous century had between 400 and 700 servants.[79] In Edward IV's Black Book, the size of the household is said to have been commensurate with the individual's rank and status.[80] From the suggested numbers of 200 for a marquis and 140 for an earl, it would appear that women's houses were smaller than those of their male counterparts of comparable social standing. While the households of the women were evidently of no meagre size and required no modest number of servants to keep everything running smoothly, the smaller number of individuals may have, on the whole, made for closer and more personal relationships between the female head of household and her servants.

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[77] Myers, *Household Accounts of Margaret of Anjou*, p. 90.
[78] Parker, 'Morley's Account of the Miracles of the Sacrament', p. 263;
[79] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 9.
[80] Cited in Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England*, III, p. 31.

The women's familiarity with their servants most likely came from the fact that they exercised a considerable degree of choice over those they appointed within their households, holding the power to dismiss and retain individuals as they saw appropriate.[81] Of the model princess, Christine de Pizan says that she will have servants who accord with her character. Through their behaviour and appearance, the members of her household represented their mistress and her establishment, both at home and abroad. It is particularly notable that a number of the women in this study chose to appoint relatives and longstanding associates to senior household positions. Vivienne Rock has shown how Margaret Beaufort was a great champion of her maternal half-siblings, the St. John and the Welles families, appointing individuals from both families to serve in her household, and sometimes promoting their interests against the wishes of her son.[82] Katherine Courtenay retained several longstanding Courtenay servants at Tiverton, while Margaret Pole's ladies-in-waiting included no less than five of her granddaughters.[83] Margaret of Anjou, as a foreign-born queen consort, was in a different position to the other women in this study, although she brought several of her ladies-in-waiting with her from France. It is apparent, however, that once she arrived in England, Margaret compensated for a lack of near-to-hand kin by being quick to reward those in her service.

The responsibility for the various departments within the great household fell to especially appointed officials, yet this did not detract from the head of household's influence, or render her invisible. Typical of this is Margaret Beaufort's influence over the services that were held in her Collyweston chapel. The practical tasks of managing, designing and delivering the services, and of appointing personal for the chapel fell largely to the dean, sub-dean and chaplains of the household.[84] Nevertheless, Margaret worked closely with these individuals to exert considerable influence over the nature and content of the devotions practised within her household, which became a key centre for the promotion of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus.[85] The impact of Margaret's devotional interests on the members of her household will be discussed in further detail below, yet it is evident that the countess was a highly visible figurehead, exercising considerable influence over the activities that occurred within it.

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[81] Archer, "How Ladies…", p. 170.

[82] Rock, 'Shadow Royals?'

[83] Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*, p. 60.

In exchange for loyal service, servants could expect their mistress to protect and advance their interests. Typical of Margaret of Anjou's generosity was her role in the promotion of the chancellor of her household, Laurence Bothe, to the position of keeper of the privy seal in 1456. Myers argues that it was undoubtedly the queen's support which also saw Bothe appointed as one of the tutors to the Prince of Wales and as Bishop of Durham.[86] In promoting this latter appointment, Margaret overturned the wishes of her husband, who had already nominated his physician, John Arundell, for the position.[87] The episode demonstrates just how determined women could be in promoting the interests of the members of their households.

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[84] See K. Mertes,'The Household as a Religious Community', in J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (eds), *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester & New York, 1987).

[85] M. Underwood, 'Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38/1 (January 1987), pp. 47-8. Late medieval devotion to the Cult of the Holy Name has received considerable attention in recent years. See, J. Depold, 'Preaching the Holy Name: the Influence of a Sermon on the Holy Name of Christ', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40/2 (2014); R. Lutton, 'The Name of Jesus, Nicholas Love's *Mirror*, and Christocentric devotion in late Medieval England', in I. Johnson and A. F. Westfall (eds), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition* (Turnhout, 2013); Idem, '"Love this Name that is IHC": Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England', in E. Salter and H. Wicker (eds), *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1500* (Turnhout, 2011).

[86] Myers, *Household Accounts of Margaret of Anjou*, p. 92.

[87] Ibid. p. 92.

Most of the servants in the great household, regardless of whether the head of household was a man or woman, were men. Yet, at the heart of female households was a tight-knit and highly visible community of women.[88] The female head of household was expected to take especial care of her female servants, with whom she spent most of her day. Of the good princess, de Pizan says that she 'will take upon herself the responsibility for the care of her women servants and companions, who she will ensure are all good and chaste, for she will not want any other sort of person around her…The lady who is chaste will want all her women to be so too, on pain of being banished from her company'.[89]

Ladies-in-waiting in particular, were in regular and close contact with the female head of household, acting as her confidants, attending to and accompanying her in some of her most personal and intimate household spaces, including the bedchamber, closet and enclosed garden. The majority of Margaret of Anjou's female attendants were women who had accompanied her to England in 1445, although her chief Lady-in-waiting was an English woman, Ismanie, Lady Scales.[90] Among the queen's ladies-in-waiting was, of course, also Alice Chaucer, who had played a central role in the royal wedding celebrations of 1445. The accounts for Henry VII's funeral show that by 1509, Margaret Beaufort had two ladies, six damsels and two chamberers in her service.[91] Chief among them was Lady Joan Vaux, the daughter of one of Margaret of Anjou's favoured ladies-in-waiting, Katherine Vaux, and the wife of Sir Richard Guildford, a trusted and long-standing supporter Henry VII and a knight of the Order of the Garter.[92]

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[88] Woolgar, *Senses*, chapter 10.

[89] *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, pp. 74-76.

[90] Laynesmith, Last Medieval Queens, p. 228.

[91] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, 21 vols (London, 1862-1932), I, i, 20.

[92] S. Cunningham, 'Guildford, Sir Richard (*c*.1450–1506)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).

Margaret Pole had eleven women in her service, five of whom were her granddaughters.[93]

Female heads of household often arranged marriages for their servants, an activity that was gendered feminine.[94] Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort played active roles in arranging marriages for the female members of their households, no doubt ensuring that they made respectable matches that would reflect suitably on their establishments.[95] The marriages of two women who had grown up in Margaret Beaufort's household, those of Eleanor St. John to John Zouche and Elizabeth St. John to Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th earl of Kildare in 1503, both took place in her Collyweston chapel.[96] In 1504, Beaufort also paid for a garnished bonnet for the wedding of a certain Mistress Webb at the cost of 23s. and 4d, and she also covered the cost of Webb's marriage indenture.[97] Women's concern for their female servants was not just reserved for their highest-ranking ladies-in-waiting. Katherine Courtenay, for example, paid for the materials and making of the wedding gown and ring of Philippa, her laundress.[98] Margaret of Anjou appears to have also given additional rewards to the unmarried women in her household and her jewel accounts reveal that she gave two collars to one of her unmarried damsels, Osan. One of these was a Lancastrian collar of esses, used to mark royal favour, and the other was plain gold.[99] The gendered nature of gift-giving is a subject addressed in further detail later in this chapter, yet is apparent that the gifts given by the women to their female servants – primarily clothes and jewellery – were objects designed to be worn about the body.[100] The highly intimate and personal nature of these gifts referenced the women's daily responsibility for dressing the lady, which took place in the innermost reaches of the domestic complex. Female servants often took responsibility for tasks involving the care of the body; Kim Phillips has highlighted that laundresses were women precisely for that reason.[101] This gendered division of labour is highly apparent in Margaret Beaufort's household, where the provision of clothing for Margaret's almsmen and women fell to Edith Fowler, one of her gentlewomen.[102] When the children of her chapel fell ill, it was also the women of the household who cared for them.[103] The fact that only women were present in the bedchamber for the dressing of the lady would have marked the space out as a distinctly feminine domain, comparable (albeit on a more temporary basis) to that of the churching ritual surrounding childbirth, where male members of the household were excluded from the lady's chamber.[104] Needlework was also part of the noblewomen's daily routines, and the women would have made clothing and other textile items in one another's company. Gifts of clothing thus not only spoke of the highly personal nature of the women's bonds, akin to motherly or sisterly bonds of affection, but also referenced the women's shared use of the more intimate spaces of the household. In wearing such gifts, the women would have also showcased their allegiance to the Lady to the rest of the household and the wider world.

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[93] TNA S.P.139, f. 83.

[94] Swabey, *The Gentlewoman's Household*, p. 118.

[95] D. Dunn, 'Margaret of Anjou, Queen Consort of Henry VI: A Reassessment of her Role, 1445-53', in R. E. Archer (ed), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1995).

[96] *The King's Mother*, pp. 84, 114.

[97] SJC D91.20, pp. 126(b), p. 127.

[98] TNA E 36/223.

[99] *The Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou,* p. 127.

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[100] For the intimacy of clothing and jewellery as gifts see S. E. James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485-1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (London and New York, 2015), p. 74; N. A. Lowe, 'Women's Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, c. 1350-1550', *Gender & History*, 22/2 (August, 2010). Both works address women's donation of such items to churches rather than individuals, yet their authors emphasise the highly personal nature of intimate and highly personal nature of women's gifts of clothing.

[101] K. M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, c. 1270-c. 1540* (Manchester and New York, 2003), p. 114.

[102] *The King's Mother*, p. 274.

[103] In 1503, a certain Kirkby's wife was rewarded for watching over a child of the chapel with another member of Margaret's household, Elizabeth Frognall. See SJC D91.20, p. 111.

[104] For Churching see Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings'; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, pp. 115-19.

The Abbess as Role Model

Controlling Bodies; Controlling Space

In her *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan recommends that 'in all things the wise princess will keep her women in order just as the prudent abbess does her convent'.[105] As the figurehead of her household, the woman was expected to provide an exemplary behavioural model for its members. For clerical writers and moralists, including de Pizan, control over the household was achieved through control over the body.[106] While bodily control was expected of both men and women, it is apparent that this quality took on a heightened gendered significance for women, whose status, as we have already seen, was more closely tied to matters of their sexual respectability. The home was where the good, virtuous and chaste woman could be found, and her example was directly contrasted with that of the harlot, who freely roamed the streets.[107] It is no coincidence that visual depictions of the holy housewife and paragon of female self-discipline, Martha, to whom Margaret Beaufort was likened by Fisher, commonly show the saint with keys attached to her girdle. The keys around Martha's waist powerfully encapsulate the inextricable link between female regulation of the body and regulation of the household. In the medieval mind, chastity and piety went hand-in-hand. It was by ordering her body and soul to God that the noblewoman was able to achieve the self-discipline praised by late medieval moralists. Through the books she read, the noblewoman was repeatedly exposed to images and words that couched her spiritual and sexual conduct in spatial terms. The pages of her prayer books were filled with images of the Virgin Mary and the female saints, who were presented in enclosed, domestic spaces, such as chambers and gardens, which both contained and, as chapter two illustrated, symbolised their chaste female bodies.

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[105] *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 76.

[106] For discussions of gender, conduct and domestic space, see Salih, 'At Home Out of the House': K. M. Phillips, 'Bodily Walls, Windows, and Doors: The Politics of Gesture in Late Fifteenth-Century English Books for Women', in J. Wogan-Browne, R. Voaden, A. Diamond, *et al*. (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000); K. L. Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus',* in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 191.

[107] Salih, 'At Home; Out of the House', p. 125.

There is strong evidence to suggest that the women in this study sought to regulate access to the spaces under their control, ordering their own bodies and those of their servants. Chapter three indicated that solitary spaces were a defining feature of the living quarters of all the women considered in this study. The women, just like their biblical counterpart, Martha, ensured that access to these spaces was even more tightly regulated through the creation of locks and keys. At Greenwich, the door connecting the dais of the hall to Margaret of Anjou's apartments was fitted with a lock, while the queen's commission of a room named the 'secret camera' in her apartments above also points, as chapter three highlighted, to her desire to withdraw and separate herself from the rest of her household. The list of locks and keys created by Margaret Beaufort at Fotheringhay (Northants.) reveals that locks were fitted throughout the residence, including on the doors of Margaret's closet and her great chamber.[108]

Controlled access is also a characteristic feature of the landscape. At Greenwich, Margaret of Anjou's creation of both a great and privy garden suggests that the spaces offered sociability and solitude, respectively. The seclusion offered by the privy garden was facilitated further by Margaret's creation of the parlour reserved for her own use. Although little is known about Margaret Pole's gardens at Warblington, a reference to 'my lady's place' in the privy garden of her appropriately named London residence, 'Le Herber', indicates that the countess also benefitted from a similar spatial arrangement.[109] At Collyweston, the multiple gardens were enclosed and accessed via lockable gates, and the 'little house' on the far side of the orchard, mentioned in chapter two, would have offered a further setting for solitude.[110] The garden created for Margaret's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York at Collyweston was also accessed via a lockable stairway, again suggesting the regulation of access.

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[108] SJC D91.22, p. 46.

The division of servants' quarters on gendered grounds was also commonplace. Chapter three identified that in Alice Chaucer's Ewelme residence, the duchess's ladies had their own chamber and closet, while at Collyweston, individual chambers with lockable doors were created for the noblewomen in residence. The downfall of Henry VIII's fifth wife, Katherine Howard, is illustrative of just how important the maintenance of a reputable and well-regulated household could be. Katherine's trial hinged on her illicit behaviour whilst growing up in the household of her step-grandmother, Agnes Tilney, duchess of Norfolk. The unmarried women in the dowager duchess's care slept in a room known as 'the maidens' chamber', which was supposed to have been locked at night. Despite this, however, several men of the household were ostensibly able to obtain the key, as a household servant, Henry Manox, highlighted in a letter to the duchess. Although Agnes was later released, her lax household management tarnished her reputation and embroiled her in a royal trial that resulted in

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[109] Kingsford, 'On Some London Houses', p. 30.

[110] SJC D91.13, pp. 14, 16, 65, 80, 104.

Katherine's death. The tight regulation of space, overseen by the head of household herself, was thus crucial to the maintenance of a reputable and orderly establishment, and to her own reputation.

Solitary spaces such as gardens, bedchambers and closets facilitated the performance of female authority through piety. The solitude offered by such spaces was not only ideal for consulting documents, as discussed above, but also allowed the head of household to withdraw from the busyness of the world and the household, and to prepare her mind and soul for receiving the Divine. In both Bishop Fisher's Sermon for Margaret Beaufort and Cecily Neville's household ordinances, the closet is presented as a space through which the daily routines of these pious widows are structured and facilitated.[111] At the beginning of the day, Margaret Beaufort would, according to Fisher, say the matins of the day with her chaplain in her closet, whilst Cecily Neville is said to have retired to her closet in order to engage in prayer before bed. While it is difficult to ascertain whether the women carried out the gruelling regimes of prayer attributed to them by the authors of these texts, their accounts nonetheless foreground the closet as an important space of female piety.

While both medieval men and women were encouraged to practice piety within the home, a now established body of research has shown that domestic piety bore an especial significance for women.[112] Through their devotional reading, women were not only encouraged to inhabit solitary domestic spaces, but to also internalize them. As Denis Renevey has put it, 'household space is an important element in the configuration of the self in late medieval writings', with the home 'conceived of as a mental image' serving to 'configure the believer's consciousness'.[113] In his *Speculum Dominarum,* composed for Jeanne of Navarre in the early fourteenth century, the queen's confessor, Durand de Champagne, used architectural referents to devise a programme of spiritual edification based on a Franciscan viewpoint. The organisation of Durand's treatise is based on Proverbs 14:1: 'The Wise Woman has built her House', and the treatise's third book focuses specifically on the house that the good noblewoman builds, using architectural referents to promote spiritual edification based on a Franciscan view.[114] Likewise, chapter two highlighted the example of *The Orcherd of Syon*, a text devised for the nuns at Syon Abbey in London, in which the allegory of an orchard is presented as a structural framework for the nuns' devotions.

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[111] Fisher, 'Mornynge Remembraunce'; 'A compendious recitation compiled of the order, rules and construction of the house of the right excellent Princess Cecily'. See also C. A. J., 'The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York: A Study in Late Medieval Culture', in D. Woodruff (ed), *For Hilaire Belloc: Essays in Honour of his 72nd Birthday* (London, 1942).

[112] D. M. Webb, 'Woman and Home: The Domestic Setting of Late Medieval Spirituality', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990); M. Oliva, 'Nuns at Home: The Domesticity of Sacred Space', in M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg (eds), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008); J. K. Deane, 'Medieval Domestic Devotion', *History Compass*, 11/1 (2013); J. K. Deane, 'Pious Domesticities', in J. Bennett and R. Karras (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013).

The promotion of female spirituality through the home was not merely a concept imposed on passive female devotees by clerical male authors, however. Religious female authors frequently adopted domestic metaphors in their writings for the purposes of attaining spiritual authority. The female mystic, Catherine of Siena, famously turned her bedchamber into a site of spiritual devotion and instructed her readers to "build a cell inside your mind, from which you can never flee".[115] Garden metaphors were also used to communicate religious women's devotional experiences and to convey their authority in distinctly gendered terms. In her exploration of women's spiritual writings, Liz Herbert McAvoy has argued that female mystical writers, such as Mechtild of Hackeborn, used a language of growth, rootedness and flourishing to challenge what she calls the 'traditional imaginary of punishment, rescue, and sacrificial salvation' found in the writings of clerical male authors.[116] Members of the female religious thus utilised the garden's longstanding female associations to their advantage, claiming the space as their own and using it to achieve a higher connection with God. The ideas contained within these texts were not confined to the nunnery cloister. The previous chapter highlighted that both Margaret Pole and Margaret Beaufort had close connections to Syon Abbey, where they would have been exposed to the house's rich literary culture. Indeed, when Margaret Beaufort was staying at Hatfield, several unspecified items were brought from Syon for use within her closet there. The works of female spiritual authors were also found among the libraries of laywomen. Cecily Neville, duchess of York owned copies of both Bridget of Sweden and Mechtild of Hackeborn's *Revelations*, which would have undoubtedly informed the ways in which the duchess thought about and used her domestic space, thus further reinforcing the notion of fluidity between religious and secular female houses.[117]

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[113] D. Renevey, 'Figuring Household Space in 'Ancrene Wisse' and the 'Doctrine of the Hert', in D. Spurr and C. Tschichold (eds), *The Space of the English*, *SPELL* 17, (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 77, 81.

[114] C. L. Mews and R. Lahav, 'Wisdom and Justice in the Court of Jeanne of Navarre and Philip IV: Durand of Champagne, the *Speculum Dominarum*, and the *De Informatione Principum'*, *Viator*, 45/2 (2014), p. 174. For Jeanne's commission of the College of Navarre, which was related to this treatise, see M. T. Davis, 'A Gift from the Queen: The Architecture of the Collège de Navarre in Paris', in J. Adams and N. M. Bradbury (eds), *Medieval Women and their Objects* (Ann Arbor, 2017).

[115] For the reception of Catherine of Siena's works in late medieval England see, D. Schultze, 'Translating St Catherine of Siena in Fifteenth-Century England', in J. Hamburger and G. Signori (eds), *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult* (Turnhout, 2013).

The interrelationship between physical and textual space is most powerfully evidenced, however, by the examples of Isabelle of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy, and her daughter-in-law, Margaret of York, both of whom commissioned new household closets at the same time as commissioning spiritual treatises from their confessors.[118]

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[116] E. H. McAvoy, '"Flourish like a Garden": Pain, Purgatory and Salvation in the Writing of Medieval Religious Women', *Medieval Feminist Forum,* 50/1 (2014), p. 60.

[117] Armstrong, 'The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York'.

[118] Lotz, 'Secret Rooms'.

When Isabelle of Portugal created her personal apartments at her retreat at La Motte-au-Bois in the forest of Nieppe, she also commissioned a spiritual treatise from the Carthusian author, Denis of Ryckel. In the treatise, Christ speaks to Isabelle directly, and instructs her to withdraw 'into an architecturally circumscribed zone the better to focus her attention on prayer'.[119] Ezekiel Lotz has argued that the rooms devised by Isabelle at La Motte-au-Bois and the *locus secretus* described by Christ to Isabelle in the treatise bear 'obvious resemblance to a Carthusian cell'.[120] Throughout the text, Christ repeatedly tells Isabelle to internalize and spiritualize this secret chamber, and to her transform her heart into a sacred space for private prayer, where he will join her in her devotions.[121] Similarly, in *Le Dyalogue de la duchesse de Bourgogne a Jesus Christ,* composed by Margaret of York's almoner, Nicholas Finet, God is asked to illuminate the reader's 'interior eyes'.[122] This connection between interior domestic space and female spirituality is powerfully illustrated in the text's frontispiece, which shows Margaret kneeling alone in her bedchamber before an apparition of the Risen Christ. The image of this intimate and highly personal devotional encounter shows Christ's outstretched left arm almost touching Margaret's own raised hands. The illumination offers us a tantalizing insight into the interrelationship between space, text and image, and emphasises the significance of secluded household spaces to the female spiritual imagination, and to female constructions of domestic power and authority through reference to the sacred. In withdrawing to a solitary space, and by clearing her mind, the female head of household was able to enter into a meditative state and to engage in the type of deeply emotional, affective piety so praised by the authors of spiritual texts, and practised by the abbess and her sisters in the nunnery.

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[119] Ibid, pp. 172, 173.

[120] Ibid, p. 172.

[121] Ibid.

[122] For a discussion of this book see A. Pearson, 'Gendered Subject, Gendered Spectator: Mary Magdalen in the Gaze of Margaret of York', *Gesta*, 44/1 (2005).

In light of the discussion of Isabelle of Portugal and Margaret of York, it is also particularly striking that Richard Pynson printed Margaret Beaufort's translation of the fourth book of Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi* in 1504, the same year as the countess' new suite of apartments were completed at Collyweston.[123] The work is believed to have been first brought to England by the Carthusians, and it is likely that Margaret's choice to translate it was inspired by her close connections to the Carthusian house at Sheen, the sister house of the Bridgettine nunnery at Syon mentioned in the previous chapter.[124] Margaret's interest in Carthusian-inspired works is further supported by her later translation of another work with Carthusian connections, the *Speculum Aureum Anime Peccatoris*.[125]

Margaret translation of the *Imitatio* into English was instrumental in bringing Carthusian ideas to a new audience beyond the cloister, including the members of her own household, for whom she purchased several copies.[126] The translation thus bridged the divide between secular and religious households, and would have importantly served Margaret in her own devotions. The *Imitatio*'s advice on meditative devotion and the correct way to receive the sacrament would have been highly pertinent to the space of the closet, particularly as in the library catalogue at Syon Abbey, the *Imitatio* is listed as '*solitariis et contemplativis utilis*', that is to say useful for those of a solitary and contemplative nature.[127] Similarly, Margaret's second translation, the *Speculum Aureum Anime Peccatoris,* was also designed to aid meditative devotion, with its seven chapters devised to structure the devotee's daily prayers. It is possible that Margaret even translated the two works within her old and new closets respectively, which, as the discussion in this chapter has already shown, was a key space of female authorship. By bringing such works into her closet and by reciting them there, Margaret Beaufort, much like her continental female contemporaries, Isabelle of Portugal and Margaret of York, would have transformed the closet into a space akin to a religious cell. The relationship between physical and textual space thus enabled Margaret to configure her domestic authority through reference to her piety and chastity, in a manner akin to the head of a religious female household.

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[123] For details of Margaret's translation see B. M. Hosington, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort's Translations as Mirrors of Practical Piety', in M. White, A. M. Poska and A. Zanger (eds), *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500- 1625* (London and New York, 2011).

[124] For the Syon/Sheen textual communities see, V. Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren', in M. Glasscoe, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, VI* (Cambridge, 1999).

[125] Powell, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', pp. 219-20; Krug, *Women's Literate Practices,* pp. 96-7.

[126] Powell, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books'.

Solitude and Sisterhood: Gardens, Closets and the Female Spiritual Imagination

Despite their importance as spaces of solitude and physical retreat, it would seem that both closets and gardens were spaces in which women imagined themselves as part of larger female devotional communities. An illumination from the prayer book of Mary of Burgundy, for example, famously shows Mary seated before her closet window, her eyes cast downwards towards the open book of hours in her hands. In the gothic chapel beyond the window, a scene is depicted in which a noblewoman, who has been variously interpreted as either Mary herself or Margaret of York, is shown kneeling with her attendant ladies before the Virgin and child. For Jennifer Kaplacoff Deane, the image reveals some of the 'astonishing connections between late medieval spiritual imagination and space', while Andrea Pearson has said that the image celebrates women's trans-generational reading and viewing communities.[128] Through her solitary prayer in the closet, Mary thus assumes her place as part of a community of women, both earthly and divine, secular and religious.

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[127] Hosington, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort's Translations as Mirrors of Practical Piety'.

The enclosed garden's importance as a site of the female spiritual imagination is similarly conveyed in an image from a prayer book commissioned for Margaret Beaufort around the year 1500 (fig. 57).[129] In the image, which forms part of the Hours of the Virgin, a group of religious and lay noblewomen are shown at prayer in a *hortus conclusus* before the Virgin Mary, who is central to the image and is identifiable by the red rose and white lily framing her body on either side. The image posits the *hortus conclusus* as a setting of female unity, and a space in which the women, through their collective act of prayer, are bought into contact with the ultimate model of female perfection, the Virgin Mary herself. Given that twelve women are depicted, it is possible that the image was intended to represent the Sibyls foretelling the birth of Christ. This would certainly fit with Janet Backhouse's reading of the book, who argues that the sequence of images in the Hours of the Virgin are presented in such a ways so as to invite flattering parallels to be drawn between the coming of Christ and the first Tudor monarch.[130] The presence of the royal arms beneath the image, flanked by the royal greyhound and dragon supporters and set against a background of the Tudor royal colours, certainly invites the viewer to associate the contents of the image with the ruling house. In gazing upon this image, Margaret Beaufort was encouraged to imagine the enclosed garden as a space in which female devotional communities were cultivated and celebrated, and to also imagine herself as an authoritative presence over that very community.

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[128] Deane, 'Pious Domesticities', p. 274; A. Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1530: Experience, Authority and Resistance* (Aldershot, 2005).

[129] Alnwick Castle MS 498.

[130] Backhouse, 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours', p. 338.

The fact that solitude was available to very few women in the worldly life spoke of the female head of household's spiritual privileges and enabled her to achieve a devotional experience akin to that of her religious female counterpart, the abbess. By seeking solitude in spaces such as closets and gardens, laywomen were able to share in the spiritual experiences of their religious female counterparts and to model themselves in the image of the Virgin and the female saints who filled their prayer books. Noblewomen such as Margaret Beaufort thus exploited the spiritual capital of such spaces for the construction and formulation of their own image as models of feminine piety. By embracing the solitary potential of gardens and closets, late medieval heads of household were able to cultivate these affective forms of piety, which saw them perform their authority in a distinctly 'feminine' way, and to assert their belonging to a broader devotional community of women.

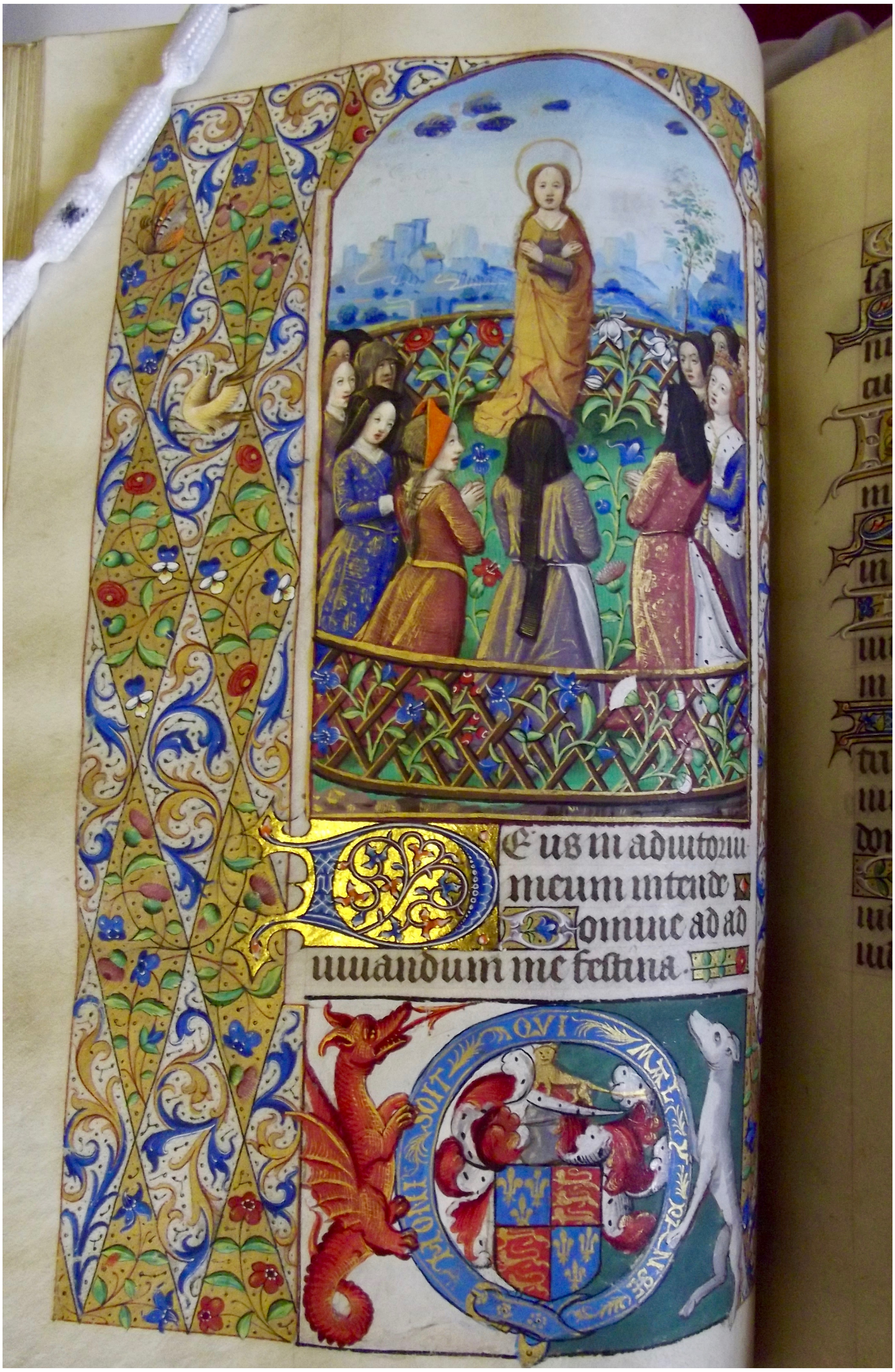
Eus in adiutoriu
meum intende
omine ad ad
iuuandum me festina

Figure 56. Image from Margaret Beaufort's Book of Hours, Alnwick Castle, MS 498, showing the Virgin Mary and female devotees in a *hortus conclusus*. Image: Author's own, by kind permission of Alnwick Castle Archives.

Sites of Conspicuous Privacy

A consideration of closets and gardens invites us to return to the idea of conspicuous privacy, a concept first introduced in chapter three. Closets and gardens were spaces where women could physically separate themselves from the other members of their household, yet they were not necessarily ones where they were rendered invisible. The work of Lena Cowen Orlin and others has recently explored the idea of early modern privacy as a highly visible and performative act.[131] Orlin argues, for example, that despite the increasing spatial complexity of early modern domestic architecture, there was a seemingly contradictory emphasis on surveillance within the home. Privacy, according to Orlin, was thus not an act of invisibility or total seclusion, but a performative gesture for public consumption.[132]

When the woman withdrew to her closet, she was rarely alone in the modern sense of the word; rather she enjoyed the selected company of either her confessor or one of her ladies-in-waiting. In accompanying the lady at her prayers, these individuals acted as witnesses to her actions and were able to recount her exemplary behaviour to others. In his *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, for example, Geoffrey IV de la Tour Landry describes the example of the good widow. He states that after the widow's death, a hair shirt was found inside her bed. He also tells of how there was a 'most worthy old' gentlewoman present in the room when she died, who was able to confirm that the shirt had belonged to her mistress and that she had worn it three days a week.[133]

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[131] L. C. Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford, 2008); E. M. Trull, *Performing Privacy and Gender in Early Modern Literature* (Basingstoke, 2013); A. Taylor, 'Displaying Privacy: Margaret of York as a Devotional Reader', in S. Corbellini (ed), *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit and Awakening the Passion* (Turnhout, 2013).

[132] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, p. 312.

[133] Geoffrey IV de la Tour Landry, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, ed. and trans. A. Vance (London, 1868), p. 108.

Although Geoffrey's *Book* is a literary construction, it reminds us that even intimate acts such as dressing were social rituals that were routinely carried out in the presence of others. Through the presence of a highly selective company, solitude became social practice.

The architectural design of closets and gardens could also encourage this conspicuous display of privacy. Although none of the closets for the women in this thesis survive, chapter three highlighted that the arrangement of the personal rooms devised for Margaret Beaufort's use at Christ's College, Cambridge, bear remarkable resemblance to those described in the documentary evidence for her Collyweston residence. It is apparent from the architectural arrangement at Christ's that Margaret's withdrawal into the closet would have been a highly conspicuous act. By withdrawing to her closet via an external gallery, Margaret's movements, both at Christ's and Collyweston, would have most likely been visible to those within the front court at Christ's or the middle court at Collyweston, directly below. A detail from the account of Margaret of York's marriage to Charles, duke of Burgundy in 1468, posits the gallery as a site of display. The account describes the meeting between Margaret and her mother-in-law Isabelle, 'who took her very motherly with great reverence' and led her through the crowds to her chamber, where the two women dined together. After dinner, the two women went 'to communication in a tresaunce between where all the people of both nations might see their familiarity'.[134] The tresaunce or gallery is thus a site through which the women are physically separated from the crowds, yet nevertheless visible to others. Chapter three highlighted that Margaret of Anjou had a series of galleries or tresaunces connecting her principal rooms at Greenwich, and it would seem that the structures were ones through which the noblewomen's movements through the residential complex could be seen and made known to the visitors to and members of their households.

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[134] Account of the Marriage of the Princess Margaret, Sister of King Edward the Fourth, 8 Edw. IV. 1468 (Cotton. MS. Collated with Sloane MS. British Museum), ed. S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History* (London, 1831).

When Margaret Beaufort reached her closet at Christ's, she was not hidden away; rather her presence was made known to those within the chapel through the large inwards-facing bay window, which still occupies the south wall of the chapel today (see fig. 36).[135] Unlike the narrow squints found in parish church chantry chapels, the substantial size of this window suggests that it was site of mutual visibility for the users of both chapel and closet. From her elevated position within her chapel closet, Margaret had a privileged view onto both the altar and the nave, where she would have had an uninterrupted view of the Elevation of the Host and been able to also observe the members of her college at prayer below. In return, those at prayer would have been aware of the presence of their founder, observing their every move from her position above. The architectural design of the closet indicates that it was a space onto which sightlines were encouraged, thus positing it as a site where Margaret, although physically secluded, could both observe and be observed at prayer.

Contemporary evidence also suggests that gardens could be sites of conspicuous privacy. The discussion in this thesis has already established that the principal chambers of the household were commonly placed to overlook gardens. The idea of the garden as a visible space was certainly familiar to contemporary literary authors, who commonly exploit the trope of the male protagonist observing the seemingly unobtainable woman in the enclosed garden beneath the tower window. While there is a strong tendency in current scholarship to see women's visibility in such spaces as a sign of their entrapment and passivity, women could also exploit the performative potential of such spaces to their own advantage, using them as a stage on which to perform their piety. By making their gardens visible to others, their female creators and users could circumvent the subversive potential of such spaces, instead using them in order to display their pious behaviour to the audience of the great household.

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[135] SJC D.106.1, f. 11v.

The concept of Margaret and the other women in this study as practitioners of conspicuous privacy chimes with the recent work of Andrew Taylor, who has argued for the importance of devotional reading to aristocratic women's self-fashioning.[136] Focusing specifically on Margaret of York, Taylor argues that the duchess needed to be seen to pray, with devotional reading central to the cultivation of her image as an icon of pious aristocratic womanly behaviour.[137] Taylor's argument for Margaret's exploitation of privacy chimes with the observations made here, namely that women exploited the visibility of these solitary spaces for the wider projection of their image as paragons of female virtue. Through their visible displays of privacy, the women were thus able to signal their authority through their separation, yet provide a highly visible model for the other members of their household to follow. Conspicuous privacy was an important means of self-fashioning for female heads of household, enabling the women to advertise their authority in a manner akin to their religious female counterparts.

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[136] Taylor, 'Displaying Privacy'.
[137] Ibid, pp. 278-9.

Reading Communities

The idea of the female head of household as an abbess-like figure finds further support in the evidence for domestic reading communities. Women's roles as educators within the home was discussed briefly in chapter three, in relation to Alice Chaucer's tapestries of the Seven Liberal Arts at Ewelme. The subject, however, warrants further attention here. Reading communities were most likely a feature of great households headed by both men and women, yet is evident that women in particular were encouraged to cultivate domestic reading groups. Rebecca Krug, for example, has drawn attention to the *Nightingale*, a fifteenth-century poem dedicated to Margaret Beaufort's mother-in-law, Anne Stafford, duchess of Buckingham. In the preface, the author posits Anne as an authoritative teacher and urges her to call together her household as a reading community.[138]

Anne's influence over Margaret has already been illustrated in the discussion of household and estate management above, and it is also apparent that the duchess may have inspired, at least in part, Margaret's cultivation of a reading circle at Collyweston. It has already been highlighted that Margaret Beaufort ordered copies of her translation of the *Imitatio* for the members of her household, and in 1504, she also made payments to London printers for twelve masses, eight primers and ten books 'in nomine Jesu', suggesting, as Underwood has argued, that her household was using both mass and office.[139] The countess's influence on the reading habits on the members of her household can also be seen in the books owned and used by them. Diarmaid MacCulloch has argued, for example, that the significant devotional library of

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[138] Krug, *Reading Families,* p. 93.

[139] Underwood, 'Politics and Piety', p. 48.

Margaret's clerk of works, James Morice, showed strong influence of his mistress's own cultivated piety.[140] A printed primer bearing both the names of Alexander Frogenhall, a servant in Margaret's household, and Mary Rivers, a gentlewoman who had a chamber reserved for her use at Collyweston, also provides evidence of Margaret's ownership in the form of two prayer cards from the Carthusian Monastery at Sheen and a calendar of key events relating to the Tudor dynasty.[141]

Domestic reading communities included both male and female members of the household, yet the act of collective reading could also be a gendered activity. Felicity Riddy has convincingly shown that all-female reading communities were a prominent and distinctive feature of late medieval aristocratic and gentry households, and Mary Erler has argued that domestic reading had an especial place in the lives of women.[142] While mothers educated their daughters within the home, it is also evident that many aristocratic and gentry women belonged to far more expansive female reading communities, which transcended social, generational and familial boundaries. Through their membership of these female reading groups women were able, as Riddy has put it, to construct a self 'whose femininity [was] its strength'.[143]

Erler has drawn attention to the high number of female readers within Margaret Beaufort's household reading group, as evidenced by the numerous female names found in the printed books connected with the Beaufort circle.[144] This female community was cultivated through the exchange of books. In her will, Lady Elizabeth Scrope left her sister a book described as a primer and a psalter, which she had received as a gift from 'the most excellent princes King Henry the Sevenythis mother'.[145] Elizabeth was one of several noblewomen who had a chamber reserved for her use at Collyweston, and it is likely that she read in the company of Margaret and the other noblewomen who also had chambers reserved for their use at Collyweston. These included Queen Elizabeth of York, Anne Powis, a daughter of William Herbert earl of Pembroke, Elizabeth Talbot, dowager-duchess of Norfolk, and Katherine Bray, the wife of Margaret's trusted household servant, Reginald.[146] The queen's and Katherine Courtenay's sister, Cecily of York, was also a regular visitor to Collyweston and no doubt also joined this reading community when she was in residence. Among her books, Margaret had 'a printed legend bought of my lady Cecil' whilst Margaret gifted Cecily 'a fine image'.[147] Margaret Beaufort and Elizabeth of York were responsible for jointly commissioning a copy of the *Fifteen Oes* of St. Bridget, and the women also jointly commissioned a printed version of Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, which they presented to their lady-in-waiting, Mary Roos in 1494.[148] A surviving book of hours gifted from Margaret Beaufort to her friend, Lady Anne Shirley, indicates how female reading communities were used to create ties of loyalty and obligation between women. In exchange for the book, Margaret asked to be remembered in Lady Shirley's prayers, writing, ‘my good lady Shyrley pray for me that gevythe yow thys booke y hertely pray yow, Margaret modyr to the Kynge’.[149]

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[140] MacCulloch quoted in M. C. Erler, 'The Laity', in V. Gillespie and S. Powell (eds), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 145.

[141] Erler, 'The Laity', p. 143.

[142] F. Riddy, 'Women Talking about the Things of God': A Late Medieval Sub-Culture', in C. M. Meale (ed), *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500* (Cambridge, 1993). There is now an extensive literature on women's book ownership and the domestic sphere, the works of which are too numerous to be covered fully here. See for example McDonald, 'A York Primer and its Alphabet: Reading Women in a Lay Household'; W. Scase, 'Reading Communities', in G. Walker and E. Treharne, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford, 2010); Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety*; Krug, *Women's Literate Practices*; Meale, "…alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch".

[143] C. A. Grisé, 'Women's Devotional Reading in Late-Medieval England and the Gendered Reader', *Medium Ævum*, 71 (2002), p. 210; Riddy, 'Women Talking about the Things of God', pp. 111-12.

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[144] Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety,* p. 124; Eadem, 'The Laity'.

[145] Meale, '…alle the bokes that I haue', p. 144. A Book of Hours owned by Elizabeth Scrope is held by Cambridge University Library: CUL MS Dd.6.1.

[146] SJC, D102. 9, pp. 37, 45, 47; *The King's Mother*, pp. 161-2, 213. For a surviving book of hours owned by Katherine Bray see, J. J. G. Alexander, 'Katherine Bray's Flemish Book of Hours', *The Ricardian*, 8/107 (1989).

[147] Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 162.

[148] Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 102.

Little is known of the household reading circles of the other women in this thesis. The surviving material culture relating to both Alice Chaucer and Margaret of Anjou suggests that these women were, much like Margaret Beaufort, devoted to the Cult of the Holy Name. Alice Chaucer’s chantry chapel at St. Mary’s church in Ewelme, for example, is repeatedly painted with the ‘IHC’ monogram, thus suggesting the duchess’s dedication to the cult during her lifetime, whilst a prayer roll owned by Margaret of Anjou is notable for the presence of a large ‘IHC’ monogram at the top of the page.[150] Given Margaret and Alice’s close connections, it is not impossible that devotion to the Holy Name was collectively cultivated and shared by the women at Henry VI’s court, a topic which would repay further analysis. The most powerful evidence for these two women’s membership to a community of female readers, however, is Bodleian Library MS Hatton 73, a miscellany containing selected poems of John Lydgate. The manuscript not only includes an inscription associating it with ‘Quene Margaret’ (along with the names of other contemporary and later women), but also contains *The Virtues of the Mass*, a text commissioned by Alice from Lydgate.[151] Both women were avid literary patrons, and it is highly likely that they read in one another’s company and shared books as part of a wider group of female readers. Given their literary interests, is also likely that both women cultivated reading communities within their residences at Ewelme and Greenwich.

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[149] SJC MS N.24, f. 13r.

[150] The prayer roll is discussed in S. Drimmer, ‘Beyond Private Matter: A Prayer Roll for Queen Margaret of Anjou’, *Gesta*, 53/1 (2014), although Drimmer makes no mention of the ‘IHC’ monogram. The decorative scheme of Alice’s chantry chapel is discussed in Goodall, *God’s House*, pp. 160-199.

[151] J. Boffey, ‘Lydgate’s Lyrics and Women Readers’, in L. Smith and J. H. M. Taylor (eds), *Women, the Book and the Wordly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda’s Conference, 1993* (Woodbridge, 1995).

Where in the home did these women read? This chapter has already shown that solitary reading was commonly undertaken in the more secluded household spaces, such as bedchambers, closets and gardens. Likewise, communal reading was not fixed to one household space in particular, but was seen as suited to the more intimate reception rooms and secluded household spaces, such as parlours, garden pavilions, and libraries.[152] Both Parker's account of Margaret Beaufort's household and the ordinances of Cecily Neville's household indicate that the women enjoyed being read to at mealtimes.[153] This, as Marilyn Oliva has highlighted, was a practice common to nunneries, thus providing further support for the notion that the female head of household was an abbess-like head of a devotional community of readers.[154] The cultivation of reading communities within the home encouraged cohesion among its members and also provided opportunities for gendered socialization. In acting as the head of these mostly female groups, the female head of household would have resembled the abbess, presiding over nuns within the convent.

Dispensing Authority

In their capacity as landlords and the heads of great households, late medieval elites were required to act as arbiters of local justice, and to represent both their own and the king's authority within the region. Indeed, Janet Cowen and Jennifer Ward have indicated that ‘the readiness to receive petitions from inferiors and to take appropriate action was regarded as one of the duties of the noble’.[155] In larger households, the lord or lady met with their council on a daily basis, either in the great chamber or a specifically designed council chamber. At Greenwich, Margaret of Anjou had a chamber above the main gate, whilst at Collyweston, a council house, chamber and prison were constructed next to the gatehouse.[156] The position of these structures, next to the main entrance to the residences, symbolised their importance as meeting points between household and community and also proclaimed the women’s roles as dispensers of justice to those travelling through the local landscape. The creation of council chambers was not exclusive to royal residences, however. Margaret Pole also created council chambers at her residences of Clavering (Essex) and Bisham (Buckinghamshire), although there is no mention of such a chamber at Warblington.[157] The great chamber would have also been a site where women received guests to the household both as petitioners and for the purposes of entertainment.

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[152] H. Blatt, 'Mapping the Readable Household', in M. C. Flannery and C. Griffin (eds), *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England* (New York, 2016), p. 165.

[153] Parker, 'Morley's Account of the Miracles of the Sacrament', p. 263; 'A compendious recitation compiled of the order, rules and construction of the house of the right excellent Princess Cecily', p. 37.

[154] M. Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 62. Oliva has also argued more generally for the similarities between lay houses and nunneries. See 'Nuns at Home'. For the 'holy households' of lay women also see S. Rees Jones and F. Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere', in A. B. Mulder-Bakker and J. Wogan-Browne (eds), *Household, Women and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005).

While the all-female court of *The Assembly of Ladies*, introduced at the beginning of this thesis, was a figment of the poet’s imagination, Ward and Cowen have argued that the process of petitioning in the poem, whereby Lady Loyalty receives the bills in person and then consults with her council, mirrored the late medieval reality.[158] Of the councils considered here, Margaret Beaufort’s was undoubtedly the most substantial. The creation of what was essentially an unofficial council in the Midlands was, as Jones and Underwood have put it, a novelty, and the decision to put a woman at the head of such a council was also unprecedented.[159] The creation of this council allowed Margaret to exercise both independent and royal authority. Henry occasionally referred complaints brought before the royal court to his mother, as was the case with Fermour vs. Stokes of Warmington, a dispute over land between two members of the Northamptonshire gentry.[160] In the summer of 1501, at a point when she was a principal benefactor to the university, Margaret and her council were called upon to settle a dispute between town and gown in Cambridge.[161] Margaret and her council did not only deal with local cases, however, with the countess's influence as a dispenser of justice extending across the midlands and into the north of England. The non-royal women in this study appear to have dealt with complaints at a more local level. In 1466, Sir John Boteler of Berwick came before Alice Chaucer at Ewelme to complain that one of her servants had illicitly taken stones from the wall of his manor house in Gloucestershire for the repair of Alice's own residence.[162] Two years later, Alice, referred to as 'my old lady of Suffolk', oversaw the arbitration by two knights or esquires of a minor dispute over land in Easington and Golder in South Oxfordshire.[163]

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[155] Ward and Cowen, ‘Al myn array is bliew’, p. 117.
[156] TNA DL 28/1/11; SJC D102.9, p. 186
[157] Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury*, p. 37.
[158] Ward and Cowen, ‘Al myn array is bliew’, p. 118.

The men appointed to the women's councils were individuals who combined trustworthiness with strong administrative skills and local prominence. Typical in this regard was Margaret Beaufort's appointment of Christopher Browne. The Brownes had long standing connections to Margaret's family, having enjoyed the patronage of her mother, Margaret Beauchamp. Christopher was longstanding Beaufort ally, and had accompanied Henry Tudor in exile in France. His credentials in local politics are notable: he was three times a sheriff of Rutland, a J.P. in three counties and in 1500 held the office of mayor of the Boston staple. He was also a prominent figure in Stamford politics and served as alderman and mayor for the borough on three separate occasions.[164] One of Alice Chaucer's councillors, Henry Butler, was recorder of Coventry from 1455 until his death thirty-five years later, and was also a longstanding J.P. for Warwickshire and a frequent M.P. for Coventry.[165] Members of the local gentry were often called upon to give advice. In a surviving letter from Alice Chaucer to William Stonor, the duchess calls upon him to 'come to us to Ewelme for certayne grete causes concernyng our wele and pleasir, whiche at your comyng ye shall undrestond more pleynely'.[166] In their capacity as local and regional arbiters of justice, the women thus interacted with the inhabitants of the region, who both brought petitions before them and sat on their councils.

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[159] *The King's Mother*, p. 88.

[160] A. Rogers, 'Fermour vs. Stokes of Warmington: A Case before Lady Margaret Beaufort's Council, c.1490-1500', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 61 (2008).

[161] M. Underwood, 'The Lady Margaret and her Cambridge Connections', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13/1 (Spring, 1982).

[162] Bodl. Lib., MS DD. EM A 46.

[163] S. Mileson, 'Beyond the Dots: Mapping Meaning in the Later Medieval Landscape', in M. Hicks, *The Later Medieval Inquisitions Post Mortem: Mapping the Medieval Countryside and Rural Society* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 96.

In the council or great chamber, the head of household's authority over the proceedings was signalled by her elevated position in an ornate chair. As Christine de Pizan remarks, when presiding over her council, the lady 'will have such a bearing, such a manner and such an expression when she is seated in her high seat that she will indeed seem to be the lady mistress over all, and everyone will hold her in great reverence as their wise mistress with great authority'.[167] Of the *Epistre d'Othea*, a book authored by Christine de Pizan on good counsel, M. Schieberle has argued that Othea does not masculinize herself and reject her femininity in order to gain her authority as a wise and prudent counsellor; rather, the two are complementary.[168] Of the women considered in this study, Margaret Beaufort is known to have owned a copy of the work, which had been gifted to her by her mother-in-law, Anne Stafford.[169] Both Margaret and Anne, as the heads of their own households, would have thus been familiar with the notion that femininity and authority were not incompatible. Indeed, in *The Assembly of Ladies*, Lady Loyalty's image as a wise counsellor is constructed with reference to the Virgin Mary, with her blue gown and circlet of rubies reminiscent of contemporary images of Mary as the queen of heaven. In light of this, it is particularly striking that Alice Chaucer owned an ornate chair upholstered with blue cloth of gold.[170] Dispensing justice was thus another aspect of household authority that was not singularly reliant on the masculine, but also allowed room for the feminine.

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[164] A. Rogers, 'Browne, William', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[165] *The Paston Letters: A Selection in Modern Spelling,* ed. N. Davis (Oxford, 1963), pp. 126-7.
[166] *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, Vol. 1, ed. C. L. Kingsford (London, 1919), p. 242.
[167] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 60.

Hospitality and Commensality

Hospitality was a Christian practice expected of all heads of household. The way in which guests were received spoke of the lord's generosity and largesse, and had a direct bearing on the head of household's image and wider reputation. The view that any visitor could be Christ in disguise meant that the host was obliged to receive all those who came to the door, irrespective of their social position or reputation. The ideal host was a welcoming figure who met their guests' needs principally through provisions of food, drink and accommodation.[171]

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[168] M. Schieberle, *Feminized Counsel and the Literature of Advice in England, 1380-1500* (Turnhout, 2014), p. 154.

[169] Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 81-92.

[170] Goodall, *God's House*, p. 291.

[171] F. Heal, 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 102 (Feb., 1984), p. 67; *Eadem*, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).

Margaret Beaufort's accounts show that a regular flow of ecclesiastics, scholars, nobility and local gentry and urban elites visited her at Collyweston. Local preachers included the friar of the nearby town of Stamford, the prior of Thorney abbey near Cambridge and a monk from Ely.[172] Katherine Courtenay similarly received local religious men, including the Prior of Blackfriars at Exeter, who preached before her in her residence at Columbjohn.[173] The presence of these men at Collyweston and Tiverton further reinforces the notion, introduced above, of the female household as religious community, again configuring the women's domestic authority in spiritual terms.

Preachers at Collyweston also included clergymen from both Oxford and Cambridge, referencing Margaret's patronage of both universities. Among them were Mr. Gabriel of Clare Hall (Cambridge), Mr. Powell of Oriel College (Oxford) and John Fawne, a member of Queen's College (Oxford) and Margaret's first named preacher of Divinity at the University.[174] Dr. Roper and Dr. Smith, who were Margaret's Divinity readers at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, were also rewarded for preaching before her at Collyweston.[175] Other Oxbridge men received at Collyweston included John Syclyng, who was to be the first master of Margaret's re-founded college of Christ's in Cambridge, as well as three doctors, namely Harrington, Batemanson and Robinson.[176]

It would seem that Margaret Beaufort also used home-based sociability for the cultivation of female networks. In 1505, she received Agnes Cecil, Joan Trygge and

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[172] SJC D91.20, pp. 14, 90, 150.

[173] TNA E36/223.

[174] M. Underwood, 'The Lady Margaret and her Cambridge Connections', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13/1 (Spring, 1982), p. 71.

[175] SJC D91.20, p. 172; Underwood, 'The Lady Margaret and her Cambridge Connections', p. 69.

[176] SJC D91.21, p. 16; D91.20, p. 117.

Elizabeth Radcliffe at Collyweston.[177] These three townswomen were married to key players in Stamford politics.[178] At that point, Agnes' husband, David Cecil, was the alderman of the town and also a servant in Margaret Beaufort's household.[179] Elizabeth's husband, William Radcliffe had previously held the office (and did so four times in total) and was also appointed as coroner of Stamford in 1500. His legacy to the town was Stamford grammar school, which he founded (after earlier encouragement from Margaret Beaufort) in 1532.[180] Radcliffe appears to have also been involved in the leather trade, and sold three hides to Margaret Beaufort's household in 1505/6.[181] Nicholas Trygge's career is more obscure, although in the late fifteenth century, he was acting as a notary for Stamford.[182] Of the three women, the most is known about Agnes, who was a servant in Margaret's household.[183] Little is known of Elizabeth or Joan, yet it is evident that these women were highly visible figures within Stamford's flourishing urban community.

The women's reason for visiting Collyweston is unspecified, yet it was most likely connected to their membership to the guild of St. Katherine in Stamford.[184] Margaret Beaufort had joined St. Katherine's guild with her close friend Cecily of York in 1502, the same year that Elizabeth Radcliffe and Joan Trygge joined with their husbands.[185] Margaret's decision to join has been attributed to the influence of the abovementioned Christopher Browne, a member of her household and council, who at the time was the guild's alderman. St. Katherine's guild was especially popular with women, and was also particularly unusual in its support for Stamford's two anchoresses. Margaret herself also gave money to these two women, although she appears to have developed a particularly close relationship with one in particular, namely Margaret White, whose cell was attached to the priory of St. Michael in the town.[186] The countess regularly visited White in person, bringing her gifts such as apples and wine.[187] Mary Erler has indicated that such gifts of food between lay and religious women were commonly used to forge and celebrate friendships between them.[188] In 1504, Margaret attended White's 'finding' procession. She paid for the anchoress's gown and sent a member of her own household to bring White's sister, a nun from the Isle of Sheppey in Kent, to stay at Collyweston for the two months preceding the event.[189]

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[177] SJC D91.21, p. 20.

[178] See A. Rogers, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Stamford from Edward IV to Henry VII, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 58 (2014).

[179] A. Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of the Town Council, 1465-1492', in A. Everitt, *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London and Basingstoke, 1973), p. 30.

[180] Rogers, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Stamford', p 237.

[181] Ibid, p 238.

[182] Ibid, p 213.

[183] When Agnes died in 1507, the countess covered her funeral costs. See SJC D91.19, pp. 30, 34.

[184] A. Rogers, *The Act Book of St. Katherine's Guild, Stamford, 1480-1534* (Stamford, 2011).

[185] Ibid, p. 135.

In 1505, Margaret also commissioned a new cell for White and her servant, which comprised four little chambers and was furnished with painted wall hangings, a bed with a canopy and new bed linen.[190] Following its construction, Margaret entrusted Elizabeth Radcliffe's husband, William, to ensure that White's cell was kept in good repair.[191] The fact that the same workmen and materials had been used for the construction of Margaret's own lodgings at Collyweston only a year earlier also indicates that the spaces of lay closet and anchorhold were not only linked through their use as sites of prayer, but through their very materiality. Margaret Beaufort's commission of a domestic space for White would have been a powerful visual proclamation of the anchoress's royal favour and a tangible statement of the friendship between the two women. This was to last a lifetime, with Beaufort even making provisions for the continuance of White's upkeep in her will.[192]

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[186] E. A. Jones, 'A New Look into the Speculum Inclusorum', in M. Glasscoe (ed), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition: Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 144.
[187] SJC D91.20, pp. 10, 156.
[188] M. C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 17.
[189] SJC D.91.20, pp. 181, 183, 184, 186, 195.
[190] Ibid, p. 179.
[191] Ibid, p. 131.

Margaret's reception of the townswomen and White's sister at her Collyweston residence is illustrative of the ways in which the countess exploited and cultivated connections between home and guild to foster ties of female sociability. In her work on the Visitation, Mary Erler has argued that late medieval devotion to the Virgin Mary and her cousin Elizabeth legitimized home visits between women, circumventing the emphasis on female stasis by moralists and clerical authors.[193] Erler suggests that these female visits would have played an important role in sustaining spiritual conversation in particular, and she argues that they 'must have been influential in shaping the definition of household space, or the design of household objects', so as to powerfully affect the physical experience of home life.[194]

While hospitality was exhibited to all those who visited the great household, Felicity Heal has said that 'the social ritual of the great household, at is most effective when presented for a large audience, was a coded language, designed to articulate both power and magnanimity'.[195] The large-scale entertainment of guests brought opportunities for the head of household to showcase their generosity and magnificence.[196] While more informal and intimate displays of home-based sociability have often been gendered female, these more formal and orchestrated performances of lordly power, through aspects such as feasting, hunting, music and the ceremony of gift-giving, have routinely been associated with displays of political power and largesse by male elites.[197] This section considers how far and in what ways the women participated in this 'masculine' culture of lordly hospitality.

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[192] 'Will of Margaret Beaufort', in 'The St John's College Quatercentenary Volume *Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae*, 1511-1911' (Cambridge, 1911).

[193] M. C. Erler, 'Home Visits: Mary, Elizabeth, Margery Kempe and the Feast of the Visitation', in M. Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg (eds), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*. See also B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), p. 28.

[194] Ibid, p. 276.

[195] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 7.

[196] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 21.

In the summer of 1503, Margaret Beaufort recorded the arrival of her granddaughter, Margaret Tudor, and her wedding party to Collyweston in a book of hours that had been gifted to her by her mother, Margaret Beauchamp. The marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV of Scotland was a momentous one for the fledgling royal dynasty, and marked the birth of a new peace treaty between England and Scotland. When the future queen arrived to Collyweston, she was 'richly dressed', 'mounted upon a fair palfrey' and surrounded by footmen whose jackets were emblazoned with Beaufort portcullises.[198] Accompanying her were some of the most illustrious figures in early-sixteenth-century society, including her father, the king; Thomas, earl of Surrey, treasurer of England; and the archbishops of Canterbury and York. The women of the company included Elizabeth Tilney, duchess of Norfolk, and Katherine Courtenay.

Over the course of their two-week stay, Margaret hosted the company in a manner befitting her status as king's mother and matriarch of the ruling house. Chapters three and four highlighted that several of the spaces key to the conspicuous display of the great residence, including the hall, chapel, great chamber, the guest lodgings and the landscape, had been either renovated or newly created for the event. The discussion here considers how these stages for hospitality were used by the women and their guests, and what implications this has for our understanding of female authority as constructed and expressed through domestic space.

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[197] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 94-7.
[198] Young, 'The Fyancells of Margaret.

Feasting

Feasting was integral to displays of hospitality. The feast was a ritualised and highly orchestrated performance, designed to showcase the head of household's magnificence and munificence. Indeed, Heal has highlighted that 'the reputation of the household was engaged not only in the mode in which the guests were received but in the totality of the rituals of commensality'.[199] Although used less frequently as a space for dining towards the end of the middle ages, the great hall nevertheless retained its chief purpose as a site of lordly hospitality, and was used for hosting feasts, both for annually recurring events, such as the New Year's day feast, and for special occasions, such as the royal wedding party received by Margaret Beaufort in 1503.

The feast was a rich sensory spectacle, with every aspect, from the servers wearing their livery, to the food served on the table and the cutlery and plate adorned with their arms, designed to emphasise the lord's generosity. This was also conveyed through the arrangement of space, which was ordered hierarchically. In the great hall, the highest status guests, including courtly and regional elites, were routinely seated at the upper end of the hall on the dais, where they were nearest to the lord's principal apartments, while the lower status diners, including servants, visitors from the local community and the poor, occupied the lower end, nearest the kitchen. The lord's authority over the feast was signalled by his position at the centre of the dais, where their body was elevated and framed by a lavish chair or canopy of estate. The open architecture of the hall, with its uninterrupted sightlines, encouraged display and mutual surveillance: it was a space where the lord could both see and be seen by the members of his household and his guests. In his thirteenth-century *Rules,* Robert Grosseteste advises the work's intended recipient, the countess of Lincoln, not to eat in the privacy of her chamber, but to instead assume her place at the centre of the dais in the great hall, where she can both observe and be observed by the members of her household.[200] In this respect, the hall was a space in which the type of 'lordly looking', explored in the above discussion of estate management was also encouraged.

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[199] F. Heal, 'Hospitality and Honor in Early Modern England', *Food and Foodways*, 1/4 (1987), p. 329.

The feast, as a display of ordered inclusivity, was seen to reflect the order of society and to also parallel the order of heaven, in which Christ would preside the table of the faithful.[201] This is powerfully conveyed in an image from the Luttrell Psalter, in which Geoffrey Luttrell is shown presiding over a family feast in a manner akin to Christ and his disciples at the Last Supper. Hospitality, and more specifically, feasting, thus gave expression to the household as a site of patriarchal authority, configuring the lord's image through reference to the ultimate model of fatherly perfection, Christ himself. As Pat Cullum has put it, 'the hall was a masculine space in which the lord or master performed his authority to both his household and to the wider community through the guests he entertained, and the poor he aided'.[202]

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[200] Robert Grosseteste, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste', in ed. and trans. W. Cunningham, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry: Together with an Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie and R. Grosseteste's Rules* (London, 1890). For a discussion of this text, see L. Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003).

[201] L. Kjær and A. J. Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), p. 3.

[202] P. H. Cullum, 'Feasting not Fasting: Men's Devotion to the Eucharist in the Later Middle Ages', in P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis (eds), *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 194.

In his account of Margaret Beaufort's household, Parker constructs Margaret's authority over a New Year's Day feast in kingly terms. He recalls how the countess dined at the High Table of her great hall with her husband, Viscount Welles, the 'Old' Lord Hastings, the Bishop of Lincoln and Cecily of York, with whom she had joined the St. Katherine's guild at Stamford in 1502. Margaret herself dined under a canopy of estate, along with Cecily, who shared the canopy by Margaret's invitation. The episode gives a strong sense of the great hall as a space ordered by Margaret's agency and shows how she utilised the canopy's purpose as a site of display for a highly visible celebration of her friendship with the viscountess. In his description of the event, Parker claims that few kings were served better than Margaret, thus reinforcing the idea of the feast as an adjunct to masculine displays of domestic authority.

The surviving household accounts for Margaret Beaufort, Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole indicate that the women hosted their guests in luxury and splendour in a manner akin to their male counterparts. All the women had ornate tableware engraved with their arms, while the purchases of food for their household indicate that the women and their guests enjoyed meats, wines and spices, which were a central feature of the conspicuous display of the elite table. Katherine Courtenay's household accounts for 1523-4 show that an abundance of meat was purchased for her household, including boar, pork, oxen, bull, kine and mutton.[203] Wines included Gascony, Claret, Malmsey and Rhennish varieties, while spices included sugar, comfetts, marmalade, ginger, green ginger, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, succades, caraways and piscades, raisins, prunes, almonds and liquorice.[204] The importance of these luxury items to displays of domestic governance is evidenced by the fact that all three of the women kept spices locked away in their closets and chambers, where they were often encased in containers or boxes that were engraved with the women's arms. This further demonstrates the women's tight management of the domestic spaces under their control, and illustrates how they used their more secluded household spaces to control access to items which were markers of their elite status and authority.

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[203] TNA SP 1/28; TNA E36/223.

[204] Ibid.

While it would seem that the ordering of bodies according to status and the conspicuous display of the feast allowed the women to construct their authority in masculine terms, however, it is has long been recognised that that food preparation was gendered feminine.[205] Caroline Walker Bynum famously argued that food and food metaphors were a key aspect of feminine spirituality.[206] The above discussion of Margaret Beaufort and the anchoress at Stamford also highlighted that food gifts were commonly exchanged between religious and laywomen. The provision of food for others thus gave the female head of household further opportunities for fashioning herself in the image of the abbess.

Hunting

Outdoor spaces provided further settings for displays of hospitality. Stephen Mileson's description of the deer park as an extended stage for gracious living conveys the importance of the space to the lord's image.[207] Much like the great hall, the deer park was associated with displays of lordly largesse. While this study has highlighted that towards the end of the middle ages, the gendering of parks as masculine spaces becomes less straightforward, it is nevertheless evident that close associations were drawn between parks and lordly masculinities in contemporary discourse. The longstanding characterisation of the park as a masculine space derived from the hunt's associations with manliness, strength and warfare. The above discussion of parkbreak has indicated that parks were commonly spaces through which competing masculinities were played out, while more recent work has shown that they also offered spaces for homosocial bonding in the form of invitations between men to hunt in one another's parks and through the exchange of gifts of game.

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[205] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', p. 9; M. Bassnett, *Women, Food Exchange, and Governance in Early Modern England* (Cham, 2016).

[206] C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkley, 1987).

[207] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, p. 102.

This study has already indicated that all five women created and owned deer parks, and that they were keen to protect such spaces from intruders. Yet, did the women also use such spaces in the same ways as their male counterparts? Chapter two indicated that bow-and-stable hunting was conducive to female involvement, and there is ample evidence to suggest that English noblewomen partook in this form of hunting throughout the medieval and the early modern periods. During her marriage to Henry Stafford, Margaret Beaufort regularly hunted with her husband and the two are recorded as having slain a buck together.[208] Margaret also appears to have hunted with her son, and, as will be discussed in further detail below, the pair also exchanged hunting gifts. Contemporary visual evidence also shows men and women hunting together. At Ewelme, the female space of the gentlewomen's closet contained a set of tapestries on which a boar hunt was displayed, while a further set in an unspecified location showed men and women hunting and hawking together.[209]

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[208] *The King's Mother,* p. 142.

[209] Bodl. Lib. MS DD. EM A 47(2)

Particular forms of hunting could provide opportunities for female self-fashioning. Amanda Richardson, for example, has shown that while falconry and hawking were enjoyed by both men and women, hunting with birds of prey appears to have gained an especial popularity among female members of the aristocracy, and could be important for constructions of elite femininities.[210] Seals, manuscript illuminations, tapestries and even objects such as combs and mirrors frequently depict elite women with birds of prey in hand. In *Sir Orfeo*, the protagonist sees a female company 'nought o man amonges hem ther nis' and 'ich a faucon on hond bere', so as to suggest that hawking was homosocial activity among women.[211]

A number of the women in this study appear to have hunted with hawks. Margaret Beaufort certainly hunted with a range of birds. The watery landscape at Collyweston, with its riverside location and its ponds and streams, was ideally suited to such an activity, and her falconer, Oliver Louthe, had his own chamber at the palace.[212] Servants are frequently recorded as bringing various types of birds of prey to Collyweston, which included smaller birds such as merlins and lannerets and larger ones including hawks, goshawks and lanners.[213] The countess also frequently received hawks as gifts.[214] Much like the literary ladies of *Sir Orfeo*, hawking was an activity that Margaret might have enjoyed in the company of other women. Her daughter-in-law certainly enjoyed hunting with goshawks, and Oliver Aulferton assumed the role of the 'keper of the Quenes goshauke' at the royal palace.[215] Katherine Courtenay also appears to have enjoyed hawking, with a quarter of mutton 'for the hawks' listed among the food provisions for her household.[216] It is also possible that Katherine and Margaret hawked together at Collyweston when the countess visited in 1503 for the royal wedding progress. It would thus seem that the rituals carried out in the deer park afforded women opportunities to perform their authority in both masculine and feminine terms, a conclusion which is developed further in the discussion of gift-giving below.

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[210] Richardson, "Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana'; Standley, 'Ladies Hunting'. See also R. S. Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England*, (Yale, 2004) p. 119.

[211] 'Sir Orfeo', eds. A. Laskaya and E. Salisbury, *The Middle English Breton Lays* (Kalamazoo, 1995).

[212] Frederick II, the author of a medieval treatise on hawking, suggests that hawking was best practised in a watery environment. See A. P. Dowling, 'Landscape of Luxury: Mahaut d' Artois' (1302-1329) Management and Use of the Park at Hesdin', in A. Classen (ed), *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (2012), p. 378.

[213] SJC D91.20, p. 26; D91.21, p. 43.

[214] This will be treated in more detail in the discussion of gift-giving below.

Music

Music, in both its secular and sacred forms, was integral to the conspicuous consumption of the elite household.[217] In 1453, Margaret of Anjou paid Richard Bulstrode twenty-five pounds and nine shillings for a 'disguising' held over Christmas at Pleasaunce, a performance which most likely included music.[218] Minstrels were commonly retained and received in noble houses. These men and women offered a variety of forms of entertainment, from music-making to acrobatics and juggling.[219] These entertainers not only enhanced the splendour of the establishment to which they belonged but were also integral to the creation of elite networks based on conspicuous display. Katherine Courtenay, for example, received the minstrels of her illegitimate half-brother, Arthur, Lord Lisle, as well as those of Henry Daubeney, 1st Earl of Bridgewater, who was a landowner in the southwest.[220] Both Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Beaufort also enjoyed the entertainment of the king's minstrels. These itinerant entertainers wore the livery of their parent house and thus in circulating and receiving them, the women were able to showcase that the quality of their household entertainment, on par with that of some of their most illustrious male contemporaries.

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[215] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, pp. 94, 100.

[216] TNA E36/223

[217] Kisby: 'A Mirror of Monarchy', p. 204.

[218] Myers, *Household Accounts of Margaret of Anjou*, p. 422.

[219] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 28.

[220] TNA E36/223.

In imitation of the Chapel Royal, the grandest households had *scholae cantorum*.[221] This was the case at Collyweston, where the children of Margaret's chapel lived within the residence and were educated and provided for at Margaret's own cost.[222] The boys were recruited from all over the country, and in 1504, Margaret's composer, Robert Cooper, was rewarded for his costs at 'riding to London, Windsor and into the west parts' to find suitable choristers.[223]

The music provided by Margaret's choristers contributed to the broader impression of the chapel as a site of lordly piety and conspicuous display. The sensory spectacle of the chapel — its sites, smells and sounds – was intended to glorify the head of household's wealth, magnificence and piety. At Tiverton, for example, embroidered chapel vestments, variously made of silk, velvet, taffeta, sarsenet and satin, were worn by Katherine Courtenay's chaplains. Altar cloths were made of the finest Bruges satin, and Katherine's own matins books were covered with velvet.[224] In many cases, the visual presence of the head of household's arms or personal motifs signalled their authority over the space. At Collyweston, chapel vestments were worked with Beaufort portcullises and Margaret's personal symbol, the marguerite, which appeared entwined with the IHS monogram.[225] On ceremonial occasions, the chapel was a centrepiece in the domestic theatre of lordly authority. The wedding party visiting Collyweston in 1503 certainly would have enjoyed services in the chapel, which, as the previous chapter discussed, had been newly painted for their visit.

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[221] Mertes, 'The Household as a Religious Community', p. 127.

[222] For a discussion of Margaret's household choir at Collyweston see Kisby, 'A Mirror of Monarchy'. SJC D102.9, p. 17; SJC D91.21, p. 42, 91.

[223] SJC D91.20, p. 178; See M. Williamson, 'Parish Music in Late-Medieval England: Local, Regional, National Identities', in B. Kümin and M. Ferrari (eds), *Da Heime in meine Pfarre* (Wolfenbüttel, 2016). http://eprint.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/production/191804/A69DC870-B92F-4825-82E1-0FB42EB3A1B0.pdf (09 August 2017).

[224] TNA S. P. 1/46.

Music was also a feature of more intimate household settings, such as the parlour and the head of household's personal apartments. In these spaces, the women might play for their guests themselves. Katherine Courtenay, for example, owned three clavichords, while Margaret had three sets of virginals, which were housed in three of the principal rooms of her residence, namely the waiting chamber, great chamber and the great parlour.[226]

With respect to music and song, recent scholarship on religious houses has shown that the aural landscapes of monasteries and nunneries would have been noticeably distinct, while work on royal houses has also shown that the instruments considered appropriate to the households of kings and queens also differed on gendered grounds.[227] Richard Rastall has highlighted, for example, that while fourteenth-century kings had access to trumpeters and loud music within their households, the queen's apartments mainly contained psalteries and other stringed instruments, which produced softer sounds.[228]

The instruments listed in Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Pole's inventories further indicate that articulations of domestic authority through music, particularly in more intimate household settings, were gendered. Both clavichords and virginals were more commonly associated with women than men, and the latter gained its name on account of its sweet sound that was commonly associated with the voice of the Virgin Mary. For Margaret, the display of these instruments would have spoken of her esteemed position at the royal court, where she was governess to the young princess Mary. Yet, what the prominent placement of the virginals in high-status rooms also suggests is that guests to Warblington may have encountered a distinctly feminine soundscape, which suitably reflected the fact that the head of the establishment was a woman. Of Elizabeth I, Katherine Butler has argued that the queen's 'use of her own musical performances for political purposes relied on music's sensuality and intimacy', qualities reinforced by the fact that her performances often took place in her own chambers.[229] By placing instruments such as clavichords and virginals in key reception spaces within their households, female heads of household were able to exploit the feminine associations of these instruments to their advantage, using their sweet sounds as a means through which to construct themselves in the image of womanly perfection.

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[225] SJC D91.5.

[226] TNA S. P. 1/46; S. P. 1/139.

[227] A. Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York & Basingstoke, 2006); R. Rastall, 'The Minstrels of the Great Households of England, c. 1300-1500', in C. M. Woolgar (ed), *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2018), p. 242. I am grateful to Richard for sending me a copy of his chapter prior to publication.

[228] Ibid.

Margaret Beaufort also exploited music's Marian associations for the assertion of her authority. When the countess departed from her Collyweston residence in 1503, she did so to the sound of her choirboys singing the anthem of *Gaude Flore*, a hymn to the Virgin Mary.[230] The choice of music cannot have been coincidental, and formed part of a rich visual spectacle, in which Margaret ceremoniously ascended into a litter of black cloth and Venetian gold. Music was thus central to a display that was devised to construct the countess in the Virgin Mary's image. Yet, Margaret was not unique in her use of devotional music for political effect. A few years later, her contemporary, Margaret of Austria, deployed a polyphonic mass for St. Anne in a similar way. Highlighting the biographical similarities between Anne and Margaret, and the timing of the piece's commission, Michael Anderson has argued that it was an attempt on the part of Margaret and her composer, Pierre de La Rue, to 'reenergize' the widowed regent's image and to advertise her eligibility for marriage to the political elite of western Europe.[231] Both Margaret Beaufort and Margaret of Austria, as key players on the early sixteenth-century political stage, understood the power of music as a political tool, and actively utilised it to fashion themselves in the image of holy female exemplars. While the very act of musical patronage enabled women to assert their influence in a masculine world, music was thus a prime means through which these women also constructed their authority through reference to the feminine.

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[229] K. Butler, '"By Instruments her Powers Appeare": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65/2 (Summer 2012), pp. 363-4.

[230] SJC D91.20, p. 97.

Giving and Receiving Gifts

The act of giving and receiving gifts was an important part of late medieval and early Tudor hospitality.[232] For the aristocracy, gift-giving was a formalised and politically-charged process. As Dagmar Eichberger has put it, 'one gave presents to relations, allies and members of one's own court, but also to those whose political support required cultivation'.[233] In royal and aristocratic residences, gift exchange was a ritualized and ceremonial act. Of royal gift exchange, Felicity Heal has said that 'giving and receiving should ideally be performative, as part of those gestures of majesty which in some senses include all of courtly cultural behaviour – hospitality, entertainment, and largesse'.[234] The gift and the way in which it was given constituted a highly-stylised language between giver and recipient. Gifts were usually received in the head of household's personal apartments, most often the great chamber. Once a gift was given, both parties entered into a dialogue of reciprocity.[235] This section focuses specifically on domestic objects as gifts, that is to say items that were designed for use or consumption within the household, exploring how these were used to forge ties of sociability.

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[231] Anderson, *St. Anne is Renaissance Music,* p. 22.

[232] The literature on gift-giving is now extensive. Two of the most influential works in this field have been Natalie Zemon Davis' *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Wisconsin, 2000) and Marcel Mauss' *The Gift: Forms and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. I. Cunnison (London, 1996). For gift-giving in early-modern England see F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts* (Oxford, 2014).

[233] D. Eichberger, 'The Culture of Gifts: A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective', in D. Eichberger (ed), *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria* (Leuven, 2005), p. 287.

Ideally, gift exchange between the head of household and others spanned the social spectrum. Of the exemplary princess, Christine de Pizan remarked that 'even the common women of the village, who will love this noble lady with all their heart, will bring her their little gifts, like fruit and other things'.[236] The household accounts for Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Beaufort indicate that both women received gifts from a wide range of individuals. The list of gifts received by Katherine Courtenay in 1524 shows that the countess maintained good relations with ecclesiastics and the local gentry. She received a boar and two swans from the Abbot of Forde Abbey, oxen, deer, herons and a pheasant from the Bishop of Exeter, strawberries from the Tiverton merchant, John Greenway, and a lamb from one of her tenants.[237] Margaret Beaufort received gifts from an equally wide range of individuals, from great magnates to anonymous individuals within the locality.

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[234] Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 89.
[235] Eichberger, 'The Culture of Gifts', p. 291.
[236] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* p. 84.
[237] TNA E36/223.

How far was gift-giving gendered? Recent work has shown that while gift-giving was by no means an exclusively female preserve, it was an important way through which pre-modern women, regardless of their marital and social status, constructed informal networks of power and influence.[238] These so-called 'gossip networks' played a key role in providing financial, emotional and political support between women of varying social standing, and the exchange of gifts between them could often result in dense networks of vertical and horizontal ties.[239]

Objects associated with women's domestic experiences, such as prayer books, food items, perfumes, medicines, embroidered items, textiles, dress accessories and devotional relics, were items commonly gifted between women.[240] Indeed, the above discussion has already highlighted some of the ways in which women in this study used such gifts to celebrate ties of service and friendship. Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort both gave necklaces to favoured female servants, while the women associated with Margaret Beaufort's reading circle at Collyweston also exchanged prayer books. Handmade objects were also especially popular, and Lisa Klein has said of such items that they had 'a particular intimacy, authority, and efficacy that other gifts, like money or plate, lack[ed]'.[241] Gifts made by the giver undoubtedly had the added value of being unique and highly personal, and the time spent making them could carry obligations of service.[242] The fact that such gifts were often created, kept and used in more intimate household spaces, such as closets and bedchambers, no doubt further enhanced the personal nature of such items, and this further supports the argument presented in this chapter that these were spaces for the cultivation and consolidation of female networks.

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[238] A. Flather, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT, 2014), esp. Chapter two, 'Noble Presents'; James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills.*

[239] James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills,* p. 77; Capp, *When Gossips Meet,* p. 176.

[240] Flather*, Female Alliances*; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 172.

[241] Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid', p. 462.

[242] Ibid, p. 464.

Margaret Beaufort's accounts indicate that she partook in this gendered form of domestic gift exchange. Between 1503 and the end of her life, she frequently received gifts of rosewater from friends and associates, the majority of whom were women. These were primarily members of the female aristocracy, and included 'old lady Hastings', Lady Hungerford and Lady Manners.[243] The first of these was Katherine Neville, Baroness Hastings, who was by this point a widow presiding over her own residence at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, some fifty miles north-west of Collyweston. Lady Hungerford was either Jane Bulstrode, the wife of Sir Walter Hungerford II, or her daughter-in-law, Jane Zouche, who was married to Sir Edward Hungerford I. The family's chief seat was Farleigh Hungerford castle near Bath.[244] Lady Manners was Anne St Leger, a niece of Edward IV and Richard III and the wife of George Manners, who had fought alongside Henry VII in France.

Margaret also received gifts of rosewater from the female religious.[245] When she was staying at the royal court in London, she repeatedly received rosewater from the nuns at the abbey of the minoresses without Aldgate, including a glass from the sister of her kinswoman, Mary Rivers (whose upkeep at the house Margaret paid for) and another from a certain Dame Margaret Lewis.[246] The accounts for Margaret's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York's household show that the queen also received rosewater from the abbess of the minoresses in 1502.[247]

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[243] SJC D91.20, pp. 41, 104; D91.21, p. 43. There is also mention of a lady 'Caylevosse' who gave rosewater to Margaret (SJC D91. 20, p. 40), although I have been unable to identify her.

[244] 'Farleigh Hungerford Family Tree: English Heritage', http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/visit/places-to-visit/history-research-plans/farleigh-hungerford-castle-family-tree (04 September 2017).

[245] SJC D91.19, pp. 20, 82, 83; D91.20, pp. 42, 85; D91.21, p. 37.

[246] SJC D91.19, pp. 20, 82; For the Minoresses, see, W. E. Hampton, 'The Ladies of the Minories', *Ricardian*, 4 (1978).

Rosewater's popularity as a gift between women undoubtedly stemmed from the water's medicinal, cleansing and cosmetic properties, which are well attested in contemporary medical treatises.[248] In a plague tract created for Margaret Beaufort around the year 1500, the author advises the reader to wash their hands daily in rosewater and to sprinkle a combination of roses, vinegar and vine leaves across their floor to help prevent the plague.[249] Such advice would have no doubt had great appeal for Margaret, whose fear of the plague had been heightened by her husband, Edmund Tudor's death from the disease some years earlier.[250]

Medicinal distillates such as rosewater were often produced within the home. In his *Le livre de seyntz medicines,* Henry of Lancaster includes instructions for the use of an alembic to make rosewater.[251] While Margaret Beaufort had her own physician, there is also evidence to suggest her personal involvement in the domestic production of such medicines. The inventory made of Margaret's closet items at the time of her death includes two stills and an alembic, along with several bottles and containers. Strikingly, Margaret Pole's inner chamber at Warblington also contained two stills for the production of distillates.[252] The notion of Collyweston as a site for the production of rosewater is further supported by the fact that roses were among the plants grown in the gardens there. It is thus possible that Margaret not only received rosewater, but also created and gifted it herself.

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[247] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 8.
[248] M. Touw, 'Roses in the Middle Ages', *Economic Botany*, 36/1 (Jan.-Mar., 1982).
[249] Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 261, ff. 14, 14v.
[250] *The King's Mother*, p. 147.
[251] T. L. Tyers, 'The Rebirth of Fertility: the Trotula and her Travelling Companions, c. 1200-1450' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012), p. 103.
[252] S. P. 1/139, f. 76b.

The notion that secular and religious women were cultivating perfumes and medicines within the walls of their domestic establishments directly relates to women's knowledge of and involvement in medicinal practices.[253] While women were rarely assumed official roles as practitioners of medicine, work in the last three decades has importantly argued for women's exercise of power and influence through their household knowledge of the uses of herbs and medicinal remedies. In her recent work on the subject, Diane Watt has shown that women in different households often exchanged medicinal recipes, thus creating networks of women responsible for healthcare.[254] Watt also highlights that women's authority as practitioners of healthcare was closely linked to and validated by a belief in the Virgin Mary as a physician and doctor of medicine. In carrying out their medicinal practices, then, women were not only brought into contact with one another, but also with Mary, who formed part of their female community of healers.

Rosewater in particular also had Marian associations. In devotional texts, the Virgin's tears were likened to the soothing effects of rosewater, a connection which Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa has argued, 'enhanced the efficacy of this precious liquid in the minds of the devout'.[255] In his *Le livre de seyntz medicines,* Henry of Lancaster draws on the rose's associations with both Mary and Christ, describing rosewater 'as a liquid distilled from the rose petals of Christ's bleeding wounds into the Virgin's tears', which was designed to save the patient from the heat of sin.[256] The rose and its scent were also popularly associated with the Virgin. Lyrics praising the Virgin's sweet smell were widespread and in contemporary plays, Mary's theatrical presence was often accompanied by floral perfumes and incense. The smell of roses in particular was linked to Mary's assumption, and was thus an important, sensory marker of her intercessory status between the earthly and the divine. When Elizabeth Woodville processed through the streets of London for her coronation in 1464, she was surrounded by rosewater "fumigations". The scent of rosewater was often used in royal processions to counteract and protect the figure at the centre of the spectacle from the unpleasant smell of the crowds, yet in this instance it appears to have taken on a heightened gendered significance. Elizabeth's coronation was a spectacle designed to construct the new queen in the Virgin Mary's image. When she arrived at London Bridge, for example, men dressed as St Elizabeth and Mary Cleophas (the Virgin's cousin and sister) greeted her and her blonde hair was loose beneath a coronet described in contemporary accounts as 'thatyre of virgins'.[257] The scent of rosewater would have thus been a fitting accompaniment to a wider sensory spectacle designed to construct the new queen in the Virgin's likeness.

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[253] H. Kleineke, 'The Medicines of Katherine, Duchess of Norfolk, 1463-71'*, Medieval History*, 59/4 (2015).

[254] D. Watt, 'Mary the Physician: Women, Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages', in N. K. Yoshikawa (ed), *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture* (Woodbridge, 2015).

[255] N. K. Yoshikawa, 'Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul: Henry of Lancaster and Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines, *Medical History*, 53 (2009), p. 406.

Just as rosewater's sensory associations with the Virgin were used to construct Elizabeth Woodville in Mary's likeness, so Margaret Beaufort and other female heads of household may have also exploited the scent's Marian associations to their construct their domestic authority in Marian terms. The discussion in this and the previous chapter has already shown how women used vision and sound to model themselves in the Virgin's image, and the sweet smell of roses would have complemented a rich sensory spectacle designed to construct the women's authority through references to Christ's mother. While the use of rosewater was by no means exclusive to women, the domestic production of the liquid in the personal spaces of the women's closets and bedchambers, and from roses grown in their gardens, would have made the gift highly personal. The close association of the production of rosewater with feminine household spaces suggests that the gifted would have taken on a heightened gendered significance when gifted between women. In exchanging rosewater, women asserted their place at the heart of a network of female healers, which included the ultimate model of female perfection, the Virgin Mary herself.

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[256] Yoshikawa, 'Holy Medicine', p. 406.
[257] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 87.

If Margaret largely received gifts associated with the feminine spaces of the enclosed garden and closet from her female associates, it is equally true that the traditionally masculine space of the deer park was a popular source of gifts from her male associates. Margaret's fondness for hunting with birds of prey has already been highlighted, and she frequently received them as gifts. In 1502, she received a hawk from one of her servants, John Kirkam, and two goshawks from Harry Willoughby, Justice of the Peace for Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire.[258] In 1503-4 she was gifted more hawks from her husband, Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th earl of Kildare, and a goshawk and three merlins from Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland.[259] Both Fitzgerald's and Percy's gifts came just months after the men had taken part in major events held at Margaret's Collyweston residence. In July 1503, Gerald had married Margaret's kinswomen, Elizabeth Zouche, in Margaret's Collyweston chapel, while

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[258] SJC D91.20, p. 46.

[259] SJC D91. 20, p. 114; D91.21, pp. 124, 165.

Henry Percy had been a leading figure in Margaret Tudor's wedding progress. Both men had stayed at Collyweston, and would have no doubt hunted with Margaret and witnessed her love of hawking firsthand. While the act of hawking, as indicated above, might provide opportunities for female self-fashioning, the all-male list of givers in Margaret Beaufort's accounts indicates that birds of prey were not typically gifted between women.

Margaret also gave gifts associated with the hunt. In 1502, she sent her son a wild boar, which was transported from Collyweston to London by one of her servants. Henry evidently appreciated the gift, as in the Autumn of that same year, he reciprocated by sending his mother a hawk.[260] In 1504, Margaret gifted a hawk to her grandson, the young prince Henry, and in 1506, she gave George Nevill, 5th Baron Bergavenny a hawk as his New Year's gift. Margaret was not the only woman in this study to exchange gifts associated with the hunt. To honour his elevation to the title of Marquess of Exeter, Margaret Pole gifted Henry Courtenay three female falcons.[261] His mother, Katherine, also participated in the exchange of hunting-related gifts. In 1524, she gave the Bishop of Exeter two doe, and herself received a boar from Edward Chichester of Great Torrington in Devon.[262] Hunting gifts were rarely exchanged between women, with the only exception in this study being Katherine Courtenay's receipt of a boar and three hares from Lady Martyn of Athelhampton hall in Dorset.[263]

The symbiotic link between the hunt and aristocratic status meant that gifts sourced from the deer park were afforded an especial significance in elite gift exchange. This chapter has already indicated that the deer park was for most of the medieval period culturally understood as a masculine space, and it would seem that the exchange of animals associated with the hunt was a further means through which elite masculinities were constructed and reinforced. The ownership of deer parks enabled women to participate in this display of lordly largesse, and to show their belonging to this masculine world.

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[260] SJC D91. 21, p. 53.

[261] Pierce, 'The Life, Career and Political Significance of Margaret Pole', p. 152.

[262] TNA E36/223.

[263] Ibid.

Margaret Beaufort's accounts indicate the ways in which the female head of household could exploit the gendered associations of certain gifts to their advantage. If the exchange of gifts such as prayer books, jewellery and rosewater provided opportunities for the reinforcement of female ties and the construction of female authority in Marian or abbess-like terms, then the exchange of gifts associated with the masculine space of the deer park offered a means through which the women could demonstrate the princely qualities of household authority, and showcase their lordly largesse. Attention to gift-giving thus further reinforces the notion that women's domestic authority was neither straightforwardly masculine or feminine, but drew on both elements.

Charity

If hospitality was gendered masculine in late medieval thought, its sister virtue, charity, was more often thought of as feminine. In her *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan remarks that the 'noble virtue of charity…will envelope the heart of the good princess'.[264] When she practices charity, she will acquire 'greater merit than a lesser woman would for three principal reasons', namely that she humbles herself, gives greater comfort to the poor on account of her rank and fame, and sets a good example to others.[265] Charity in the middle ages was understood more broadly than it is today, and encompassed the Seven Corporeal Works of Mercy, namely to feed the hungry, provide drink for the thirsty, clothe the naked, shelter the traveller, comfort the sick and visit the prisoner.[266]

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[264] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 55.

While charitable giving was essential to the lives of both noblemen and women, recent scholarship has highlighted the especial importance of charity to the construction of elite femininities.[267] In de Pizan's *Book of the City of Ladies*, Reason tells Christine that women are both pious and charitable, and she asks rhetorically, 'who is it that visits the sick and attends to their needs? Who gives aid to the poor? Who goes to the hospitals? Who helps bury the dead?'[268] With reference to hagiographies, Weinstein and Bell have argued for the distinctive place of almsgiving in the lives of the female saints, whose narratives more frequently emphasise women's charitable giving to the sick, poor and needy than those of their male counterparts.[269] The popular saint, Elizabeth of Hungary, for example, famously gave all the crops from her husband's barn to the poor during a time of famine, commissioned a hospital and donated her dower money to the needy.[270] The Virgin Mary was also an important role model for charitable giving.[271]

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[265] Ibid, p. 53.

[266] P. Cullum, Yf lak of charyte be not ower hynderawnce': Margery Kempe, Lynn, and the Practice of the Spiritual and Bodily works of mercy', in J. Arnold and K. J. Lewis (eds), *A Companion to the Book of Margery Kempe* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 177-8.

[267] Patricia Cullum has published extensively on women and charity. See for instance, "And hir name was Charite: Charitable giving by and for women in late medieval Yorkshire', in P. J. P. Goldberg (ed), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women and English Society, c. 1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992); 'Gendering Charity in Late Medieval Hagiography', in S. J. E. Riches and S. Salih (eds), *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London, 2002); 'Yf lak of charyte be not ower hynderawnce'. Also see, J. Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (second edn. Abingdon, 2016), esp. chapter 13: 'Laywomen and Charity'; P. Skinner, 'Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community', in D. Watt (ed), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff, 1997); Ward, 'English Noblewomen and the Local Community', p. 193.

[268] De Pizan, *City of Ladies*.

[269] Cited in Cullum, 'Gendering Charity'.

[270] See Cullum 'Gendering Charity', p. 141.

[271] J. A. Tasioulas, 'Between Doctrine and Domesticity: The Portrayal of Mary in the N-Town Plays', in D. Watt (ed), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff, 1997).

Indeed, Patricia Cullum has highlighted that within the home, women would have been reminded of the Virgin's charity through their daily recitation of the *Magnificat,* a prayer spoken by Mary to Elizabeth at the Visitation, which includes the lines 'he hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away'.[272]

Even in the marital home, noblewomen were routinely assigned the task of distributing alms. This made domestic charity the especial provision of women, and placed them in a position of economic power. Cullum argues that if women 'chose to give 'excessively' or 'heroically' of those resources to the poor, they arrogated to themselves a choice about the economics of the household'.[273] Women's power over the distribution of alms thus had the potential to disrupt the order of the household and contemporary anxiety regarding this is seen in a number of contemporary works, including the *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, where Christine de Pizan instructs her female readers to ensure that the household provisions and debts are accounted for before giving to the poor.[274] Women's disruption of household order through charitable giving also surfaces as a popular theme in saints' lives. When Zita and Elizabeth are caught smuggling bread to the needy in their aprons, the food miraculously turns to roses, thus concealing their acts of theft from the household, and also suggesting the Virgin Mary's approval.[275] The episodes indicate that even within marital home, philanthropy was often directed by women and afforded them agency.

Medieval authors also laid considerable emphasis on the personal nature of women's charitable acts. De Pizan says of the good princess that she 'will never be ashamed to visit hospitals and the poor in all her grandeur…She will speak to the poor and to the sick; she will touch them and will comfort them sweetly, making her excellent and welcome gift of alms'.[276] The personal nature of female charity and women's bodily contact with the sick is apparent in the actions of a number of medieval women. Elizabeth of Hungary, for example, built a hospital where she cared for the sick with her own hands, and Isabelle of Portugal later followed in the saint's footsteps, personally tending to the sick and infirm in her hospital at La Motte-au-Bois.[277] In a miniature contained within the *Benois seront les Miséricordieux*, a book on charity created for Margaret of York, the duchess is shown carrying out the Seven Acts of Charity. In the images, Margaret personally tends to the needs of the poor and infirm, holding up food and drink to the lips of the hungry and thirsty, clothing the needy and raising her hands through the bars to touch the hands of prisoners. While the first seven images of the sequence show Margaret out in the community, the final image shows her at prayer in her closet, so as to suggest a direct link between her communal role and her closet devotions. Margaret's book emphasizes that for noblewomen, charity was a performative act: it was of paramount importance that she was seen to give, and it was through these visible acts of charity that she obtained power and authority within the home.

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[272] Cullum, 'Gendering Charity', p. 142-3.
[273] Ibid, 144.
[274] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 52.
[275] Discussed in Cullum, 'Gendering Charity', p. 141.

The uneven survival of the women's household accounts inevitably means that more information is available for some of the women's charitable acts than for others. The lack of surviving household accounts or last wills and testaments for Margaret of Anjou, Alice Chaucer and Margaret Pole means that little information is known about the women's philanthropic giving within their respective localities. Much of the argument presented here thus rests on analysis of the household accounts pertaining to Katherine Courtenay and Margaret Beaufort's households. In Margaret Beaufort's case, the available information relating to the countess's charitable giving is extensive, and thus this section will thus focus primarily on her philanthropy within the counties of Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire.[278]

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[276] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 53.
[277] Lotz, 'Secret Rooms', p. 171.

The proverb, 'charity begins at home' was made manifest through the founding of almshouses and hospitals. Two of the five women in this study were responsible for founding almshouses and one a hospital, all of which stood either directly next to, or close to their principal residences. The foundation of almshouses or hospitals was a conspicuous display of the head of household's wealth and charity. As John Goodall has put it, 'The dispensing of charity was in itself a public statement of the founder's social standing and Christianity. In every sense, therefore, these foundations were a natural extension of a nobleman's household'.[279] As 'the single most important objects of patronage in the period', these establishments celebrated the wealth of their creators, provided vehicles for their commemoration and were highly visible statements of their generosity and power.[280]

The almshouse established by Alice Chaucer and her husband William in 1437 housed two priests and thirteen poor men, whose lives followed a strict regimen of devotion.[281] Margaret Beaufort's almshouse at Collyweston comprised a mixed-sex establishment of similar size, and at one point housed six almsmen, seven women and three children.[282] Once the children were old enough, they went out into the world and earned their own living, as indicated by the example of Nicholas Davy, 'my lady's alms child', who was accepted as an apprentice in London.[283] Little is known about the size or nature of Margaret Pole's hospital in Warblington, other than that it was maintained at the home of the surgeon Dr. Richard Ayer, on the countess's lands.[284] The fact that Gervase Tyndale was taken in as a patient indicates that it may have been for travellers or pilgrims seeking treatment or respite.

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[278] Margaret's donations to individuals, religious houses and guilds in these counties is enough to warrant an article-length study in its own right, and for this reason, the discussion here will emphasise the breadth of her charitable giving, rather than providing an exhaustive account.

[279] Goodall, *God's House*, p. 3.

[280] Ibid, pp. 1-5.

[281] For a detailed treatment of the almshouses, see Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*.

The almshouses constructed at Ewelme and Collyweston were impressive buildings and conspicuous statements of the generosity of their benefactors. At Ewelme, the almsmen enjoyed their own 'cottages' or personal rooms with fireplaces, which were arranged around a cloister. They also had their own communal hall, a well and gardens.[285] The arrangement at Collyweston appears to have been very similar, with the inhabitants enjoying their own chambers with glazed windows, a communal hall, produce from their own enclosed garden and water from a pump.[286] By positioning their almshouses close to their residences, Margaret and Alice created landscapes of charitable giving. In Margaret Beaufort's case, the position of the almshouse, poised between the kitchen and the chapel, facilitated the performance of her authority through charitable giving. In de Pizan's *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, the exemplary princess enacts her charity by giving to the poor, who eagerly await her presence at the chapel and kitchen door.[287] The almshouse at Collyweston was thus ideally placed to facilitate a conspicuous performance of Margaret's charity. While at Ewelme, the spatial proximity between residence and almshouse was not quite so immediate, the architectural similarities between the two buildings and the likely intervisibility between them would have signalled Alice and William's patronage of the establishment. While at Collyweston, the landscape celebrating Margaret's status, charity and piety was largely contained within the palace's walls, Alice and William instead transformed the entirety of Ewelme village into a monument of self and familial glorification. In both cases, the locations and fabric of the almshouses were powerful statements of the women's charity.

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[282] SJC D91. 21, p. 15. The statutes for Margaret's almshouses do not survive. This number is instead gleaned from the purchase of six pairs of shoes for the almsmen, seven for the women and three for the children.

[283] SJC D91.21, p. 117.

[284] Liedl, '"Rather a Strong and Constant Man"'.

[285] Goodall, *God's House*, pp. 91-3.

[286] SJC D91. 14, p. 69; D91.22, p. 13.

[287] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 60.

Much like the servants of the women's households, the almsfolk were expected to exhibit morally upright behaviour, which directly reflected upon their master or mistress's image.[288] The Ewelme statutes indicate that the thirteen poor men be 'meek in spirit, poor in temporal goods…chaste in body and of good conversation'.[289] Such characteristics, as Goodall has indicated, were fairly standard in almshouse statutes, yet they nonetheless indicate that the social value placed on being seen to give to the deserving poor.[290] Gaining a place in the almshouses was not easy. At the De la Pole Charterhouse at Hull, appointments were usually made at the recommendation of the Master or a De la Pole family retainer, decisions which Alice herself then ratified.[291] Goodall has indicated that a similar process most likely took place at Ewelme.[292] The women thus evidently exercised considerable agency over the appointments, selecting the individuals who would represent both their person and domestic establishments in the best possible light. Almshouses thus made for a highly cultivated form of charitable giving, emphasising the head of household's authority through her generosity.

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[288] In some cases, the two might even overlap, with retired or injured household servants finding a place within the lord or lady's almshouses.
[289] Cited in Goodall, *God's House*, p. 111.
[290] Ibid, pp. 111-12.
[291] Ibid, p. 113.
[292] Ibid, p. 113.

Charitable giving also brought the women into contact with the wider community, thus extending their influence beyond the walls of the home. Although she appears to have played no part in the foundation of the almshouses by the contemporary merchant John Greenway in the town of Tiverton, Katherine Courtenay regularly gave alms to the poor of the community. A coffer for alms was among the items in the steward's stable upon the countess's death, and numerous entries for almsgiving and offerings to religious houses are listed among her household accounts.[293] Twenty shillings were set-aside in the Christmas quarter for general almsgiving, and much of Katherine's charitable giving appears to have taken place during or after religious services. Horse loads of alms meat were sent to prisoners during the Mass, for example, and purses were distributed to the poor after the Maundy Thursday Mass. In her last will and testament, the countess made provisions for three poor men to pray at her tomb, although preference was to be given to family servants, who might have 'fallen into decay'.[294]

Charitable giving is a characteristic feature of Margaret Beaufort's household accounts. The countess gave generously to individuals, religious houses and churches within the region. At Stamford, for example, she paid for sixty-one pairs of shoes to be distributed among the local poor, while payments were also made to a poor man 'going about with crutches' in town.[295] Leonard of the Vestry at Collyweston was rewarded for his role in healing the two children of a poor woman who also lived in Stamford.[296]

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[293] Westcott, 'Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon', p. 33.
[294] The Will of Katharine, Countess of Devon, daughter of Edward IV'.
[295] SJC D91.20, p. 182.
[296] Ibid, p. 38.

Margaret also contributed generous sums to the building of a church in Kirton-in-Holland (Lincolnshire) and St. Guthlac's church in Market Deeping (Lincolnshire), the tower of which still bears a Beaufort portcullis today.[297] Margaret also gave generously towards the construction of St. Anne's chapel in Cambridge, which had a resident hermit, and to the University Church of St. Mary's.[298] Religious houses also benefited from her generosity, with various friaries and monastic houses in the region receiving regular payments.

The countess appears to have made especial provisions for the board of female friends and relatives who were admitted to nunneries, either as sisters or guests. The previous chapter highlighted Margaret's generosity to Margaret Pole when she was staying at Syon Abbey, and the above discussion of gift-giving also indicated that Margaret also paid for the board of Mary Rivers' sister at the Minoresses without Aldgate. Locally, it is also evident that Margaret gave generously to the Stamford anchoress, Margaret White. Another local woman who appears frequently in Margaret's accounts is her kinswoman, Agnes Zouche. Agnes was a nun at Sempringham Priory in Lincolnshire and the sister of John Zouche, who had married Eleanor St. John in Margaret's Collyweston chapel.[299] In 1504, Margaret rewarded one of her servants for taking various items to Agnes, including the gift of a silver spoon.[300] Margaret's gift again indicates her cultivation of female networks through the exchange of domestic objects. Spoons, as Roberta Gilchrist has shown, carried associations with the formal ceremony of dining, again referencing the close link between women and gifts of food. They could also have sacred connotations, due to their liturgical use for incense. An earlier entry in the same volume of accounts indicates that Margaret had commissioned a spoon from her goldsmith at Stamford for use within her closet, suggesting that it may have been used during the mass.[301] Spoons were often gifted at key stages of the life course, such as weddings and christenings, and it is possible that Margaret's gift was designed to celebrate Agnes' entry into a union with God.[302] While Margaret did not concentrate her charitable efforts exclusively on women, it is evident that she used charity as a means of broadening and strengthening her female ties. Whilst members of the female religious could not experience Margaret's hospitality within the home first-hand, she circumvented this by bringing her home to them, using domestic objects as a means of cultivating and celebrating ties between the houses of lay and religious women, and thus enhancing her own chaste and pious image.

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[297] SJC D91.22, pp. 22, 35.

[298] SJC D91.20, pp. 155, 160, 182.

[299] SJC D91.19, pp. 6, 74, 105; D91.20, pp. 13, 30, 41, 122, 139; D91.21. pp. 11, 17, 71; *The King's Mother*, p. 114.

[300] SJC D91.20, p. 160.

The women in this study, through their commission and maintenance of foundations such as almshouses and hospitals, and their generous giving within the community, participated actively in displays of charity that were such a defining feature of late medieval elite life. Margaret Beaufort in particular appears to have cultivated extensive networks through her charitable giving, securing herself a reputation for generosity, and no doubt ensuring that she was remembered fondly in the prayers of the many individuals and institutions to whom she gave. For her confessor, Bishop Fisher, it was this quality that likened her to a highly gendered model of idealized behaviour, the holy housewife, Martha.

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[301] Ibid, p. 28.

[302] R. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*: *Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 262-3.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that all the women in this study were capable and attentive estate and household managers, who kept a close eye on their domestic affairs and wielded considerable power within both household and community. While the women, like all heads of household, relied on servants and other officials to assist them in the management of their lands and daily affairs, this did not render them invisible. Rather, surviving letters and accounts show that the women exhibited a high level of personal involvement when it came to matters relating to their estates and properties, signing building and household documents with their own hands, giving orders to servants, and reprimanding transgressors. These women were no mere tokenistic figureheads, but astute and able householders and landlords, whose governance was made known through their ever-watchful presence, whether that was at the chamber window, the centre of the dais in the great hall, or from their chair of estate in the great or council chamber.

It is also evident that female domestic authority was not singularly reliant on a performance of masculinity or femininity; rather it rested on a combination of the two. Through her piety and her cultivation of female networks, the female head of household resembled the abbess, yet through her displays of lavish hospitality she resembled a classical king. These constructions were largely, although not exclusively, governed by space: while the hall, great chamber and deer park provided settings in which she could display her magnanimity and largesse, the closet and the enclosed garden facilitated the construction of her image as the chaste widow or virginal queen.

The discussion has also shown that closets and gardens were key spaces that gave the female head of household the solitude necessary for the effective enactment of her administrative duties, and which also gave her a devotional space akin to the nunnery cloister or the anchorhold. In using their closets for both their textual and spiritual authority, the women enjoyed privacy in ways that have been characterised as both masculine and feminine. This chapter has also shown that the late medieval tension between solitude and surveillance provided opportunities for conspicuous displays of privacy, enabling the head of household to fashion herself in the image of the holy women who filled her prayer books, and the abbess in the convent.

The discussion has also indicated that the boundaries between the female household and the outside world were porous. The great household was a hub of activity, on which an intricate series of overlapping networks were centered. Visitors came to the residence on matters of business and leisure, and the women went out into the community on matters of charity and sociability. Female groups in particular have been a strong theme of this chapter, especially in relation to Margaret Beaufort. The discussion has shown that domestic sociability, in the form of devotional communities, home visits and gift-giving, enabled Margaret to cultivate female groups that included women of all social levels, from townswomen and members of the female religious, to members of the aristocracy. The more intimate household spaces, such as the closet and garden, played a key role in facilitating these gendered networks, as typified by gifts of rosewater, which were cultivated within these spaces.

If it was in the closet and the garden that the women achieved their proximity to the religious models of the Abbess and the Virgin Mary, it was in the hall that they achieved their likeness to the biblical patriarchs and kings who lined the walls. In presiding over feasts, participating in the hunt and displaying their musical patronage, the women shared in masculine displays of lordly largesse and hospitality. Yet, it is equally evident that the women also exploited these rituals for displays of authority that were characteristically feminine in their expression. This is most pronounced in areas such as gift-giving and music, where the sensory associations of the sound of virginals and the smell of rosewater with the Virgin Mary offered a means through which the women were able to construct their authority in Marian terms. In performing her domestic authority, the female head of household, as the fifteenth-century gentlewoman Margaret Paston recognised, was required to enact the roles of a kingly "captenesse" and a holy "houswyff".

Conclusions

‘Before entering her room, one passed through two other very fine chambers; in each one was a large ornamental bed, richly curtained; in the second was a large dresser decorated like an altar, all covered with silver vessels. Only then did one enter the woman’s own bedchamber. Large and handsome, it was hung all round with tapestries marked with her coat-of-arms richly worked in fine gold thread from Cyprus. The bed, large and beautifully curtained with a single hanging, and the rug surrounding the bed, on which one could walk, were likewise embroidered with gold. The great, wide display sheets beneath the coverlet were of such fine toile from Rheims that they were valued at three hundred francs. Over the coverlet, woven in gold thread, was yet another coverlet…[which] covered the large bed completely, hanging over the border of the other coverlet, touching the floor on all sides. In that room was a great sideboard displaying a panoply of gilded vessels. Sitting in the bed was the woman herself, dressed in crimson silk, propped up against large pillows covered in the same silk and decorated with pearl buttons, wearing the dress of a lady’.[1]

This thesis has explored the articulation of female authority through the spatial, material and social environment of the late medieval great residence and its wider landscape. It has argued that expressions of female authority, as formulated within and through an elite domestic context, did not merely mimic male models of household authority; rather they rested on a complex interplay of masculine and feminine elements. The discussion has advanced the argument that female authority within the home was not constructed in relation to a norm that was masculine; rather, it was a category in its own right. Here, Louise Fradenburg's notion of 'gender plasticity' and Judith Halberstam's concept of 'female masculinity', which were introduced in the main introduction to this thesis have proved instructive.[2] This thesis has argued that by treating female authority as a separate category, we can look beyond a long-held notion that authoritative women in pre-modern society were merely exceptional women or honorary men, and gain a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which women experienced and wielded power and authority in late medieval and early modern England. Indeed, the existence of "captenesse" and byfyghtresse" as terms for lordly women in fifteenth-century England (as discussed in chapter five), shows that the more modern notions of 'female masculinity' and 'gender plasticity' are concepts with deep historical roots. The fact that Margaret Paston, a fifteenth-century woman, used "captenesse" to describe her own household governance, and that "byfyghtresse" appears in a work commissioned by Margaret Beaufort, provides us powerful linguistic evidence for the notion that late medieval women thought about their domestic governance as a meeting point between the masculine and the feminine. This notion also found visual expression in Alice Chaucer's great chamber at Ewelme, where the Amazon queen Orythia, with her courtly dress and armour, framed the duchess's authoritative female body.

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[1] De Pizan, *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, p. 154. Translation as given in Fresco, ‘Gendered Household Spaces’, p. 192.

This thesis has also argued that gender is always relevant to discussions of power and authority in the pre-modern world, even when it is not immediately or obviously apparent. The discussion in chapter three highlighted that architectural historians in particular have only treated gender as a relevant category of analysis when there is evidence for discernible differences in male and female behaviour. This thesis has argued that an enduring obsession with women who flouted the norms of the contemporary societies in which they lived is unhelpful, and obscures the variety of ways in which pre-modern women expressed their authority as the creators and figureheads of their own domestic establishments. While some of the women in this thesis, such as Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Pole, are visible as prolific builders and shapers of domestic space, others, such as Katherine Courtenay and Alice Chaucer, returned to and inhabited the spaces they had occupied or commissioned during their married lives. Regardless of whether the women altered the fabric of the buildings and the landscapes or not, however, this study has argued that the women's inhabitation of those spaces involved active choices, and that their presence also gave meaning the ways in which those spaces were understood and perceived, both by the women themselves, and by their contemporaries.

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[2] Fradenburg, *Women and Sovereignty*; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*.

Through its interdisciplinary approach, this thesis has offered a new methodology for studies of elite female domestic space. By evaluating documentary evidence in light of literary, archaeological and architectural sources, the project has provided a more holistic approach to the subject of female authority in the pre-modern world than approaches based on a narrow body of sources, or those written from a singular perspective. The results have proved illuminating in a number of ways. The combined analysis of documentary, architectural and archaeological evidence in this thesis has provided new information about the historic appearance and layouts of houses and landscapes which have since been destroyed or altered, and which have previously attracted little interest from architectural or landscape historians. The discussion has also advocated the value of archaeological techniques hitherto underexploited by gender historians for exploring and enhancing our understanding of spaces inhabited by medieval and early modern women. While for this project there was only scope to carry out a small-scale geophysical survey at Collyweston, the discussion has nevertheless highlighted the value of such techniques and set the agenda for further investigation at female-owned sites. Literary analysis has also proved illuminating for the social interpretation of space, with the emergence of the female head of household as a literary figure during the fifteenth century providing an invaluable insight into the ways in which female authority was understood and expressed in late medieval discourse.

One of the defining contributions of this thesis is its exploration of the five residences within their wider landscape contexts. While the landscape agenda is now firmly entrenched in the study of castles and great residences, discussions of women and outdoor space remain fragmentary and underdeveloped. By exploring the locations of the houses and the women's roles as creators and users of elite landscapes or pleasure grounds, this thesis has offered the first scholarly consideration of late medieval women as inhabitants and shapers of lordly landscapes. The discussion has shown that elite women actively structured outdoor space for the expression of their authority, and that they also exploited the ambivalent gendering of different landscape settings to their advantage. While chapter two argued that women were able to utilise both the masculine and feminine symbolism of lordly landscapes, chapter five confirmed this by demonstrating the ways in which women used gifts sourced from the landscape, such as rosewater, game and food products, to demonstrate both their Marian piety and lordly largesse.

Motherhood and the women's familial roles have also assumed a prominent place in the discussion. Chapter one argued that while there was little difference in the types of sites chosen by elite men and women for the locations of their principal residences, the women's choices appear to have been made with a view to their roles as mothers, wives and daughters. Margaret Pole and Alice Chaucer both inhabited what have been referred to in this thesis as matrilineal topographies of authority. At Ewelme, Alice actively exploited the site's connections to her female ancestors for the assertion of her own authority through the material and visual environment, by displaying her paternal grandmother's and her mother's family crests in her chantry chapel of John the Baptist, and by visually configuring her authority through the female iconography of her great chamber at Ewelme. For Margaret Beaufort, Collyweston was a site of both matrilineal and matriarchal authority, with the location enabling her to project her authority as the matriarch of the infant Tudor dynasty through reference to her matrilineal ties to the area. This is most powerfully evidenced by Margaret Tudor's wedding progress in 1503, in which the countess housed a number of the guests at her mother's former seat at Maxey, and also recorded her granddaughter's arrival to Collyweston in a book of hours that had been gifted to her by her mother. Chapter three highlighted that the expansion of both Greenwich and Collyweston was intimately connected to Margaret of Anjou and Margaret Beaufort's roles as royal mothers. This thesis has also argued that the creation of enclosed and secluded spaces within the residences and their associated landscapes would have also reinforced female constructions of authority through reference to the female body. The creation of moats, bounded walls, secluded towers and chambers enabled the women to present themselves as pious queens and chaste widows, and to model themselves in the image of the ultimate model of motherly perfection, the Virgin Mary.

Privacy and seclusion have been recurrent themes. The notion that women were associated with the 'private' or innermost reaches of the domestic complex has long been a feature of historical scholarship. The discussion in this thesis, however, has used the notion of conspicuous privacy — a term coined in this study — to challenge a long-held notion that high-status women were rendered invisible or passive by their associations with the private. Comparing Margaret Beaufort's lodgings at Christ's College, Cambridge to the description of her lodgings at Collyweston, chapter three argued that the prominent external display of heraldry, and a tension between access and visibility, made Margaret's privacy highly conspicuous. This theme was explored in further detail in chapter five, in which closets and gardens were presented as sites of conspicuous privacy. In withdrawing into their gardens and closets, women were not hidden away; rather they were able to display their piety to others and to construct their authority in spiritual terms.

The period under discussion is an especially interesting one for discussions of gender, power and space, as the desire for separation also becomes a defining feature of elite masculinities towards the end of the middle ages. This thesis has argued that women exploited both the masculine and feminine connotations of privacy to their advantage, a point emphasised in particular by the discussion of enclosure and deer parks in chapter two, and also through the consideration of closets in chapter five. By withdrawing to her closet, the female head of household was able to assert her textual authority in a manner akin to her male counterparts, and to also achieve a spiritual solitude akin to that of her religious female counterpart, the abbess.

The fluidity between secular and holy households has also repeatedly surfaced throughout the discussion. While chapter three argued that Margaret Pole's and Margaret Beaufort's display of the Trinity alongside the Virgin Mary in their household chapels was most likely informed by or given meaning through the women's close connections to the religious female house of Syon Abbey, chapter five argued that prayer and pious practices were a defining feature of life in the secular female household. A consideration of the women's cultivation of female groups through gift-giving and hospitality in chapter five also further reinforced the idea - expressed by Christine de Pizan - of the secular female head of household as an abbess-like figure.

If the secular female head of household was like the abbess, however, she was also like the king. All the women in this study created 'masculine' spaces, including great halls, in which they displayed imagery celebrating predominantly male themes of warfare and adventure. By presiding over the feast and by hunting in their deer parks, these women partook in the rituals of elite life that were central to masculine expressions and constructions of lordly authority.

By considering the women's houses in relation to their other architectural commissions, and also their use of domestic objects to forge ties within the wider community, this thesis has also highlighted how the women's domestic commissions reflected and shaped the spatial and material expression of their power in non-domestic contexts. The 'domestic' character of Margaret of Anjou's gatehouse and arcaded walkway at Queens' College, Cambridge, or the evident parallels between Margaret Beaufort's apartments at Christ's College and those of her Collyweston residence, both offer a striking testament to the ways in which women's spatial and material articulations of authority within the home transcended its walls, and translated into power beyond them.

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