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And they lived happily ever after? Medieval queenship and marriage in Scotland, 1424–1449

Fiona Downie

Most medieval kings were trained from birth to rule. The queens of fifteenth-century Scotland, however, were not born to be queens. They were made into queens later in life and crowned following marriage to a king. The source of a queen's power was therefore her marriage, which also played an important role in defining the scope of her role as a queen. In the cases of Joan Beaufort (d. 1445) and Mary of Guelders (d. 1463), queens of James I and James II respectively, their marriages – like other royal marriages in the fifteenth century – were arranged to meet the political, economic, and social goals of the families of the bride and groom.¹ As foreign brides, their marriages symbolised the creation of treaties of political and economic alliance and, in the case of Joan Beaufort, the achievement of peace and unity between warring kingdoms. It is quite clear, however, that while an international royal marriage could symbolise peace, it could not actually end a war and that, even in the case of a political or economic alliance between friendly kingdoms, a marriage

could not ensure the continued success of that alliance. Despite the apparent inability of foreign marriages to guarantee peace and friendship, medieval royal governments continued to emphasise their potential to do so, and invested a great deal of effort in establishing marriage alliances. The continuing interest in what appears to be an unsuccessful policy suggests that such alliances held other, less obvious, benefits. It could be argued that the real purpose of a marriage alliance was to create communication networks based on family ties which would continue to operate regardless of the success or otherwise of the political or economic alliance it represented.

The marriage of James I and Joan Beaufort in 1424 illustrates the role of marriage within a political alliance and the broader aim of creating a family network. The marriage was arranged as part of English plans to release James, captured in 1406, in order to win Scotland away from her alliance with France, secure an Anglo-Scottish truce, and raise money to continue fighting the Hundred Years' War.² The Scottish king's release was secured in exchange for a truce and a £40,000 ransom, but the plans contained a major flaw. As a prisoner, James had been forced to accept unfavourable terms, but as a free man, he could not be forced to uphold these terms: the agreements depended upon James' co-operation, and if he chose to stop paying the ransom and to renege on the English alliance by renewing the French alliance there was no way to stop him. The English council hoped it could rely on James' goodwill following his release, a goodwill that had been carefully nurtured during his long years of captivity. His inclusion in court life while in England did not arise from simple generosity: it was hoped that James would feel at home in the English court and establish relationships with the royal family and nobility, perhaps through marriage, that could be of use in the future. But all of this depended on James' goodwill. An English wife, on the other hand, would create a link between the two kingdoms even if James managed to forget his other friends in the south. With these thoughts in mind, the English council raised the possibility of marriage in 1423, at the same time as discussing the issues of a truce and James' release. The role of the marriage within the overall truce is made quite clear in the instructions issued to the English ambassadors in July 1423 which state that "*pro majori Amicitia nutrienda et conservanda*" between the two allies, the Scottish king might wish to marry a "*Nobilem Mulierem Regni Angliae*".³

The bride chosen for James was Joan Beaufort, a cousin of the English king and niece of a key figure on the English council, Henry Beaufort,

bishop of Winchester and later cardinal of St Eusebius. Joan's marriage was celebrated by the bishop in his church of St Mary Overy in February 1424. After the celebrations, James and his bride set out for Scotland, stopping at Durham to seal a seven-year truce between England and Scotland; James was then once again a free man. James' marriage was therefore secondary to the immediate requirements of English foreign policy and was designed to counteract the effects of his release in the long-term by establishing communication networks between the two kingdoms which would operate via his wife if James reneged. The English council later used these personal ties to open negotiations with James. Joan Beaufort's uncle, Thomas, duke of Exeter, was sent on an embassy to Scotland in 1426; Cardinal Beaufort had private talks with James in 1429; and Joan's brother Edmund, count of Mortain, was despatched to Scotland in 1433.⁴

The marriages of six of James' seven children followed a similar pattern.⁵ The French king, Charles VII, sent an embassy to Scotland in 1428 to request Scottish military assistance in exchange for the marriage of the dauphin to James' daughter, Margaret, a marriage which finally took place in 1436.⁶ The French marriage alliance brought Scotland into contact with other powers in the French sphere of influence, a political change in alliance which coincided with a dynastic accident. James had five other daughters to marry, who as sisters-in-law of the dauphin were now more valuable on the marriage market than they had been simply as daughters of James I of Scotland. Their new status raised the possibility of establishing an alliance with France through a marriage alliance with Scotland, as the duke of Brittany recognised in his attempts to secure a Scottish marriage for his son. The first Breton proposal of 1437 was rejected by the Scots, but the second offer of 1441 was accepted and resulted in the marriage of Isabella Stewart and Duke Francis I of Brittany in 1442.⁷ These two marriages were followed by intense diplomacy leading to the departure of the remaining four unmarried Stewart princesses for the continent in 1444-45, beginning with the marriage of Mary Stewart to a Burgundian noble, Wolfaert van Borselen, son of the lord of Veere, in 1444. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the duke of Burgundy was involved in the arrangements for Mary's marriage, and both he and the French king approved of and supported the betrothal in December of the same year of Mary's sister Annabella to Louis, count of Geneva, son of the duke of Savoy.⁸ Annabella left Scotland for Savoy in the summer of 1445 and was soon followed by her sisters Eleanor and Johanna who travelled to the French court where Charles VII negotiated

Eleanor's marriage to Archduke Sigismund of Austria-Tirol in 1448.⁹ The negotiations for the Austrian marriage coincided with James II's search, conducted with the assistance of both Charles VII and the duke of Burgundy, for a suitable bride.¹⁰ Although James claimed to be seeking either a French or Burgundian wife, the surviving evidence makes it clear that he preferred the latter, perhaps to widen his alliances or to protect Scottish trading interests in the Low Countries, and he married Mary of Guelders, great-niece of the duke of Burgundy, in 1449. The only one of James I's children not to be included in this network of alliances was Johanna, who had accompanied Eleanor to France in 1445. She remained in France before returning to Scotland in 1458 to marry James Douglas, earl of Morton, after failing to secure a foreign match, perhaps because she is reported to have been deaf and dumb.

Several patterns emerge from this series of marriage alliances. In the first place, these marriages were part of a network of European alliances revolving around France and Burgundy. The complexities of European politics in this period, and the growth in power of the French king and of the duke of Burgundy, encouraged lesser rulers to maintain links with both men and provided them both with the opportunity to negotiate marriages that would secure those links.¹¹ The Stewarts, following Margaret's marriage, were known and available, and could be offered in marriage to advance French and Burgundian interests. The ability of Charles VII and the duke of Burgundy to use the Stewart marriages in this way was increased by the murder of James I and by the changes in domestic politics during the minority of James II. There was no difficult father who might make awkward demands or delay his child's marriage, as, in the case of Margaret's marriage, James I had done for eight years while he continued negotiations with England – negotiations which twice included the discussion of an Anglo-Scottish royal marriage.

The second pattern is the creation of a complex and active network of family relationships. Annabella's betrothal, for example, was supported by the French king, her brother-in-law the dauphin, and the duke of Burgundy. Another brother-in-law, the duke of Brittany, was included in the marriage contract, and Annabella stayed in the household of her Veere in-laws en route to her new home in Savoy in 1445.¹² Eleanor was invited to France by the duchess of Burgundy at the instigation of Eleanor's sister, Margaret, and the arrangements for her marriage required the agreement of James II, the duke of Brittany, and the duke of Savoy before the ceremony took place in the presence of the king and queen of France.¹³ The treaty of alliance accompanying the marriage of James II

and Mary of Guelders incorporated Scotland, Burgundy, Guelders, and Brittany.¹⁴ The duke of Brittany's involvement in the marriages is partly explained by the fact that he was married to the second eldest princess and became, with his wife, James' heir after Margaret's death in 1445. But this does not explain his part in Annabella's betrothal in December 1444, nor does it account for the interest of other Stewart in-laws in the other marriages.¹⁵ The involvement of the in-laws in the Stewart marriages is indicative of the way in which these marriages, regardless of their initial diplomatic purpose, created one family which continued to take an interest in its members in the long term. Even in the case of Mary Stewart's marriage to Wolfaert van Borselen, for which there is little surviving evidence, there were long-term family relationships at work. Annabella lived in the Veere household in 1445, and Mary's father-in-law was present at James II's marriage to Mary of Guelders in 1449. At the other extreme, the excellent collection of letters to Eleanor Stewart – it includes letters from her sister Isabella and Isabella's daughter, from her half-brother, James Stewart, earl of Buchan, and from her nephew, James III – provides detailed evidence of the operation of the Stewart family network.¹⁶

The third pattern to note is that in creating this family network, it was the women who left one family to join another. At the same time, for the network to function effectively, these women had to maintain links with their own family, which in turn prevented them from losing their outsider status in their new family. A royal bride was thus a liminal figure, partially included in two families and mediating between them. This liminal status meant that the wife did not represent too much of a threat to her new family's homogeneity, and ensured that her own family did not lose any honour and could even derive some benefit from her new role. This split identity of foreign wives is highlighted in their titles. In a letter expressing her consent to her daughter's marriage, Isabella Stewart calls herself "Ysabeau fille de Roy descocce duchesse de bretagne", a description also used by her Breton subjects in a debate on the same matter.¹⁷ She is referred to simply as "ysabeau descosse" by Charles VII.¹⁸ James II referred to his wife as "domicella Marie de Gelris", while the duke of Burgundy called her his "nepte marye de gheldres Roynne descosse".¹⁹ The *Auchinleck Chronicle* described Mary as the "Queen of Scotland, the Duke of gillerlandis dochter".²⁰ This recognition of multiple ties is also shown in pictures of foreign brides, in which they display either their family arms alone or in combination with those of their husbands' families. Several pictures in a book of hours belonging to Isabella

Stewart incorporate the Scottish and Breton arms, including two of Isabella at prayer wearing a dress decorated with both sets of arms.²¹

The foreign bride was therefore a focus for the communication networks of at least two families. A great deal of effort and expense was invested in creating these networks, but their success largely depended on the bride's ability to manage her role as focus of communication. To manage her duties effectively, a foreign bride had to attempt to overcome her status as an outsider at court and to establish ties with that court. Without these personal relationships she could not possibly appreciate problems or exert influence. The bride's ability to establish these ties was sometimes hindered by a lack of knowledge of language or local customs, as well as by the suspicion of court and family of her foreign origins. In trying to establish ties with the court a bride might go too far, and risk being accused of vulgarity, or of not going far enough, making her appear arrogant. She might link herself to the wrong people or spend too much time with her own people. In short, although her marriage made her a symbol of unity and alliance, her presence at court could make her a focus of tension and dispute. The court was a centre of gossip and intrigue, containing many traps for the newcomer but also providing many opportunities. It is unlikely that royal families would have pursued long-term marriage policies which rested largely on the abilities of their daughters without also training them for their future roles.²² What form did this training take?

Royal and noble women in the fifteenth century did not receive a formal education, but many of them were taught to read and were able to learn much from books.²³ The books available to women tended to be of a religious or moral nature, but the ideals preached in these works did have some practical use. Books of hours, for example, contained pictures of saints that might provide examples of virtuous behaviour as well as of those that might be of local or national significance, which were particularly useful to a foreign bride trying to learn about her new home. One of the books of hours belonging to Isabella Stewart, duchess of Brittany, contains separate portraits of the duke and duchess with their patron saint, Francis, in addition to pictures of other saints, with particular emphasis on the Madonna and child, a crucial image of virtue and motherhood.²⁴ Several of these illuminations include the combined arms of Brittany and Scotland – evidence that the contents of the book were designed specifically for its recipient.²⁵ It is easy to assume that the book is yet another example of ideals that were imposed, and that it had little practical purpose, but Isabella's active interest in the book is shown by

her signature at the bottom of almost half of the pictures, presumably those of the saints she found most comforting.²⁶ Books of hours could also provide more specific advice for young brides, as is shown by the prayer for young girls found in another book of hours owned by Isabella.²⁷ The prayer advises girls to think always of God and their souls, and to always be aware of their thoughts, words, and deeds – advice of considerable importance in the very public world of the court. As women were the focus of gossip and suspicion, it was essential that they gave at least the appearance of living a virtuous life and did not do anything that might give rise to rumour and speculation.

The same moral instruction is the basis of Christine de Pizan's *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, written in 1405 for Margaret of Burgundy on the occasion of her marriage to the dauphin.²⁸ The first chapter tells "great queens, ladies, and princesses" that their first duty is "to love and fear God". It is followed by six chapters explaining how this love and fear will help these women to avoid temptations and to live a virtuous life. Christine then proceeds to explain the duties and qualities required of a princess, beginning with chapter eight, entitled "How the good and wise princess will make every effort to restore peace between the prince and the barons if there is any discord." Other advice includes how the good princess should deal with her husband and children, how she should control her court and finances, and how to perform acts of charity and extend largesse. Perhaps the most important chapters are those in which she explains how the good princess should conduct herself towards her husband's family and friends; how she should win and maintain the goodwill of her subjects; and "how to maintain a discreet manner towards those who do not like her and are envious of her." The princess was not only to act as a focus of communication between families and courts, she had also to facilitate communication within the court itself. Christine's interpretation of the duties of a princess were based on her own experiences of the French court, experiences which made her fully aware of the problems facing Margaret of Burgundy in her new home and of the kind of strategies needed to manage her potentially conflicting loyalties and responsibilities. Margaret's father, John the Fearless, who had a vested interest in ensuring that his daughter was able to manage her dual loyalties to Burgundian advantage, approved of the advice and generously rewarded Christine de Pizan following her presentation of the book. His patronage ensured that the work achieved a wider popularity, as shown by the copies in the libraries of the Cleves and Bourbons, in addition to the many surviving paper manuscripts.²⁹

For most royal and noble women, however, training for their future role was most likely to take the form of a kind of apprenticeship. James II's queen, Mary of Guelders, was effectively apprenticed to Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy, one of the most powerful women of the fifteenth century. The duke of Burgundy had no daughters of his own and arranged the marriages of his sisters' children, including Mary, to Burgundian advantage.³⁰ This policy was assisted by the practice of having the eligible brides live in the duchess's household as illustrated by the constant presence of the "damoiselles destampes de bourbon et de guelres" in the household accounts between 1446 and 1449.³¹ This practice meant that the young women learned about court, established relationships with people of importance, and were able to see at close quarters the ways in which the duchess of Burgundy managed her responsibilities.

The Burgundian expectation that women would play an active public role, and the varied activities of individual duchesses, meant that these young women were learning from experts. Isabel of Portugal, duchess at the time of Mary of Guelders' residence at the Burgundian court, was an active and successful diplomat and negotiated on matters such as marriages, treaties, ransoms, and trade.³² She was nominated by her husband to deal with the English king in diplomatic negotiations on a number of occasions, partly because of her skills, and partly because she was cousin to Henry VI and had visited the English court. These links were behind her nomination to act as mediator, with Cardinal Beaufort, between England and France at Calais in 1439.³³ She and the cardinal were to choose dates for talks, decide how many people could attend these talks, and preside over them. Negotiations took place in the duchess's tent. She was present, along with her niece, the Princess of Navarre, and ten other ladies. The duchess was therefore closely involved in all stages of what has traditionally been seen as male-dominated high politics and was also concerned to train other women to work successfully in this sphere. The duchess did not confine herself to the formal world of high politics, but also adopted other, less formal, methods of communication and mediation, often following both strategies simultaneously. This was the case when she acted as the duke's representative at the conference of Chalons in 1445, convened to address disputes between France and Burgundy. On that occasion she discussed diplomatic matters with representatives from France, Savoy, Milan, Castile, England, and the Empire. Perhaps more importantly, in her two months at the French court, Isabel established close ties with Marie of Anjou, queen of France, and Margaret Stewart.³⁴

These informal ties could maintain communications between diplomatic meetings, and perhaps also when diplomatic relations became strained. They were made even more significant by the fact that her husband, the duke, never met his nephew, Charles VII, himself.³⁵

Mary of Guelders spent three years in Isabel's household before her marriage to James II, learning these skills and meeting many of the people of importance that Isabel negotiated with and entertained. The accounts of the duke's household show that he often invited the ladies of his wife's household to banquets with the intention of introducing them to visiting dignitaries and advertising their qualities and skills to potential suitors. Two such banquets involving Mary and her colleagues were held for the Scottish ambassadors in August and September 1448.³⁶ At this point, Mary's father still seems to have intended marrying her to the duke of Austria, but the Scots were obviously still trying to promote James II as a potential husband. The large dowry they eventually offered made the Scottish suit more attractive, but it was also recognition of Mary's worth, enhanced by years of training at the Burgundian court. The variety of skills and experiences acquired by young women in this kind of apprenticeship formed the basis of future international relationships and justified the expense of keeping them at court for long periods.

The practice of apprenticing a prospective bride at court was most fully developed in cases in which the couple were betrothed as children. This meant that the bride could be brought up in the particular court she would one day run. The experience of Margaret Stewart provides an example. At the time of their betrothal in 1428, Margaret was three and Louis, the French dauphin, was five. The marriage contract specified that Margaret was to sail to France before February 1430, by which time she would have been five. The terms of the marriage therefore specified that the French king was to treat her as his daughter until the marriage could be formally concluded when the couple had reached the canonical ages for marriage - that is, twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. The marriage did not take place until 1436, and in the final round of negotiations the issue of Margaret's upbringing was again raised. Her father, perhaps out of a genuine concern for her welfare, asked that, upon her arrival in France, Margaret be accommodated in her own household with her own people, but conceded that she might stay with the French king and queen when they desired it. While he wanted her to have her own people about her, he recognised that the king and queen would select French gentlemen and gentlewomen to teach Margaret behaviour fitting to her station.³⁷ Charles refused these requests, saying that before her marriage

Margaret should live with the French queen as her daughter, in order to learn "les estaz et manieres de france". It was not convenient for her to live elsewhere.³⁸ He later specified that while Margaret could travel with as many Scots as James wished, only one or two women and the same number of men could remain with her in France, because, if she were surrounded by "gens de sa nation", "elle ne apprendra volontiers francoys ne lestat de ce Royaulme".³⁹ It was presumably for a similar reason that Margaret's sister, Annabella, spent over ten years at the court of Savoy before her betrothal was broken off in 1456, while the residence of Eleanor and Johanna at the French court would have prepared them for life in the courts of those princes within the French sphere of influence. It is possible that these arrangements reflect fears that Scottish princesses were not civilised enough to become queen of France or ladies of continental courts, but the practice of bringing up child-brides in their future courts does seem to have been fairly widespread.⁴⁰ Regardless of her origins, it was essential that the future lady of the court learned about that court and its subjects.

Royal families therefore invested a great deal of time and money in the design and execution of their marriage plans, and this investment reflected the importance they placed on the role of their daughters within those marriages. This role was one of communication, of influence, of persuasion, of mediation, and it was a role that these women were expected to play throughout their married life. It was also a role that was essential to the smooth operation of the court and of foreign policy – as the women themselves recognised in their pursuit of their own marriage policies within the court and beyond. While the importance of this role gave women real power, it is necessary to differentiate between this power and the official and formal authority of their husbands. In other words, queens had power, but there was no office of queenship. They could not act in their own right, but only as assistants to, or deputies of, kings. The expectation that they would act on behalf of the king should the need arise indicates that contemporaries believed that queens were in theory capable of acting in their own right, as both Joan Beaufort and Mary of Guelders proved, following their husbands' deaths. While she may have been capable of acting in her own right, a fifteenth-century queen was prevented from doing so. A queen-consort had constantly to acknowledge her husband's superior power and to remain in the background. This was an important part of Christine de Pizan's advice to queens and princesses. She constantly emphasised women's abilities; she also advised them to remain modest, to persuade, and to influence, rather

than to act. A fifteenth-century queen-consort could not forget that, as queen, she was primarily a wife. And as a wife she ought to be obedient to her husband and to ignore her own priorities in favour of those of her family.

NOTES

1. For a general discussion of the importance of royal marriage decisions, see A. Crawford, "The king's burden? – the consequences of royal marriage in fifteenth-century England", in R. A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1981), pp. 33–56.
2. For more details of the negotiations, see E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, "The later captivity and release of James I", *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xxi (1924), pp. 89–100.
3. T. Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica* (original edition, London, 1704–35), pp. x, 295.
4. M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 110, 152; *Foedera*, pp. x, 358.
5. The marriages of James I's children are discussed in Brown, *James I*, pp. 110, 162–163; A. I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 66–67, 84–96, 99–103, 179–182; and C. McCladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 41–46. The reasons for this apparently sudden foreign interest in Scottish marriages have never been examined in depth, partly because the series of marriages has never been the subject of a detailed study making use of the sources available in continental archives. The marriages of Margaret, Isabella, Eleanor, and James II have been discussed in some detail in individual studies (see notes below), but, while these studies explore the reasons behind each marriage from both a Scottish and a continental perspective, they do not attempt to explain the interest in Scottish marriages overall, nor do they link the marriages to each other. Studies of more than one marriage have only been made in general works about fifteenth-century Scotland, and focus on the importance of the Stewart marriages to Scotland rather than their allies. For a study of the marriages as a series, see Fiona Downie, "'Sche is but a Womman': the queen and princess in Scotland, 1424–63" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1998), pp. 61–124.
6. For a detailed discussion of the negotiations and marriage, see L. A. Barbé, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis* (London, 1917).
7. A short account of Isabella's life and marriage can be found in L. A. Barbé, "A Stuart duchess of Brittany", in L. A. Barbé, *Sidelights on the History, Industries and Social Life of Scotland* (London, 1919), pp. 1–45.
8. Annabella's European marital career is examined in F. Downie, "'La voie quelle menace tenir': Annabella Stewart, Scotland and the European marriage market, 1445–1455", *Scottish Historical Review* (forthcoming).

9. The most detailed account of Eleanor's life is found in M. Köfler, "Eleonore von Schottland", in M. Köfler and S. Caramelle, *Die Beiden Frauen des Erzerhogs Sigmund von Österreich-Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1982), pp. 15-114.
10. See D. Ditchburn, "The place of Guelders in Scottish foreign policy, c. 1449-c. 1542", in G. G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton, 1996), pp. 59-75. The article by J. H. Baxter, "The marriage of James II", *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xxv (1928), pp. 69-72, is a list of some of the sources available in the Lille archives rather than a discussion of the marriage itself.
11. See G. du Fresne Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1881-91), vol. iv; and R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), pp. 98-126.
12. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Inv. 16 Reg. 93, ff. 370-394, Inv. 102 Mazzo 12/3.
13. Dunlop, *Life and Times*, p. 85; Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, pp. 366-370.
14. Ditchburn, "Place of Guelders", pp. 63-65.
15. Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, SP7/13.
16. These letters are held in the Landesregierungsarchiv für Tirol in Innsbruck, Sigm. IVa/181.
17. Nantes, Archives Départementales de Loire Atlantique (ADLA), E12/15, E5/11.
18. Nantes, ADLA, E13/1.
19. Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord (ADN), B427/15877, 15877 bis, 15877 quater, 15882 bis.
20. McGladdery, *James II*, p. 169.
21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), MS. n.a. Latin 588, f. 33v.; MS. Latin 1369, f. 55r.
22. For a full discussion of this point, see J. C. Parsons, "Mothers, daughters, marriage, power: some Plantagenet evidence, 1150-1500", in J. C. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 63-78.
23. On female education in the Middle Ages, see J. M. Ferrante, "The education of women in the Middle Ages in theory, fact and fantasy", in P. H. Labalme (ed.), *Beyond Their Sex: learned women of the European past* (New York, 1980), pp. 9-43.
24. Paris BN, MS. Latin 1369, ff. 38, 39, 55, 135, 320, 362.
25. Paris BN, MS. Latin 1369, ff. 38, 39, 55, 135, 189.
26. Paris BN, MS. Latin 1369, ff. 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 312, 316, 318, 320, 339, 346, 348, 379, 382.
27. Paris BN, MS. n.a. Latin 588, ff. 206r.-213r.
28. C. de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or the Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. S. Lawson (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 20.
29. C. C. Willard, "A 15th century view of woman's role in medieval society: Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus*", in R. T. Morewedge (ed.), *The Role of Woman in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), pp. 90-120; and C. C. Willard, "The manuscript tradition of the *Livre des Trois Vertus* and Christine

- de Pizan's audience", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 27 (1966), pp. 433-444.
30. For a full discussion of Burgundian marriage policy, see C. A. J. Armstrong, "La politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois", in C. A. J. Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), pp. 237-342.
31. Lille ADN, B3340, Premier compte, f. 5r; B3409-B3414.
32. C. C. Willard, "The patronage of Isabel of Portugal", in J. H. McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, Georgia, 1996), pp. 306-320; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 107-109, 116-120.
33. The account of the negotiations at Calais on which the following discussion is based is printed in H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1837), pp. v, 334-407.
34. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 119-120; Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, vol. iv, p. 96.
35. M. G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974), p. 230.
36. Lille ADN, B3340, Premier compte, f. 27v., f. 29v.
37. Paris BN, MS. Fr. 17330, f. 131r.
38. Paris BN, MS. Fr. 17330, f. 134v.
39. Paris BN, MS. Fr. 17330, f. 138v.
40. See for example J. M. Bak, "Roles and functions of queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 AD)", in Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, p. 17.