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Eleanor of Aquitaine

Eleanor of Aquitaine, despite medieval notions of women's innate inferiority, sought power as her two husbands' partner, and when that proved impossible, defied them. She paid heavily for her pursuit of power, becoming the object of scurrilous gossip during her lifetime and for centuries afterward.

Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine (1124-1204), is doubtless the most famous or infamous of all medieval queens: she was the wife of Louis VII of France, then wedded to Henry II of England, and she was the mother of three English kings.¹ Her life would have been noteworthy in any age, but it was extraordinary by medieval standards. In an age that defined women by their powerlessness, she chose to live as she saw fit, seeking political power despite traditions and teachings of women's innate inferiority and subordination to males. Eleanor paid heavily for her pursuit of power, becoming the object of scurrilous gossip comparable to that hurled at a later French queen, Marie-Antoinette.²

In a culture of honor and shame, a person's *fama* (personal honor or reputation) was all important, determined by the opinion of acquaintances, neighbors, friends or enemies. Common knowledge of one's shameful character not only brought loss of *bona fama*, but could result in serious legal and social disabilities.³ Women especially were threatened by rumors of sexual impropriety that could lead to charges against them in the church courts.⁴ Since 'the construction of *bona fama* and *mala fama* was controlled by men,' both clerical and secular leaders saw to it that 'femaleness was defined by the submissiveness of wives to their husbands.'⁵ Medieval writers ascribed women's actions to irrational, sentimental or libidinous motives, and Eleanor's contemporaries attributed her rifts with her two husbands to personal, passionate sources, not to political factors. This attitude gave rise to a long lasting portrait of Eleanor as 'an essentially frivolous woman' and her life as a series of scandals.⁶

Eleanor was the proud daughter of a distinguished dynasty, and she never forgot that her lineage, successors to Carolingian sub-kings, equaled the Capetians and surpassed the Plantagenets in prestige.⁷ In the century before Eleanor's birth, ladies of southern France had enjoyed greater liberty than those in the more 'feudal' regions to the north.⁸ Eleanor, aware of her birthright as heir to the duchy of Aquitaine, felt that her marriage should be a partnership; she assumed that she would share power with her husband, especially over her own ancestral lands. Even as a young woman soon after her marriage to Louis VII in 1137, she demonstrated a desire for power, resentful of her husband's counselors. Seeking to influence Louis in matters concerning Aquitaine, she convinced him to invade the county of Toulouse.⁹ Later she would insist on accompanying him on the Second Crusade. A queen's unique influence in the public sphere through her intimate access to her royal husband was threatening to others at court seeking to sway him to their opinions.¹⁰ Damaging rumors offered a means of weakening her reputation and limiting her influence.

Eleanor's conduct on the Second Crusade first inspired rumors about the troubled state of her marriage to Louis. An incident at Antioch gave rise to a 'black legend' that has tarnished her reputation for centuries.¹¹ The royal couple's stay with her uncle, Raymond, prince of Antioch, made clear the antipathy between ill-suited spouses, beginning the unraveling of their marriage that finally dissolved in 1152. Louis VII insisted on marching directly to Jerusalem to fulfill his pilgrim's vow, despite his wife's urging that he adopt her uncle's plan for combating the Muslims. Unable to sway her husband, Eleanor announced that she would stay with her uncle and seek an annulment of their marriage on grounds of consanguinity.

Eleanor's contemporary, John of Salisbury, well informed on the incident at Antioch, made clear that Eleanor's open opposition to her husband's military and political decisions and her challenge to the legality of their marriage breached the submissiveness demanded of wives by a male-dominated Church and a militarized aristocracy.¹² Jean Flori, author of a 2004 biography, suggests that her deliberate provocation was driven by a desire to assert her independence that chroniclers interpreted as infidelity, equivalent to actual adultery.¹³ Observers at Raymond's court understood Eleanor's headstrong behavior as an unacceptable challenge to Louis' authority, flouting the Church's teaching on women's subordinate role in marriage. Soon rumors of the queen's infidelity spread to the French crusaders' camps, arousing hatred of the queen; the soldiers embellished

her misbehavior, redefining it as actual adultery with her uncle. On the crusaders' return to France, blaming their queen for the crusade's inglorious end, they spread gossip about her adultery at Antioch. Whatever happened at Antioch, the resulting rumors inspired talk of serial adulteries that sullied Eleanor's reputation for centuries.¹⁴

On Louis and Eleanor's journey from the Holy Land, returned by way of Italy, where the pope stage-managed a short-lived reconciliation, but after she gave birth to a second daughter, Louis divorced his queen in 1152. Hostile courtiers at Paris, displeased with her quick remarriage to Henry Plantagenet, encouraged more talk of her outrageous conduct on the crusade.¹⁵ Rumors tarnishing the private lives of the great were one of the few means available for the weak to challenge their power, and chroniclers alluded to their immorality as an indirect means of voicing criticism of rulers, even if they had no way of knowing details of their private lives.¹⁶

Later twelfth-century English chroniclers were well aware of scurrilous tales circulating about the troubled nature of their new queen's first marriage; by then doubtless part of a widespread oral tradition.¹⁷ English students returning from the schools of Paris would have brought back such talk to clerical circles in their homeland. Some chroniclers contented themselves with oblique references to Eleanor's indiscretion at Antioch. Clearly, their veiled references indicate an expectation that readers would be knowledgeable enough to fill in the details of the Antioch episode.¹⁸ Others questioned the lawfulness of her marriage to Henry II. William of Newburgh wrote that he deserved divine retribution for two reasons: first, for his marriage to Eleanor, the wife of another; and second for his opposition to Thomas Becket.¹⁹ Two authors of satirical accounts of life at the English court, Walter Map and Gerald of Wales added a new charge, writing that Count Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry II's father, had 'carnally known' Eleanor during a visit to Louis VII's court. Their account, if true, made Eleanor and Henry's marriage 'incest of the second type', a son sharing a woman with his own father.²⁰

Predisposed toward suspicion of Eleanor, late twelfth-century English writers judged her as falling short of the standard set by the post-Norman Conquest English queens. They depicted Eleanor's predecessors as models of piety, conscientious mothers, and worthy companions of their husbands, even if they sometimes had exercised political power during royal absences.²¹ A woman's pursuit of political power, not uncommon in the southern France of Eleanor's childhood, seemed to English churchmen

to overturn the natural order. In the chroniclers' view, princes who tolerated powerful women risked being labeled 'unmanly' or even 'womanly'. For historians of the Anglo-Norman and early Plantagenet periods, royal might was so closely associated with purely masculine activities, commanding knights in battle and besieging castles, that they could not imagine a woman wielding such power.²²

During the first decade of Henry II's reign (1154-1164) he was away from his new kingdom fighting in his French lands for long periods; and in his absence Eleanor was regent, exercising power that she had coveted as Louis's queen. Record sources, though meager, reveal her considerable role in England's governance.²³ This was a time for restoring royal supremacy after years of civil war in England, and Eleanor had an important place during the king's absences as the personification of royal authority to the English people, even if she is hardly visible in the chronicles. During her regencies, she was also busy bearing children, providing Henry with four sons and three daughters. After Eleanor's first decade as Henry's consort, her public role declined compared to that of her Anglo-Norman predecessors, due in large measure to an expanding royal administration that took on many tasks formerly performed by royal household officials.

In 1168, Eleanor left England and returned to Poitiers to take charge of her homeland, doubtless welcoming the opportunity to rule over her duchy.²⁴ By 1173, however, she was disillusioned with her husband, and she incited her sons to rebel against their own father; she joined them in making war on Henry II. This unprecedented example of a wife conspiring in a large-scale revolt against her own husband astounded and horrified contemporaries. For a second time she was appeared to be breaking one of the basic rules for a married woman, forgetting the submissiveness owed to her husband, just as she had at Antioch.²⁵ Yet it is hardly surprising that an educated, intelligent woman such as Eleanor, frustrated at losing influence in public life, should have sought power through manipulating her sons. Both late twelfth-century and many modern writers fail to credit Eleanor with political impulses for turning against Henry II; instead, attributing her actions to an emotional craving for vengeance. We can ask with Jane Martindale, an astute observer of Eleanor of Aquitaine, 'Can there be no political explanation of a woman's actions?'²⁶ It never occurred to Eleanor's contemporaries that her desire to preserve her authority in Aquitaine, her disappointment at Henry's continued interventions there, and her hope of ensuring her second son Richard's succession could have driven her to take

revenge through her sons. Preventing her duchy from being swallowed up by her husband's empire, reduced to simply another Angevin province, was a more important motivation for her revolt than a wronged wife's thirst for revenge. Henry II crushed the 1173-1174 rebellion, the greatest threat that he faced during his reign, and he brought Eleanor back to England as a prisoner, where she would remain a captive until his death in 1189.

Only as a widow did Eleanor taste the political power she had always hungered for. In exercising authority to preserve the Plantagenet lands for her last surviving sons, Richard I the Lionheart (1189-1199) and John Lackland (1199-1216), she showed herself a skilled politician.²⁷ She acted almost as a regent during Richard's absence on the Third Crusade and his captivity in Germany, safeguarding England from her rebellion and French threats until his release in 1194. Following Richard's death in 1199, Eleanor again threw herself into political activity. She worked to secure the succession of her last surviving son, John Lackland, opposing his rival, her grandson Arthur of Brittany, who was supported by Philip II of France. Eleanor as queen-mother enjoyed the privileges associated with a queen-consort during her two sons' reigns, for Richard's bride never visited England, and John's wife was too young to assume queenly duties.²⁸ A few years before Eleanor's death at age eighty, she retired to Fontevraud Abbey in France. Death came to her in 1204, a decade before John's loss of Poitou, the heart of her duchy of Aquitaine, to the French king.

Within half a century of Eleanor's death, earlier guarded allusions to her alleged indiscretion at Antioch expanded into accusations of an affair in the Holy Land with a Muslim prince. An early example is Matthew Paris, a monk and chronicler at Saint Albans Abbey in England until his death about 1259.²⁹ When discussing Eleanor, Matthew Paris could not contain his predilection for 'unscrupulous falsification,' and he charged her not only with multiple adulteries, but 'especially infidelity with a certain infidel prince in the East, perpetrated while her husband devoted himself to the business of war.'³⁰ Around the same time in France, an anonymous minstrel of Reims composed a collection of historical anecdotes. His book includes a similar tale of Eleanor's liaison with a Muslim prince, whom he identified as the sultan Saladin, who could have been no more than a young child during the Second Crusade; indeed, it is unlikely that he had yet been born. Nonetheless, the minstrel depicts Eleanor falling madly in love with Saladin before meeting him in person.³¹

In the late Middle Ages, stories were circulating that attributed not only adultery but also murder to Eleanor. Added stories told about Henry II's love affair with Rosamund Clifford and Eleanor's role as the vindictive and jealous murderer of Rosamund.³² More versions of Eleanor's pursuit of Fair Rosamund appeared in the early modern era. They incorporated a maze-like bower that Henry II built at Woodstock as a hiding place for his lover, but Eleanor succeeded in penetrating it. The Woodstock maze appears in two works dating from the final years of the sixteenth century: Samuel Daniel's poem, 'The Complaint of Rosamond,' printed in 1592, and a ballad *Fair Rosamonde*, also from around the end of the sixteenth century, though not published until the eighteenth century.³³ *Queen Eleanor's Confession*, a Scottish ballad published in the seventeenth century that recycled earlier ballads, depicts Eleanor confessing her sins to two friars, actually Henry II and William Marshal in disguise. In its verses, the queen confesses not only to poisoning Henry's mistress Rosamund Clifford, but to trying to poison Henry as well.³⁴ As late as the nineteenth century, despite a new scientific approach to historical studies, old canards about the twelfth-century queen were still repeated. Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England* revived the tale of Eleanor's affair with a Muslim, reporting that at Antioch, Eleanor engaged in 'a criminal attachment ... to a young Saracen emir of great beauty, named Sal-Addin.'³⁵

By the twentieth century scholarly approaches to Eleanor tended to fall into one of two categories. Specialists in medieval French literature, convinced that close reading of vernacular literature could disclose twelfth-century reality, created an image of Eleanor as muse of the troubadour poets, presiding over 'courts of love' at Poitiers. An example is Amy Kelly's still popular 1956 book, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, that provides a fanciful portrait of Eleanor founding an academy at Poitiers to 'subdue to civility' the boisterous young Poitevin knights of her court.³⁶

The second category consists of professional historians relying on Latin sources, dismayed by this portrait of Eleanor produced by experts in literature turning to vernacular poetry historical for evidence.³⁷ For much of the twentieth century males largely dominated this latter category, and they showed little interest in women's history. They were happy to leave such 'softer topics' as the study of medieval women to scholars in the field of literature, often themselves women.³⁸ As late as 1973, W.L. Warren wrote in his biography, *Henry II*, 'To judge from the chroniclers, the most striking fact about Eleanor is her utter insignificance in Henry II's reign.'³⁹

No knowledgeable authority today would accept Warren's neglect of her significance for politics and government.

Today, the conflict between the 'literary' and 'historical' camps of scholars is abating, and the work of feminist scholars is adding new perspectives to Eleanor of Aquitaine's portrait. Their more rounded portrait of Eleanor acknowledges her vital place as a political player. A pioneer is Jane Martindale, who for years has produced papers illuminating Eleanor's key role in the politics of the Plantagenet Empire, and younger scholars are furthering the process with studies of medieval queenship as an office.⁴⁰ As a result, we see Eleanor of Aquitaine today as a woman who chose to live her life on her own terms, in defiance of custom and religion, seeking power through partnership with her husbands, or if that proved impossible, then challenging them and going her own way. The price of her choice was a loss of her *bona fama*, as a black legend of sexual impropriety haunted her over the centuries.⁴¹ Yet Eleanor merits a measure of glory because of her refusal to conform to conventional curbs on a woman's power and her struggle to control her own destiny.

Notes

1. Two recent scholarly biographies are Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England* (London: Yale University Press, 2009); Jean Flori, *Aliénor d'Aquitaine: La reine insoumise* (Paris: Editions Payot & Rivages, 2004); English trans. *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); also Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor, suo jure duchess of Aquitaine c. 1122–1204,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthews and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Still important is E.R. Labande, 'Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine,' in *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, ed. Martin Aurell (Poitiers: Geste Éditions/Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 2005).
2. John Carmi Parsons, 'Damned If She Didn't and Damned When She Did: Bodies, Babies, and Bastards in the Lives of Two Queens of France,' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 265–299.
3. Claude Gauvard, 'Introduction,' in *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge: Du mépris à la manipulation Ve-XVe siècle*, ed. Maité Billoré and Myriam Soria (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 26–27; Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 'Introduction,' in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, ed. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1–14.
4. Madeline H. Caviness and Charles G. Nelson, 'Silent Witnesses, Absent Women, and

- the Law Courts in Medieval Germany,' in Fama: *The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, ed. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 47–72.
5. Caviness and Nelson, 'Silent Witnesses,' 72; Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6, 45.
 6. Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine,' in *Status, Authority and Regional Power. Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries*, ed. Jane Martindale (London: Variorum, 1997), 24, 40.
 7. John Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions: Norman and English Views of Aquitaine, c. 1152–c. 1204,' in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Catherine Léglu and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 57–81.
 8. E.g. the eleventh-century Agnes, widow of Duke William the Great of Aquitaine, later wife of Geoffrey Martel of Anjou: Isabelle Soulard-Berger, 'Agnès de Bourgogne, duchesse d'Aquitaine puis comtesse d'Anjou.(1019–v. 1068),' in *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest* 6 (Poitiers, 1992); and in the twelfth century: Frederic L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 25.
 9. Flori, *Aliénor*, 58; Régine Pernoud, *Aliénor d'Aquitaine* (Paris: A. Michel, 1965), 37–38.
 10. Catherine Léglu and Marcus Bull, 'Introduction,' in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Catherine Léglu and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 5.
 11. Martin Aurell, 'Aux origines de la légende noire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine,' in *Royautés imaginaires (XIIe-XVIe siècles), Colloque de l'Université de Paris X-Nanterre du 26 au 27 septembre 2003*, ed. Anne-Hélène Alliot, Gilles Lecuppre and Lydwine Scordia (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 89–102.
 12. Marjorie Chibnall, *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury, Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 52, 53; Aurell, 'Aux origines de la légende noire,' 90–94.
 13. Flori, *Aliénor*, 333. For a sympathetic presentation of Eleanor at Antioch, see Parsons, 'Damned If She Didn't,' 270, 291–292.
 14. The bishop of Poitiers wrote to John of Salisbury in 1165 insinuating that Eleanor had scandalous relations with another uncle, Ralph de Faye: W.J. Miller and C. N. L. Brooke, ed., *The Letters of John of Salisbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 1986), 343–347.
 15. Richard Barber, 'Eleanor and the Media,' in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Catherine Léglu and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 26. Troubadour verses composed in Palestine during the Second Crusade allude to Eleanor's adultery: Ruth E. Harvey, *The Poet Marcabru and Love* (London: Westfield College University of London, 1989), 195.
 16. Nicholas Vincent, 'Conclusion,' in *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge: Du mépris à la*

- manipulation Ve-XVe siècle*, ed. Maïté Billoré and Myriam Soria (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 340. On the English chroniclers: Ralph V. Turner, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine, Twelfth-Century English Chroniclers and her 'Black Legend'', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52, (2008): 17–42.
17. Alan Keith Bate, Gautier Map, *Contes pour les gens de cour* (Brussels: Brepols, 1993), 31–32; Barber, 'Eleanor and the Media,' 26.
 18. E.g. Gervase of Canterbury wrote that following the couple's return from crusade: 'There arose a certain discord between [Louis] and his queen Eleanor which concerned that pilgrimage, [and about which] according to certain persons it was perhaps better to keep silent.' William Stubbs ed., *Gervase of Canterbury: Historical Works*, (London 1879–80), I 149. Richard of Devizes, writing early in Richard I's reign, placed a marginal note alongside a passage praising Eleanor to remind readers of her conduct on crusade stating: 'Many know what I would that none of us knew. This same queen, during the time of her first husband, was at Jerusalem [rightly Antioch]. Let no one say any more about it. I too know it well. Keep silent.' J. T. Appleby, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes* (London: T. Nelson, 1963), 25, 26. Gerald of Wales, usually eager to depict Eleanor in the worst light, wrote simply: 'It is a matter of sufficient notoriety how queen Eleanor had conducted herself . . . beyond the sea.' J.S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G.F. Warner ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, De principis instructione* (1891), VII 300, 301.
 19. William Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, i, 281, bk 3, ch. 26.
 20. Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 474–77; Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis VIII* 300–01. Also: Aurell, 'Aux origines de la légende noire,' 94–99.
 21. Lois Huneycutt, 'Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen,' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: Alan Sutton, 1993), 189–191; also: Lois Huneycutt, 'Alianora Regina Anglorum: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Anglo-Norman Predecessors as Queens of England,' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115–132.
 22. Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor and a 'Queenly Court'?', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 434, 435; Klaus van Eickels, 'Gendered Violence: Castration and Blinding as Punishment for Treason in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England,' *Gender and History* 16 (2004): 591–594.
 23. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 151–167, 173, 174; also: Ralph V. Turner, 'A Queen's Power in the Twelfth Century: The Example of Eleanor of Aquitaine as Henry II's Queen,' in *Sewanee Medieval Studies*, ed. Susan J. Rudyard (Sewanee: The Press of the University of the South, 2010), 41–63.
 24. Pernoud, *Aliénor*, 186.
 25. Georges Duby, *Women of the twelfth century: Eleanor of Aquitaine and six others*, trans. Jean Birrell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 14; Jean Flori, *Richard Coeur de Lion* (Paris: Éd. Payot & Rivages, 1999), 42, 43.

26. Jane Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine,' in *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, *King's College Medieval Studies* VII, ed. Janet Nelson (London: King's College London, 1992); reprinted in *Status, Authority and Regional Power*, 24, 40.
27. Turner, *Eleanor*, 256-75, 280-89; also Ralph V. Turner, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Governments of Her Sons Richard and John,' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 77-94.
28. E.g. Eleanor's continued collection of queen's gold: H. G. Richardson, 'The Letters and charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine,' *English Historical Review* 74 (1959): 209-211.
29. Richard Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 32-33, 143, 152; V.H. Galbraith, 'Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris,' in *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1982), 5-48.
30. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, 134. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, (1866-1869), vol. I 288; a shorter account in H.R. Luard, ed., *Chronica Majori* (1872-1883), vol II 186.
31. Natalis de Wailly, *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Renouard, 1876), 3-7; D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Legend* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 105-107. A tale repeated by Jean Bouchet's *Annales d'Acquitaine*, first published in 1524: Labande, 'Pour une image véridique,' 140.
32. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 116. Citing a mid-fourteenth-century chronicle: G.J. Aungier, ed., *Chroniques de London* (London, 1844), 3-5.
33. 'Complaint of Rosamond,' discussed by Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 125-128; the ballad *Fair Rosamonde*: Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 122-124.
34. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 156-160.
35. *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (first edition London, 1840-1849; reprint 1893-99), I 171-72.
36. Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 159-160. Kelly writes that Eleanor summoned her daughter by Louis VII, Marie of Champagne, to head the 'royal academy,' although no evidence exists for Marie at Poitiers. Marion Meade reinterprets Kelly's 'academy' in her 1977 biography to re-visualize Eleanor as a feminist revolutionary, elevating women's status by taming belligerent young nobles, teaching them courtly respect for ladies. Marion Meade, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Biography* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1977), 250, 251.
37. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 163-164, 213.
38. Margaret Labarge, *A Medieval Miscellany* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 20.
39. W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 120.
40. E.g. Huneycutt, 'Female Succession and Language of Power,' 189-191; also Huneycutt, '*Alianora Regina Anglorum*,' 115-132; Pauline Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries,' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: Alan Sutton, 1993), 143-67.

41. E.g. Allison Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine. By the Wrath of God, Queen of England* (London: Random House, 2000), 68: ‘. . . it is puzzling to find that most of Eleanor’s modern biographers do not accept that she had an adulterous affair with Raymond.’ Flori, *Aliénor*, 321, 323, 328, 332–333; and Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, 24, 25, takes no stand, but innuendos indicates their strong suspicions. Owen writes, ‘Raymond welcomed her with open arms – all too open, some were to hint.’