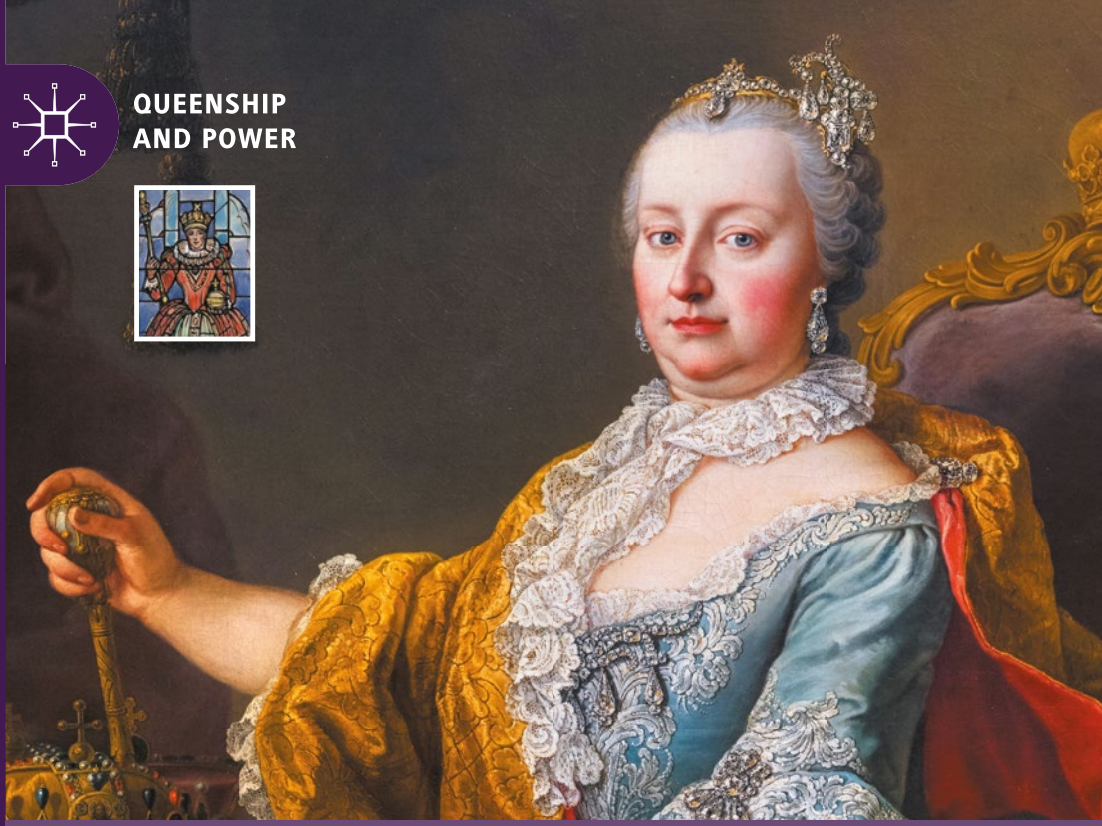
QUEENSHIP AND POWER



Memorialising Premodern Monarchs

Medias of Commemoration and Remembrance

Edited by
Gabrielle Storey

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Editor

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To Ellie, and Estelle, who inspire and encourage our love for all queens.
For Mark, who left a far better world for us.
And for all those we loved and lost along the way.

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I am indebted to the wonderful contributors of this volume, who have worked tirelessly on their chapters and in increasingly difficult circumstances. It has been a pride and a joy to watch their research develop and to be able to showcase it in this volume. My heartfelt thanks go to you all. I also owe sincere gratitude and appreciation to the several reviewers who have strengthened and commented on the work in this collection.

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Lastly, this volume would not have reached fruition without the ongoing support and encouragement from my family, friends, and colleagues. In particular, Ellie Woodacre, Estelle Paranque, and Katia Wright have provided guidance and many motivational conversations during the completion of this work, and are owed my eternal thanks.

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She has also written articles in *BBC History Magazine*, *History Today*, and *The Ricardian*, with forthcoming articles in *Tudor Life* and the *Medieval Warfare Magazine*.

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Gabrielle Storey is a historian of Angevin queenship, specialising in gender, sexuality, and the intersections between familial relations and the exercise of power. She has previously written on Berengaria of Navarre and Joanna of Sicily as crusading queens, and on Eleanor of Aquitaine for *BBC History Revealed*. She is an active member of the Royal Studies Network and the founder of Team Queens, a digital global queenship project. She is working on a biography of Berengaria of Navarre and a monograph focussing on co-rulership in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. She completed her PhD from the University of Winchester, UK, in 2020.

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Diplomas from Sciences Po Paris and the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. She is writing her PhD in History on the cultural-political portrayal of Russia in nineteenth-century German historical writing. She wrote her Master's thesis on the image of the "Asian" in Middle-Age travel reports, and its influences on popular stereotyping and political propaganda. She specialises in cultural studies, researching the impact of culture—within its manifold interpretations—on the (self) representation and cross-cultural depictions of monarchs, governments, and political systems, the desired effects of this, and its outcomes. She also has a focus on Russian history, especially its role in, and its reaction to, the argumentation of European cultural universalism.

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Introduction: The Memorialisation of Monarchs in an International Context

Gabrielle Storey

The practice of remembrance and commemoration has fascinated both historians and the wider population for centuries, with a diverse range of approaches utilised by the populace to commemorate their rulers and companions. The consideration in particular of the different roles people fulfilled as commemorators, according to their gender, has been explored by historians such as Elisabeth van Houts.[1] An investigation into the nature of this remembrance, whether it be oral histories, through art, architecture, and literature, or through ritual, serves to inform the modern reader about the importance of remembering not only rulers but family members as well. Although substantive work is being conducted in the field of medievalism, and the analysis of historical texts is the foundation of historiographical work itself to understand the depiction of past rulers, it is rare that such analyses are brought together to demonstrate how

My thanks go to Karl C. Alvestad for his comments and feedback, and support in the completion of this work.

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rulers were remembered across the globe, in different eras, and through different mediums. It is also worth considering the ways in which monarchs and rulers chose to commemorate themselves, as an example of self-efficacy and a desire to leave a legacy of one's own. Control of one's depiction allows a greater insight into the figure themselves, and what they viewed as important in their legacy, whilst highlighting the need for further analysis as we seek to uncover what they did not emphasise.

The historiography and corpus of works on memory studies is extensive, drawing across theories in several disciplines and requiring a scholar of the field to be interdisciplinary in their approach. Whilst this book is focussed on memorialisation and commemoration, it is important to acknowledge the foundations upon which this work sits. The arguments put forth by Pierre Nora highlight the separation of history and memory as sites; however, it is the intention of this volume to consider how and why monarchs, and their societies, chose to commemorate their rulers and therefore how history and memory cannot be entirely separated from each other.[2] Geoffrey Cubitt discusses the difficulties of defining both memory and history, and he notes his decision to use the definition of "memory to refer to relationships to the past that are grounded in human consciousness" is one which can be effectively explored in this work, as the authors highlight the ways "by which a conscious sense of the past, as something meaningfully connected to the present, is sustained and developed within human individuals and human cultures."[3] Cubitt's work is valuable when considering the intersections of memory and history and the complexities with studying past commemorations and remembrance.

The focus of this volume on past monarchs and their commemoration and remembrance brings together several differing methodological approaches in order to understand how rulership functioned and how societies chose to memorialise their rulers after death. This collection of chapters focuses on monarchs, namely kings, queens, empresses, and popes, and their memorialisation across several countries, from England to India to Samoa. It brings forth areas less familiar to Anglophone scholarship, and whilst demonstrating the various methods of commemoration, also shows the agency of individuals and their societies when doing this. This volume indicates that the use of the mediums of art, architecture, literature, rituals, and other popular media to remember monarchs could be incredibly diverse and requires substantive interrogation to present us with an informed representation of the ruler. These representations

highlight the agency of their subjects, when at first glance it can appear that they had little.

This work is split into two sections: the chapters in the first primarily focus on depictions of rulers in art and architecture, from ancient South India through to modern Samoa. The second section encompasses works on the memorialisation of monarchs more widely in literature and popular media, with a particular emphasis on commemorations in Europe. Through this division, patterns and links between the chapters demonstrate the similarity in methodological approaches and the significance of investigating monarchy and memory: understanding the rulership of the past initially allows comparisons with contemporary governments and allows us to consider *why* we choose to focus on particular rulers and events, and aspects of these for depiction in popular media. Recent work on the remembrance of queens and kings in early modern England and France, and on the representations of gender, sex, and power in popular culture, has influenced discussions in this work, as it reinforces the need for continued interrogation of the past and its depictions.[4] The ongoing interest in popular depictions of historical culture remain a balancing act for historians as historical accuracy is sought whilst appreciating the motivations of directors and writers to entertain their audiences.

Representations of Rulers in Art and Architecture

The durability of architectural memorials is perhaps testament to those whose memory endures across time, as historians and archaeologists continue to trace those of ancient civilisations through their temples, statues, and monoliths. Although no material is entirely safe from destruction, either due to natural decay or human interference (consider the loss of the Bamiyan Buddhas in 2001), the choice of durable materials as the fabric upon which to inscribe and commemorate their rulers demonstrates the notion that societies wanted their legacies to survive, and survive many have, whilst oral histories and texts have been lost to us. The memorialisation of rulers in art such as portraiture and statues shows that whether through self-commemoration or memorialisation by others, rulers wanted to be visibly remembered by the wider public, with imposing statues and grand portraits commissioned to exemplify their worth and status.

In the first part of this volume, six chapters tackle the depictions of premodern rulers, primarily in artistic forms. Chapter 2 sees Emma Levitt discuss Henry VIII of England's self-commemoration in statues and

paintings, as well as investigating his commissions and his desire to represent himself as a virile, masculine king, in the wake of a lack of male heirs. Levitt's meticulous research brings to the fore discussions of the masculinity of one of England's most famous kings, and how self-efficacy has contributed to our memory of Henry. In Chap. 3, Jennifer Mara DeSilva presents a wide-ranging analysis of papal commemoration from 1300 to 1800, drawing not only upon artistic depictions but also spatial and liturgical commemoration which the popes themselves were often involved in. This broad investigation into the many methods of memorialisation utilised by the medieval and early modern papacy allows a greater understanding of the range of options available to rulers and their societies for commemoration. DeSilva's work also brings attention to the papacy through another lens as popes are often remembered for their political activities and architectural triumphs rather than as a memorable figure.

Chapter 4 moves us from Western Europe to the Pacific Ocean as Elizabeth Howie unpicks the self-representation of twentieth-century royal Samoan women in postcard photographs, with a particular focus on Fa'amusami Malietoa, princess of Samoa. Howie's research demonstrates the agency of the women who appeared in postcard photographs, typically viewed as an example of colonial exploitation, but upon further investigation present an array of lenses through which these women need to be viewed. Wojciech Szymański's study in Chap. 5 on the column of Sigismund III, king of Poland, and its architectural links with the Florentine courts of the dukes of Tuscany provides an interesting comparative study of how different regions memorialised their rulers in stone and the transnational links in architecture across central Europe. Szymańsski's argument for the greatness of both Florentine and Polish rulers being embodied in architectural works is convincing and signifies the importance of not only comparative studies but analysing memorialisation and commemoration in their proper context.

In Chap. 6, Louise Tingle examines the religious patronage of Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, and her connections with St Katharine's by the Tower, London, and how this record of Philippa's patronage has contributed to her legacy in historical memory. Tingle proves that through Philippa's patronage, Philippa ensured that her agency would be memorialised and therefore demonstrated her activity as queen consort. Chapter 7 draws together architectural, artistic, and literary sources in its approach as Roland Ferenczi analyses the extant evidence for the memorialisation of the ancient south Indian Tamil kings. Ferenczi's

cross-disciplinary approach unveils the choices made by Tamil societies when deciding which kings to commemorate and why, as well as how they were commemorated. It demonstrates an important element in that of memorialisation: that of forgetting and of how memories are shaped by those doing the remembering.[5]

Part I demonstrates the importance of utilising an approach to commemoration primarily through examination of art and architectural works, which is further enriched with an interrogation of identity and memory: focussing on the agency of the figures involved, and societal traditions and decision making around commemoration provide a greater understanding of why certain rulers become prolific and endure, whilst others may not. It also showcases the different roles that monarchs, in the case of self-efficacy, and societies held when choosing to memorialise a ruler. Examining commemoration in an international context demonstrates that although societies may have held different rituals, activities, and methods of memorialisation, their initial mediums were universal, and through this we can see the desire for representations of agency and power survive to the present day.

Commemoration in Literature and Popular Media

Alongside artistic works, literature remains one of the primary forms for both the recording of historical events and memories, and the modern-day representations of historical figures. Through literature contemporary to the period, modern readers gain an insight into the importance the authors placed on contemporaneous events, and their agendas and motivations for writing history. In historical fiction, poems, and other narratives, authors often choose to embellish and alter historical events in their depictions of the past and present us with figures that may appear more sympathetic and relatable to a modern-day audience. As North, Woodacre, and Alvestad note, the re-telling of a story from history is an engagement with historical interpretation by the author, although authors of popular media may share a different perspective from historians.[6]

Part II moves more clearly into the realms of commemoration through literary works and popular media, though some chapters draw upon a wide range of material to demonstrate the practices and rituals through which societies memorialised their rulers. In Chap. 8, Penelope Nash examines the depictions of Ottonian queens and abbesses in manuscript images from the tenth and eleventh centuries. This analysis centres the

approach of looking back and looking forward when considering memorialisation, as it explores the Ottonian turn to the Carolingian past when choosing methods of commemoration, and the activities of the Salian dynasty, who viewed their Ottonian predecessors as an exemplar of memorial practices. Nash's work also highlights the importance of elite women in the role of commemorator. Chapter 9 continues the analysis of manuscripts and their images, with Judith Collard's work on the manuscripts of Matthew Paris and depictions of English kingship the focal point of their chapter. The relationship between commemorator and their subject is explored here, highlighting the intertwining links between self-efficacy and depiction by one's subjects.

Chapter 10 is a comparative study of Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great (d. 1796) the Great of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria, wherein Elena Teibenbacher analyses the depictions of these two rulers in literature, artwork, and popular media. Whilst confronting how nationalism has influenced the depictions of these two women in the countries they reigned, Teibenbacher discusses the issues faced when depicting historical figures in popular media for a Western audience. In Chap. 11, the depictions of Margaret, queen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in popular works, educational textbooks, and online are analysed by Karl Christian Alvestad. This examination dissects the issues surrounding the memorialisation of royal women, in particular, and further demonstrates the need for a multi-faceted approach when understanding why queens, and indeed other royal women, are remembered in specific ways.

The issues surrounding the depictions of royal women in popular culture, particularly with the desire to humanise them and make them relatable, are of note in the following chapter by Gabrielle Storey. Chapter 12 discusses the depictions of two well-known English queens, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of Angoulême, in popular fiction. This chapter analyses the issues when representing two queens known for their scandalous lives and the motivations behind these depictions. In Chap. 13, Michael R. Evans foregrounds a third infamous English queen, Isabella of France, and interrogates her depictions in online media and popular culture. This analysis examines the role of feminism in modern depictions and the reclamation of terms such as "badass" to describe women who have often faced criticism for their actions in a patriarchal society.

In sum, this section brings together an array of chapters which allow the examination of a variety of depictions of kings and queens in both

popular culture, literature, and manuscripts. Although diverse in their backgrounds and societies, the representations of rulers, particularly women, hold a complex history when considering the usual invisibility of women from the original sources.[7] However, this section demonstrates the agency royal women could wield, and therefore discussions arising from their modern depictions are central to understanding not only the historical legacies of other rulers, but how they too can be remembered and portrayed in popular culture and other media.

The Importance of Memorialisation

Memorialising Premodern Monarchs offers a variety of chapters, spanning several countries, through which multiple mediums of commemoration and remembrance are analysed. They discuss the complexities of retrieving the past, the ways in which historical memory has been shaped, the power and agency of their subjects, and the issues faced when unravelling the many dimensions of rulers, regardless of the way they or their society chose to remember them. This volume brings together common threads of analysis through the medias examined. Although the purpose of the creation of the mediums may be similar, as they foreground the memory of a ruler, embedding this particular depiction or image in our memory, the motivations behind why this particular ruler was to be commemorated in this specific medium vary. Our fascination with the historical past and our consumption of it through an array of mediums, both by the historical community and the general public, demonstrates the need for this collection as we seek to better understand why some historical figures are so conscious in the public memory and others not.

This volume focuses on a select number of countries; however, the approaches and comparisons utilised in this study can be further expanded for analysis of the commemoration of other rulers across the globe. Two recent edited collections by Elena Woodacre demonstrate the need for queenship, and indeed rulership, to be viewed in a global context.[8] Through further investigations into the depictions and memorialisation of rulers, we can learn not only about the monarch, their society, and methods of commemoration but also why others are forgotten. The values of each society ultimately influenced their decisions on who and what was worth remembering; however, the rulers who have been forgotten are not completely erased due to their actions, or lack thereof, but are hidden further away from public view. The process of uncovering monarchs and

their co-rulers is an important task for historians in order to understand the power of the ruler and the governance of society, and from this knowledge we better serve public memory of kings and queens, and their parallels in today's society.

Notes

1. Elisabeth van Houts, ed., *Medieval Memories. Men, Women and the Past, 700–1300* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001); Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999).
2. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.
3. Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 9.
4. Estelle Paranque, ed., *Remembering Queens and Kings in Early Modern England and France. Reputation, Reinterpretation, and Reincarnation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Janice North, Karl C. Alvestad, and Elena Woodacre, eds., *Premodern Rulers and Postmodern Viewers. Gender, Sex, and Power in Popular Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
5. Jeffrey Andrew Barash, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 168–210; see also Jeffrey Andrew Barash, "The Sources of Memory," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58.4 (1997): 707–717.
6. Janice North, Elena Woodacre, and Karl C. Alvestad, "Introduction—Getting Modern: Depicting Premodern Power and Sexuality in Popular Media," in *Premodern Rulers and Postmodern Viewers*, 3.
7. Theresa Earenfight, "Highly Visible, Often Obscured: The Difficulty of Seeing Queens and Noble Women," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 44 (2008): 86–90.
8. Elena Woodacre, ed., *A Companion to Global Queenship* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018); Elena Woodacre, Lucinda H. S. Dean, Chris Jones, Russell E. Martin, and Zita Eva Rohr, eds., *The Routledge History of Monarchy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

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PART I

Representations of Monarchs in Art and Architecture

"The Whole Stature of a Goodly Man and a Large Horse": Memorialising Henry VIII's Manly, Knightly and Warrior Status

Emma Levitt

A marble slab marks Henry VIII and Jane Seymour's final resting place in the Quire of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle; however, this was only intended to be temporary while a grand monument was completed, and it is clear that no expense was to be spared. Although Henry's magnificent tomb was never achieved, by studying the planned effigy of the king on horseback and dressed in armour, it can reveal much about how he viewed his masculinity and kingly image. It is apparent that the presentation of Henry's masculinity was significant to his kingship as he consciously devised an image for his tomb, which aligned his monarchy with chivalrous and martial feats. In keeping with the theme of this volume I shall examine the various ways in which Henry's version of knightly masculinity was constructed, in a deliberate attempt to have his kingship memorialised in a traditional context. This chapter will explore the ways in which Henry projected his masculine image through his active participation in chivalry and through his wars against France that were part of the criteria against

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which the performance of kingship was assessed by his contemporaries. It is evident that Henry viewed his kingship in a medieval milieu as he looked to the example of his ancestors Henry V and grandfather, Edward IV, who had been immortalised as warrior kings. The king's choice of burial place at St George's Chapel will also be examined, in order to draw links between Henry's enthusiasm for the Order of the Garter and his dedication to St George as England's patron saint of chivalry. Furthermore, I maintain that though Henry's kingship was multifaceted and was informed by other religious and ancient figures, it was the knightly archetype he favoured above everything else. This chapter lends itself to a discussion on memorialising premodern monarchs, as it uses Henry's designs for his tomb as way to assess the dominant model of manhood he sought to emulate which has not been done before; thus, it offers a valuable contribution to the current historiography on kingly masculinity.[1]

Initial plans for Henry's tomb were made by the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano, the same man who designed the tomb of Henry's parents, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, who were buried at Westminster Abbey.[2] Torrigiano planned for Henry VIII's sarcophagus to be made of the same white marble and black touchstone as his father's, only it was to be considerably bigger. Yet, a disagreement over compensation for the designing of the burial plans ensued, causing Torrigiano to return to Italy by June 1519. Henry considered giving another Italian sculptor, Jacopo Sansovino, an extraordinary commission of 75,000 ducats to work on a design in 1527, a modern equivalent of six million and ninety thousand pounds.[3] The king's effigy was cast and polished while he was still alive. Work progressed during the last years of Henry's reign, but the wars in France and Scotland in the 1540s drained the royal treasury and work slowed. However, the monument which Henry described in his will as being, "an honourable tomb for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therefore already, with a fair grate about it," was not originally his, but had been commissioned by his chief minister Thomas Wolsey.[4] In 1524 Wolsey commissioned the great Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Rovenzanno to design a magnificent tomb for him that was to include four bronze angels.[5] In much the same way as Wolsey had lavishly redesigned Hampton Court Palace as a symbol of his power and ambitions, he desired for his tomb to be a lasting monument of his earthly glory.[6] In 1524, work began on Wolsey's tomb which consisted of a marble base, pillars and statues, and a black and white marble sarcophagus, which was mounted on an 8-feet-high base.[7] Following Wolsey's downfall in 1529, Henry confiscated all parts of the cardinal's tomb for himself. When Henry

died, the sarcophagus was taken to his burial place at Windsor Castle, but it remained unused at Windsor for three hundred years.[8]

Antiquarian John Speed unearthed in the seventeenth century a now lost manuscript believed to have been owned by the Lancastrian Herald, Nicholas Charles, which gave details of Sansovino's design.[9] In his *History of Britain* Speed describes how the proposed tomb was: "the said two tombs of blacke touch, and the said Angel over the King and Queene, shall stand an high basement like sepulchre."[10] This was all to be topped with a life-size gilded statue of Henry on horseback under a triumphal arch, "over the height of the Basement shall be made an Image of the King on Horse-backe, lively in Armor like a King, after the antique manner."[11] Always conscious of the need to emphasise his knightly masculinity, Henry laid down an elaborate plan to have himself depicted on horseback, emulating the iconic image of the medieval knight and his tomb was intended to reflect this.[12] The design of Henry's tomb was in grand Italian Renaissance fashion, but he also combined the classicism of the triumphant arch, with the ostentatious equestrian statue that was intended to be avant-garde. The king's tomb if completed would have been one of the earliest examples of the antique style in England, as it was intended to seal his reputation as a great and glorious monarch by surpassing everything of its kind. Though Henry's ambitious plans for his tomb may have highlighted Renaissance modernity, the king's choice of burial at the chivalric setting of St George's Chapel symbolised the coming together of the medieval past, with the present. Henry preferred to represent himself as the embodiment of the union of the families of Lancaster and York.[13] However, it is evident that the king's reign has often been argued as marking a clear break with the medieval past. Yet, Lucy Wooding is one of the few historians to consider Henry VIII's reign as continuing many aspects of the medieval period.[14] I would argue that Henry's burial place is an indication of his desire to have his monarchy remembered within a traditional framework and it is from this perspective that I have considered his presentation of masculinity and kingship.

In the description of Henry's proposed tomb Speed details the image of the king on horseback, "with this horse shall be of the whole stature of a goodly man and a large horse."[15] It is significant that Henry's plans specified a large horse, as it demonstrated his ability to dominate a great courser that in turn had direct connotations to qualities of manliness. According to Katherine Lewis, "self-mastery was widely regarded as essential to both kingship and manhood."[16] In reference to elite masculinity

Fiona Dunlop argues, "it is predicated on the ideal of rule- the ability to govern both oneself and others."[17] Yet it was also fundamental that high status men possessed the physical strength and skills to take charge of a horse. It is notable that the king describes a 'goodly man': it was a depiction that quite literally expected elite men to be athletic, muscular and supremely fit. Noel Fallows' explicit discussion of the male body in connection with knightly prowess offers a major contribution to the current literature surrounding chivalry. Fallows describes, "in the Middle Ages a man's masculinity was often defined by his well formed buttocks, thighs and legs."[18] This knightly model that Henry aspired to required a particular physique: it was not just about performing martial exploits—there was a physical aspect to achieving high status manhood. Indeed, the relationship between the two is self-evident: having a manly body befitting the tiltyard implied that a man was capable of physical prowess because of the hours of training that were involved to achieve this particular physique. Indeed, Wooding rightly acknowledges that the hours that Henry spent on the tournament field were not wasted; "they were at the very heart of his identity and purpose as king."[19] This sculpting of a 'goodly man' was a deliberate attempt by Henry to create a lasting image of a knightly body. In spite of the king's decline of manliness in his later years, due to his lack of self-control, he wanted to be remembered in this youthful vain, since the body was still an essential marker of high status masculinity in the early sixteenth century.[20]

The gendering of Henry's effigy as a knightly figure is also evident through Speed's description of the king being "lively in armour." The armoured Henry acts as a visual construction of knightly masculinity, as the wearing of armour, on horseback, with the powerful male body on show had direct connotations to knighthood. The hegemonic ideal for elite men in the Middle Ages was the knightly model as Ruth Mazo Karras identifies: "knighthood epitomized one set of medieval ideals about masculinity."[21] The ideals of knighthood were heavily influenced by the chivalric literature at the time that emphasised the knight's need for physical vigour and military skill. In Geoffroi de Charny's *Book of Chivalry* published in 1352, it provides a manual on the daily life of the knight.[22] As one of the most respected knights of his age, he applauds those knights who exhibit strength, agility and eagerness for tourney or battle. The armoured male body in itself was a signifier of knightly masculinity as it implied that violent, aggressive and combative action was to take place. Though we are not given any further descriptions of the type of armour that the king